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39TH CONGRESS, 1st Session. } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { Ex. Doc. No. 73.

MESSAGE

OF THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

OF

MARCH 20, 1866,

RELATING TO

THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN MEXICO

IN ANSWER TO

A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF DECEMBER 11, 1865.

PART I.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1866.

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PART I.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

IN ANSWER TO

A resolution of the House of the 11th of December last, transmitting information upon the present condition of affairs in the republic of Mexico.

MARCH 22, 1866.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

To the House of Representatives:

In compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 11th of December last, requesting information upon the present condition of affairs in the republic of Mexico, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the papers by which it was accompanied.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, *March* 20, 1866.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 20, 1866.

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 11th of December, 1865, requesting the President, "if not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to this house any correspondence or other information, in possession of the government, relative to the present condition of affairs in our sister republic of Mexico, and especially any letters of the minister from said republic and the French minister at Washington relating thereto," has the honor to lay before the President the papers mentioned in the subjoined list.

Respectfully submitted:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The PRESIDENT.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, May 4, 1861.

MR. SECRETARY: The government of Mexico has been informed that there exists in this country a numerous combination of persons, who, whether guided by a fanatic spirit professed in good faith, or swayed by motives of pecuniary interest, are actively at work on the project of extending the institution of slavery, not merely within the limits of the United States, with which Mexico could have nothing to do, but also into Mexican territory, for which they propose the acquisition of the largest possible part of that territory.

You will comprehend, sir, that these apprehensions are very far from being unfounded. Their best justification would be in an impartial and minute glance over the public events which have occurred in this country within the last seven months. The facts which present themselves to view, and which would sustain such apprehensions, are so numerous, that there is really a difficulty, not in finding them, but in knowing which of them to overlook.

Without intending to mix myself up in the slightest degree with internal questions of this country, I pray you, sir, to permit me to refer to them, considering them only in the aspect in which they affect the dearest interests of Mexico and the integrity of its territory.

Public opinion in this country regards as the principal obstacle which conflicted with an arrangement by means of a compromise at the last session of the Congress of the United States of the difficulties stirred up long ago, and recently renewed with fresh vigor, the persistent manner in which the representatives of propagandist ideas insisted that in the arrangement which should be agreed upon there should be an express clause recognizing slavery in the territory which the United States might in future time acquire at the south. You will recollect, sir, that this forethought, contained in the propositions presented to the Senate in December of last year, by the Hon. J. J. Crittenden, senator from Kentucky, procured for them the acceptableness which they found among such representatives of propagandism.

If these recent events were not still fresh in the memory of all, I should be sustained in my assertion by the speeches delivered in the Senate by the Hon. Henry Wilson, senator from Massachusetts, on the 21st February last, and in the House of Representatives, on the 31st January preceding, by the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, representative from the same State.

If from the bosom of the national representation of the country I may be allowed to pass to the assembly called "peace conference," gathered in this city in February last, on the proposition of the State of Virginia, to seek a pacific solution of the difficulties which disturbed the nation, I find on foot the same obstacle to the completion of an arrangement; and, thanks to the fact that the persons gathered in this assemblage were animated, apparently, by a more sincere desire of reconciliation, and that there were no representatives there from the States which, up to that time, claimed to have reassumed their sovereignty, which are precisely those which contain some citizens professing with most zeal propagandist ideas, an arrangement was arrived at which, by not acknowledging slavery in express terms, in the territory which might in future be acquired, did not receive in Congress the approval of the representatives of propagandism.

Passing from the discussion of the deliberative assemblies to that which some States of the south at present consider the supreme law of the land, it appears that paragraph 3d, of section 3d, of article 4th of the Constitution, adopted on the 11th March last by the congress assembled at Montgomery, and ratified by various States of the Union, authorizes "the Confederate States of America" to acquire new territory; providing expressly, that "in all that territory (that acquired in future) the institution of negro slavery as it now exists in the Confederate States shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial governments."

The tone of the speeches which distinguished citizens of some of the southern States have delivered, as well in the halls of the Senate as in other places, and with different motives, the spirit of the publications by the press in the same States, and a multitude of other indications and demonstrations of great weight, which it would be prolix to refer to, manifest, in a manner which admits not the slightest doubt, that this combination of persons has a settled plan, well matured, thought over, and reckoned upon for a long time back, to acquire sooner or later, according as its possibility permits, all or a part of the territory of Mexico, for the purpose of introducing and developing therein what the said combination call "its especial civilization," the base and foundation of which is the institution of slavery, if faith is to be given to what was said by a distinguished citizen of Georgia, who might consider himself authorized to speak in the name of the combination, in a speech which he delivered at the city of Savannah on the 31st March last.

You will consider, sir, how great has been the interest with which the government of Mexico has followed the course of the political events which have developed themselves in this country, and how great its regret on perceiving the rise and progress of a danger which threatens to disturb its tranquillity and to strike at its very existence as an independent nation.

Mexico does not desire to exchange its nationality for any other, however flattering might be the advantages which might result from such change. It has the elements necessary for a sovereign power. It conquered through the blood of its children its desired independence, and will maintain it to the last extremity against any invader who may attempt to take it from her. Whatever may have been the intestine difficulties which may have taken place up to this time, and have contributed to restrain its material progress, it has the consciousness of the important character it is to represent in future among the family of nations. It holds an absolute faith in its future, and believes that so soon as the beneficent shadow of peace and of democratic institutions may develop its immense resources, and the fabulous wealth which its soil contains, it will occupy in the world the important part to which it is called by nature.

Mexico will never consent that any human being shall be reduced to slavery within its territory. It is a free country, in which no man is born a slave; and in treading upon which, liberty returns to those who may before have had the misfortune to lose it. Its constitution forbids that any treaty be made in which the extradition of slaves is stipulated.

It has entered into treaty with Great Britain that it will contribute to the abolition of the slave trade, and that it will not allow of slavery in its territories; and these provisions of its fundamental laws, and of its international engagements, have an indestructible sanction in the hearts of all Mexicans.

The government of Mexico, which understands and estimates at its value the respect for the laws professed by the citizens of the United States, and the good faith and sound principles which guide the policy of their existing government, is very far from regarding the United States as authors and responsible for projects, in every view unlawful and unjust, which (although strenuous efforts have been made to bring proselytes to) as yet amount to only a small minority. But as such plans have been formed in this country, and as their authors are now, by force of late political events, in the way to attain the needful resources to take means to carry them into execution, the government of Mexico holds it to be its duty to denounce such projects to that of the United States, and, for the purpose of securing on a solid and stable basis friendly relations between the two countries, has authorized me to express to you the good disposition which it has to form a treaty which shall guarantee the boundaries of the Mexican republic as now agreed upon to be marked out and recognized, and which shall prevent the introduction and spreading of slavery in Mexican territory.

In the opinion of the Mexican government, a treaty concluded upon the preceding bases would not be less favorable to the true interests of the United States than to those of Mexico. If the United States should succeed in establishing an insurmountable barrier which would remove all hope of extending slavery to the south of the Union, it will have attained a very important step in the definitive settlement of the question which has caused so many complications and difficulties to the country, and which now threatens to whelm it in a lamentable civil war; whilst in exchange for this advantage, it would only guarantee, in a manner more express, engagements already contracted with Mexico in the treaty of limits of 2d February, 1848, and of 30th December, 1853.

I have also instructions to state to you, sir, that in this or any other arrangement which may be made between the government of the United States and that of Mexico, it must be an indispensable condition that they are not to make participants thereto, in any way, the nations of Europe.

The government of Mexico considers that whatever inherence might be conceded to European powers in such conventions might be converted into a motive or pretext for the intervention of that continent in the affairs of the republic in particular, or of America in general, and desires, on its part, to avoid the possibility of such a thing happening, because it entertains the conviction that the intervention of Europe on this continent would be fatal to the preservation and development of democratic institutions, on which are founded the hopes of the progress and social welfare of humanity.

This opportunity is satisfactory to me to repeat to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

WASHINGTON, *May* 7, 1861.

SIR: I have received your communication of the 4th instant.

It would be unprofitable for this government to discuss with you the objects, purposes, and plans of that portion of the citizens of the United States who are engaged in the attempt to subvert the Constitution and effect a dissolution of the Union, even though it should be believed that beyond those designs, so injurious to our own country, they contemplate also aggressions against Mexico. At the same time I am free to say that it is an occasion of sincere satisfaction to learn that the government of Mexico is apprised of its own exposure to danger from the success of the revolution, and is resolved to avert it.

It should suffice for me to say that any designs of the insurgents here against your country cannot be carried into effect if their designs, aimed at the government of the United States, shall be effectually prevented. This government needs no additional incentive to perform its duty. It is taking all the care necessary to repress the revolution, and it has no doubt of its success.

The President receives with much pleasure the overtures of the government of Mexico for negotiating a new and beneficial treaty with the United States, and under other circumstances it would have given him pleasure to have considered them at large. But, as you are aware, Mr. Corwin has been appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to represent this government at Mexico. He has very liberal instructions and ample power to negotiate a treaty which shall be equal and just and even liberal towards Mexico. Indeed, it is the desire of this government to establish such relations with Mexico, and with other American republics, as will strengthen the power of each, and enable them all to maintain a just and wholesome independence of the influences which come from the other hemisphere. You will be satisfied from this brief statement that Mr. Corwin will be able to give full consideration to the generous wishes of the government of Mexico. It is probable that he has already entered into the discussion of the questions which the negotiation involves. He will immediately receive from this government instructions to meet with favor the enlightened views of the government of Mexico as you have communicated them to this department. Under these circumstances it would be inexpedient for us to engage in labors of the same kind and directed to the same end.

I shall, however, with great pleasure direct that this correspondence, together with your previous communication of the 30th April, 1861, in relation to the Indians of Yucatan, be forwarded to Mr. Corwin, and call his attention to the interesting subjects you have so fully and so ably discussed.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 7, 1861.

SIR: The government of the United States contemplates the concentration of a body of troops from its Pacific possessions in the Territory of Arizona. This purpose can be most expeditiously accomplished if the government of Mexico will consent to their being landed at Guaymas, and marched by the most direct route to their destination. In this exigency I have the honor to request you to submit to the friendly consideration of the Mexican government the desire I have expressed, with a view to obtain the necessary permission; and I presume that in submitting the proposition there is scarcely any need that it should be accompanied with the assurance that in making the transit over Mexican territory the strictest regard shall be paid to the rights and authority of the government, and the persons, property, and interests of the citizens of the republic.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, May 8, 1861.

MR. SECRETARY: I have had the honor to receive the note which you were pleased to address to me under date of yesterday, informing me that the government of the United States desires to concentrate in the Territory of Arizona a body of troops from its possessions on the Pacific by causing them to pass across the Mexican territory, and requesting me to submit that desire to the consideration of the government of Mexico with the view of its granting the necessary permission to enable said troops to disembark at the port of Guaymas, and thence proceed by the most direct route to their destination. In reply, I have the honor to inform you that I have already transmitted your note to my government in which that request is solicited, and that so soon as I shall have received the decision of the President of Mexico I shall hasten to communicate it to you.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, August 26, 1861.

MR. SECRETARY: Referring to my note of the 8th of May last, I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a communication which I have just received from the department of foreign relations of Mexico, to which is annexed the permission granted by the sovereign congress of the republic on the 20th of June last to the troops of the United States to pass across the Mexican territory of Guaymas to Arizona, in the terms in which you requested it in the note you were pleased to address to this legation under date of the 7th of May, referred to. I hope, sir, that the government of the United States will see in the grant of this permission a fresh proof of the sincere desire which animates that of Mexico to draw closer the relations of friendship which happily exist between the two countries.

I gladly profit by this opportunity to repeat to you, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

[Translation.]

No. 27.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC,
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR AND FOREIGN RELATIONS,
National Palace, Mexico, June 22, 1861.

As the consequence of your note relative to the permission that government asks from the government of this republic for the passage of American troops through its territory, I send you the annexed copy, containing the sovereign assent which has been given in the matter, in order that you may transmit it to the Department of State of the United States, and on the occasion I repeat to you the assurances of my consideration.

LUCAS DE PALACIO Y MAGAROLA.

The CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES *of the Republic at Washington.*

WASHINGTON, *August* 26, 1861.

True copy: ROMERO.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNION.

The sovereign congress to which we made report of your note of the thirty-first last past, relative to the permission sought by the government at Washington for the passage of federal troops from Guyamas to Arizona, has pleased, at its secret session yesterday, to approve the following proposition:

First. The executive shall have power to grant the permission which the government of the United States has asked, to disembark at this time, at the port of Guaymas, a body of troops, under the assurance it has proffered that they shall march, by the most direct route, to the Territory of Arizona, and that in their transit they will observe the strictest regard for the rights and authority of the government of Mexico, and for the persons, property, and interests of the citizens of the republic.

Second. The executive will issue suitable instructions to the government of the State of Sonora, and to the federal functionaries therein, that at the disembarcation and on the passage of that body of troops no hindrance be in their way.

We send this to you for your information, and consequent effects, and as the result of the note referred to, to which we respond.

God and liberty.

MEXICO, *June* 21, 1861.

G. VALLE.
E. ROBLES.

To the CHIEF CLERK *in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs.*

MEXICO, *June* 22, 1861.

True copy: JUAN DE DIOS ARIAS, *Chief Clerk.*

WASHINGTON, *August* 26, 1861.

True copy: ROMERO.

Mr. F. W. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 27, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday, communicating a copy of a despatch just received from the Mexican government, transmitting to you the assent of the sovereign congress of the republic to the application of this government for permission to pass troops of the United States across the Mexican territory of Guaymas to Arizona, under certain pledges of security and non-interference with the persons or property of the territory to be traversed.

I beg you to convey to your government assurances of the high appreciation entertained by this government of the liberal, prompt, and magnanimous response which Mexico has made to the United States in this emergency. We are profoundly sensible that such a policy could be adopted only under the most exalted confidence in the integrity and good faith of this government, which will endeavor by every means so to exercise the privilege conceded, that neither the authorities nor people of Mexico will have cause to regret the marked courtesy they have extended to a friendly power.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

F. W. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward.

[Extracts.]

No. 2.] MEXICO, *June* 29, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, with the papers referred to in them.

* * * * * * * *

Congress has within the last week granted us the privilege of marching troops from Guaymas, through Sonora, to our possessions in Arizona. A leading member of congress has kindly furnished me with a memorandum of what occurred when this question was up and acted on in secret session, a copy of which—with the decree—I send you, marked D. This memorandum discloses the grounds upon which this concession was made, and the prevailing tone of public feeling here towards us at this time.

* * * * * * * *

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS CORWIN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

EXHIBIT D.

Memorandum of proceedings in the Mexican congress with reference to the permission for transit of United States troops from Guaymas to Arizona, asked for by the Department of State, through the chargé d'affaires of Mexico in Washington.

The note from the chargé d'affaires of Mexico in Washington, accompanying a copy of the note from the Department of State, in which permission was asked to land a body of United States troops at Guaymas and march them by the most direct road to the Territory of Arizona, was communicated to congress by the minister of foreign relations for the action of congress thereon.

On the reception of these notes by congress they were passed to the committee on foreign affairs.

This committee reported unanimously in favor of conceding the permission referred to in the terms asked for by the Secretary of State of the United States.

On the presentation of the report application was ordered to be made to the minister of foreign affairs that he state to congress what was the opinion of the executive in the premises. This was stated to be favorable to the permission solicited.

Several members then spoke upon the subject of the concession, setting forth that this permission which they were disposed to concede, although innocent in itself, might be taken by the States of the south as an offence, or used as a pretext to open hostilities against Mexico for the purpose of acquiring a part of her territory for the extension of slavery, and that the subject should therefore be treated as one of importance, but that they were, under all the circumstances, in favor of placing themselves on the side of the north.

One of the prominent deputies entered largely into a history of the causes which have produced the present struggle between the north and the south, and stated that from the knowledge he had of the tendencies and projects of the leading men of the south, he believed it inevitable, if the south separated from the north, that Mexico would find herself under the necessity of sustaining a war with the States of the confederation, and that while slavery existed there, no security could be felt that the territory of Mexico would not be invaded, either by means of open war or of fillibuster expeditions.

That in view of these circumstances it was clearly for the interest of Mexico to draw more closely its relations with the north by means of friendly acts and by a commercial treaty that would favor the interests of both countries, and even to celebrate a political treaty that would result in guaranteeing to Mexico in an absolute manner the integrity of her territory, or at least guarantee her against the introduction of slavery. These views were well received by the congress, and the permission for the transit of the United States troops through Mexican territory was approved without opposition being offered by a single one of the members.

MEXICO, *June* 21, 1861.

EXHIBIT E.

[Translation.]

Confidential.] NATIONAL PALACE, *Mexico, June* 27, 1861.

MR. MINISTER: For the due information of your excellency I have the honor to enclose herewith the decree issued by the sovereign congress on the 21st instant, in which the executive is authorized to permit the transit of the troops of the United States across the territory of the Mexican republic.

By the steamer which will next sail the said decree will be communicated to the legation of Mexico in Washington, in order that it may be made known to that government.

While so informing you, it gives me great pleasure to repeat to you that,

I am your very obedient servant,

LUCAS DE PALACIO Y MAGAROLA.

His Excellency THOMAS CORWIN, *&c.*

No. 2.

CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN MEXICO, 1864, 1865, and 1866.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	July 9, 1864.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	July 15, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	July 12, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	July 15, 1864.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	July 27, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	July 16, 1864.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	July 27, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Aug. 20, 1864.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Aug. 23, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Sept. 9, 1864.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Sept. 19, 1864.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Jan. 12, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Jan. 18, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Feb. 6, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Feb. 25, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Feb. 17, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 15, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with five enclosures)	Mar. 28, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 1, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Mar. 31, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with eleven enclosures)	April 7, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 2, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with one enclosure)	May 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	June 12, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures)	June 25, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with seven enclosures)	June 28, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	July 21, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	July 23, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Aug. 7, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 5, 1865.
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero	July 26, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter	July 28, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Aug. 12, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Sept. 11, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Oct. 2, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Feb. 6, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with thirteen enclosures)	Oct. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Nov. 20, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 29, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Nov. 30, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Dec. 7, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Dec. 15, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with seventeen enclosures)	Dec. 24, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Feb. 12, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Feb. 20, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Feb. 20, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Feb. 14, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures)	Feb. 21, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Feb. 22, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with twenty-nine enclosures)	Feb. 26, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)............ Feb. 27, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward............................... Mar. 9, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero............................... Mar. 14, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)............ Mar. 12, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero............................... Mar. 17, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)........... Mar. 13, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero............................... Mar. 17, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, July 9, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: At the interview with which, on my return from Mexico, you had the kindness to favor me on the 20th of November of the last year, you were pleased to communicate to me, while referring to what had occurred in relation to Mexico near this government during my absence from the United States, that ex-General D. José Domingo Cortes had presented himself at your department, calling himself the representative of the Mexican States of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango, and the territory of Lower California, and had solicited the annexation of those States to the United States. As was my duty, I communicated such intelligence without loss of time to the Mexican government, and fearing that through the irregularity of the communications my correspondence containing it might miscarry, and desirous that those immediately interested should at once have notice of the steps which were taken in their name, I made the same communication directly to the governors of those States of which Cortes called himself the representative.

For reasons which I cannot understand, I have not yet received the instructions which I expected from my government on this important business, but I am sure that they can only come of the import which I had the honor to express to you at the interview referred to—that is, denying absolutely that Cortes represents, in whole or in part, the said States, and showing that the States themselves have no right, with reference to the constitution, to enter upon agreements of any kind with any foreign government, and that none are further than the people of the States mentioned (in view of the repeated proofs they have given of the purest patriotism through this period of trial) from desiring to annex themselves to any foreign country.

There have come to my hands, however, answers to my respective communications from the governors of the States of Chihuahua and Sinaloa, which corroborate in everything what I have verbally stated to the department. I was intending to transmit them to you, in conformity with the recommendations contained in them, when I should receive the instructions on this subject that I am awaiting from the federal government of Mexico; but having learned this morning that D. José Domingo Cortes has returned to the United States and is now in Washington, and has addressed your department in writing, I think it my duty, with the reservation of returning to occupy myself with this incident when I receive the instructions referred to, to transmit to you a copy of the communications which are in this legation from the governors of Chihuahua and Sinaloa, and which show that Cortes is not in any manner authorized to speak in the name of those States, nor of any other in the Mexican republic, because they cannot be represented abroad except through the agents of the federal government of Mexico; that he is not known in the States whose representation he attempts to assume, and that the proposals he has allowed himself to make to this government are formally and solemnly rebuked and repelled by the legitimately constituted authorities thereof.

The confidence I have in the justice and sound judgment of the government of the United States induces me to address this communication to it, rather to enlighten its opinion than for any other purpose. If I had the least suspicion that Cortes would be received in this city as the duly authorized agent of any fraction of the Mexican republic, and that his proposals, whatever they are, might be taken into consideration, I should think it my duty to protest formally and without delay against such procedure and the arrangements Cortes might make.

I avail of this occasion to repeat to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF CHIHUAHUA,
Chihuahua, January 11, 1864.

Your note, dated 20th November last past, which I have received to-day, and the copy you send me of what you addressed to the department of foreign relations and government, of same date, at the city of San Luis Potosi, have informed me of the unpatriotic steps taken with the minister for foreign affairs of that republic, Mr. Seward, by one D. José Domingo Cortes, about the annexation to the United States of this State and those of the Pacific coast, in order to free them from French intervention.

I at once approve the assurances you made to Secretary Seward, denying so calumnious an imputation, and repudiating it as unworthy of any good Mexican; and I assure you the government in my charge, and can also aver that the others in question, are very far from entertaining such wretched views, because, although it is sure they will as far as possible resist French intervention, it is no less sure that they pant for and will at all hazards secure the nationality of Mexico, and its existing institutions; being able to assure you, in fine, that not only is all news wanting here about the mission and character which the said D. José Domingo Cortes has attributed to himself, but that the existence even of such an individual is unknown, whose condign punishment you demand with so much justice from the supreme government of the nation, to which on the first opportunity I shall render an account of this incident, and of this present reply, in case the communication from your legation may have gone astray. It is gratifying to me to add to the previous explanations, and in reply to your note, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

God, liberty, reform!

LUIS TERRAZAS.

Citizen M. ROMERO,
In charge of the Mexican Legation to the
United States of America, Washington.

WASHINGTON, *July* 9, 1864.

A true copy: In absence of the secretary,
FERNANDO DE LA CUESTA,
Officer of the Legation.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF SINALOA,
AND MILITARY COMMANDANCY, MAZATLAN, *January* 24, 1864.

In La Libertad, official journal of Durango, of the 8th instant, I saw published the note which your legation addresses to the governor of that State, and the reply to it, both papers relating to the false mission upon which the Spaniard D. José Domingo Cortes presented himself to the Secretary of State of that republic, Mr. Seward, making proposals to annex to the North American confederation the States of Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango, this and the territory of Lower California. The adventurer D. José Domingo Cortes never has been a governor in this country, nor made representative of the States which he has been calumniating to the cabinet of the United States of the north, by describing them as discontented with the constitutional rule which governs them, and so false and faithless in the actual struggle with the invasion as to wish to throw themselves into the arms of a neighboring nation, rather than seek safety in battle, as they have done in sending their contingents of blood to the interior, and preparing with men and *materiel* of war at their disposal to resist the French and traitors on their own territory, where, as yet, they have not gained in favor of intervention the vote of a single settlement, unless such as has been forced from them by the compulsion of brute violence. I fill my duty as representative of the State of Sinaloa by pointing out in this note, for the information of the government of the United States and confusion of the intriguer Cortes, the falsehood and calumny he used in his conference with Mr. Seward, in proposing to him, in the name of the States mentioned, annexation to that country. I send copy of this note to the supreme government of the nation for its proper application, and beg you to make it public, and to accept the assurance of esteem and consideration with which I subscribe myself your obedient servant.

Liberty and reform!

F. GARCIA MORALES.

P. HERREL, *Secretary*.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Mexican Minister to the United States of America, Washington.

WASHINGTON, *July* 9, 1864.

A true copy: In absence of the secretary,
FERNANDO DE LA CUESTA,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 15, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 9th instant, with its accompaniment, relating to the movements of ex-General Don José Domingo Cortes, of Mexico, and to assure you that its information and suggestions will receive my careful attention.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, July 12, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of La Accion, No. 28, a paper published in the city of Saltillo, the capital of the State of Coahuila, under date of the 18th of June last, which contains an article written by Señor Zarco, a distinguished Mexican writer, in which he very clearly demonstrates the impossibility for the French agent in Mexico to comply with the pecuniary obligations he has contracted, even though should his acts be binding upon the Mexican nation.

I do not doubt that the data and remarks contained in said article will be viewed with interest by the government of the United States.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

[From La Accion, Saltillo, June 18, 1864—No. 28.]

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONARCHY IN MEXICO.

ARTICLE 1.—*The question of finance.*

From the rapid examination that we have made of the convention of Miramar, it appears that besides the humiliations, the dishonor, and the shameful pupilage which the inexperienced Austrian prince has taken upon his projected empire, he has imposed upon it a pecuniary burden of $126,580,000, which is required for the payment to France of the expenses of her piratical expedition, the hire of her soldiers in continuing the monarchical propaganda, the cost of the semi-monthly steamers which are to bring to the protecting army the orders of their government, and in making a small payment on account for the French reclamations, which are all admitted and recognized, and are to be paid.

The manner of revision adopted in the convention for these reclamations and certain antecedent circumstances give foundation to the belief that this last item is more expansive than any other, and that the archduke, whether from his ignorance of the facts or by reason of his profound gratitude to Bonaparte, has not ventured to offer even the slightest objection.

As reclamations have been the ostensible pretext of the war, and from them are to be satisfied the expectations of certain great personages about the court of the Tuilleries as well as enormous commissions, as has been seen in the private correspondence of Jecker, and as, since the time of the conferences of Orizaba, the French plenipotentiaries have constantly sought to state the amount of these reclamations only in round numbers and without any kind of examination, it is necessary to bear in mind that only on account of the Jecker affair fifteen millions of dollars are claimed, and twelve millions on account of other reclamations which have never been even presented to any government of the country.

In order that the world may judge of the morality of these exactions, and that his holiness Pope Pius I, who condemns usury, should not hesitate to pronounce his blessing upon all these affairs, it is well to recall that the fifteen millions of Jecker proceed from a loan of $750,000, and that the twelve millions of other reclamations arise from a debt of only some hundreds of thousands of dollars.

This addition of $27,000,000 will probably bear an interest of 6 per cent. per annum, and thus in a term of twelve years it will amount, with capital and interest, to $46,440,000, making the total amount of the compromises of the convention of Miramar reach the sum of $173,120,000.

Supposing this debt to France is only paid, according to one of the articles of the convention, the sense of which is not very clear, in annual payments of five millions of dollars, it will result that the new empire will have to send this tribute during a period of thirty-five years, from which will result an enormous addition in the payment of interest.

We will now proceed to examine another financial transaction of the archduke, that is, the contract for the loan. After designing it for fabulous sums, after Minister Fould had refused France as a surety for it, after the Emperor of Austria had declared he would take no part in the business, and, finally, after the English bond-holders had refused to enter into the combination, the famous loan was reduced to the issue of titles for forty millions of dollars, that had to be disposed of in the markets of Paris, Brussels, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, at 63 per cent. Let us suppose that speculators take all these titles, Maximilian loses, or, more properly speaking, causes the empire to lose 27 per cent. by this issue, or, what amounts to the same thing, he only receives $27,200,000, acknowledges a debt of forty millions, and loses at once, on the principal alone, $12,800,000. But as he has to pay an annual interest of 6 per cent. for these forty millions, the loss in twelve years will be $28,800,000.

The result of all this is, that the contract and loan give the new empire only $27,200,000, and in twelve years cost $227,500,000. The calculation is simple: a loss of $200,320,000. This is a magnificent first lesson in economy, order and foresight, given by the monarchy to the republic! Can a government thus beginning its existence keep up its credit to meet future obligations? It would be a phenomenon as new as it is incomprehensible. The empire, then, relies upon the sum of $27,200,000, hardly enough for the first year, to defray the expenses of its inauguration and future splendor; and after that, bankruptcy and poverty, as it is easy to demonstrate, and the gloomy conviction that Napoleon basely deceived the archduke when he told him that he was going to seat him on piles of gold and silver instead of on a throne. Allowing that all the bonds find purchasers in European markets, Maximilian's private debts of eight millions of francs will have to be deducted from the $27,200,000, as well as the farewell presents made in Austria, alms left for the vagrants in Trieste, costs of the journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and the $10,000 pin-money renounced by the archduchess when she left Vienna.

The total yield of this great loan, a great portion of which remains in France, amounts to—as we commonly say—*a pie in the dog's mouth.*

The first days of jollity and frolic, of invitations and triumphal arches, of feasts and flattery, being over, we must look at the serious side of empires, to the question of finance, and then the eyes of the astonished Dutchman will see such a vortex before him he will miss his secondary position as kinsman of the Emperor Francis.

Let us now endeavor to estimate, as nearly as possible with the most authentic data, the annual expenses of the Mexican empire.

As a debt of honor, a sacred debt of gratitude, the cost of the crown, we have, in the first place, the tribute to France, giving the mildest interpretation to the contract, $5,000,000; interest on the loan, $2,400,000.

The financial question must be connected with the diplomatic, and as it is known that you can collect from a power *de facto* by force, without acknowledging it as a legitimate government, or having any intercourse with it, as the Penaud and Dunlop contracts made in Vera Cruz between the constitutional government and England and France prove, whether the new empire is acknowledged or not, we shall see these claims urged by the English, Spanish, and American creditors. This shows an interest to be paid on the English debt of $4,200,000.

As it is impossible to pay at once the $600,000 that Marquez robbed from the British legation, and as this is one of the archduke's debts of honor, an annual instalment of 6 per cent. will have to be paid upon it, making $36,000.

Interest on the Spanish debt, $605,000.

By virtue of the Mon-Almonte treaty, binding upon the empire, which must close its eyes to all kinds of frauds, an additional sum must be paid of $400,000.

Interest on the North American debt, at 6 per cent.. estimating the principal at two millions, to say the least, $120,000.

The estimates of the empire, then, only for what may be termed international obligations, not including loss and damage claims by English, Spanish, Americans and Germans, will amount to, per year, $12,781,000.

Now, let us pass to the interior estimates. Keeping in mind the brilliancy of the throne necessary to lend charms and respectability to the empire, the great innovation of giving the clergy salaries, thus imposing the expense of public worship upon the treasury, and the difficulty of satisfying our priests for the loss of their titles, parish perquisites, mortgage rents, and the necessity of keeping a large army of Austrians or Mexicans, and the inexpediency of giving those soldiers less pay than the French, and remembering there can be no representative system till there is peace, we think this estimate not far from being correct, namely :

International obligations	$12,781,000
Interest on the home debt	1,200,000
The emperor's salary	1,500,000
Appropriation for the empress	100,000
Expenses of the imperial household	100,000
Worship and the clergy, at least	5,000,000
The army, 40,000 men, with the same pay as the French	8,000,000
The civil list, with pensions, rewards, annuities, secret service fund, &c., &c	8,000,000
A total annual expense of	36,681,000

Relying upon the synoptical table of Mr. Miguel Arroyo, who estimates the number of imperial partisans at five millions, in order to supply the budget it would be necessary to establish a system of imposts, where every inhabitant would have to pay on an average a tax of more than seven dollars apiece.

But while Maximilian, counselled by Corta, Budin and Schergenbecher, is perfecting this prodigious invention, the empire would have to suffer a deficit of $24,681,000 in the second year of its establishment, as the revenue could not be more than sixteen millions annually, considering the state of war and other serious obstacles.

We must bow humbly to this wonderful result, and admire the genius and skill of Napoleon III, the great politician of our age, and the wisdom acquired by an Austrian visiting the holy places and mosques, and the foresight of the reactionary party.

How is this deficiency, threatening to increase from year to year, to be supplied? That is the question! It is the death of the empire in its cradle. How are you to extract gold and silver from the mountains offered by the perfidious Napoleon to the innocent archduke, instead of a throne? French generosity is not to be depended upon, further than fulfilling its good intentions and hiring soldiers. The Austrian brother will not spend a florin after he has robbed his pretty sister-in-law of her pin-money. The pope's precious blessings may do well for eternal life, or help to make a passage through purgatory shorter, but nobody ever made a pot-pie out of them. The other powers will get their money, but no more, and loans will soon be shut out from governments born to bankruptcy. Outside of the empire they won't get a copper!

In the interior the disinterestedness of the opposition party and the clergy is not to be depended upon, because that party may be divided into two ranks: the hungry, who want to feed out of the public crib, and the avaricious, quick to receive and slow to give. There is no possible way to supply this deficiency, unless monarchical institutions can work a miracle and cause our fields to yield their crops monthly, make our cattle breed in geometrical progression, and increase the consumption of national and foreign produce one hundred fold.

They cannot now resort to the ingenious plan of selling a few of the border States, with the Juarists as chattels, because the United States do not desire an extension of territory, and the Confederate States cannot afford such luxuries; and France is not in a condition to accept Sonora or Tehuantepec in satisfaction of the Miramar contract.

But the mines remain, the mines of the whole country, the magnet of the expedition, the first cause of the intense interest Napoleon takes in Mexico, and the great argument of his ministers to justify his crimes before the legislative assembly. The archduke will have a bitter disappointment in this particular, if he expects to find the heaps of gold and silver with which his protector dazzled him through a distant perspective.

Mexico is, without doubt, the first mining country in the world, and much of its mineral wealth is yet to be explored; but if the imperial government undertakes these developments, it will require an enormous capital and a century of perfect peace. If it thinks more proper to profit by the mines already discovered and worked, it will have to establish a mining monopoly, and sell the mines. All that is necessary to effect this is, to seize the property of all the mining companies, composed mostly of English, Prussians, Americans and Spanish stockholders. This difficulty, it will be seen, is not very easy to overcome.

The reactionary economists may advise the Austrian to raise the taxes and create others, on doors and windows for instance, to establish the monopolies of tobacco, salt, ice, powder, spirits and cards, to negotiate the sale of crusade bulls from the pope; but the adoption of all these ways, in the present state of the country, would not raise two millions of dollars, when twenty-four millions are wanted to supply the deficit.

There is only one more miserable way left, and that is to impose high duties upon revived titles of nobility, and the grant of new ones, and on the grand crosses and little ones of the imperial order of Guadalupe. But this way, besides exposing the establishment of the monarchy to the jests of Barres, would not be very profitable, for the sale of titles of nobility never gave a great revenue to Spain, where the aristocracy has not become so contemptible as in Mexico.

The empire of the Austrian begins with a deficiency of twenty-four millions six hundred and eighty thousand dollars annually; therefore it is born weakly, sickly and paralytic. It cannot live without continuous loans, which are impossible; it needs the pity of all powers to keep it in hopes; and if it does not keep its engagements, but violates treaties, it is in danger of being superseded.

Such is the state of the question of finance in the new empire. Sad will be the archduke's waking when his frolic is over, and, looking for the promised piles of gold and silver, he only sees his poor wife's dressing table!

FRANCISCO ZARCO.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, July 15, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to your department, for the information of the government of the United States, copies in English and French of a protest which Don Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, agent of the Mexican government, made in the city of London, the 10th of June last past, against all the acts of French intervention in Mexico, and of the functionaries emanating therefrom, and principally against the loan which the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria decreed on the 10th of April previous, pretending by that act to commit the credit of the Mexican nation.

I avail of this opportunity to repeat to you the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

Protestation de M. Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, ancien secrétaire de la légation Mexicaine à Washington, actuellement agent du gouvernement constitutionnel en Europe, contre l'emprunt Mexicain décrété le 10 *Janvier dernier.*

Moi, Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, agent du gouvernement constitutionnel du Mexique, autorisé légitimement, et en vertu des diverses protestations faites par les pouvoirs législatif et exécutif de la nation contre tous les contrats et, en général, contre tous les actes l'intervention Française et des fonctionnaires qui en émanent, je proteste de nouveau que la nation Mexicaine et son gouvernement constitutionnel ne reconnaîtront et n'admettront en aucun temps les obligations qui seront contractées par des fonctionnaires autres que ceux qui tiennent leur autorité de la constitution.

Je proteste spécialement contre l'emprunt Mexicain décrété, le 10 Avril dernier, par l'Archiduc Ferdinand Maximilien d'Autriche, et tractée à la charge de la nation Mexicaine par des invidus, quels qu'ils soient, qui ne seraient point autorisés à le faire par le gouvernement constitutionnel, soit que ces obligations aient pour objet de créer une nouvelle dette nationale, ou d'augmenter le chiffre de celle qui existe déjà, ou simplement d'introduire des modifications à la dette Anglaise que le gouvernement considère somme sacrée, on bien encore à toute autre dette légalement reconnue: et bien que les protestations des pouvoirs suprêmes de la nation aient obtenu, en Europe, toute la publicité qui leur était due, je les renouvelle aujourd'hui, pour l'intérêt du public, et assurer, autant que possible, les droit de la nation Mexicaine.

LONDRES, 10 *Juin,* 1864.

J. ESCOBAR Y ARMENDARIZ.

Protest of Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, late secretary of the Mexican legation in Washington, and now agent of the constitutional government in Europe, against the last Mexican loan.

I, Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, agent of the constitutional government of Mexico, legally authorized, and in virtue of the divers protests made by the legislative and executive powers of the nation against all the contracts, and, in general, against all the acts of the French intervention, and of the functionaries emanating from it, protest anew that the Mexican nation and its constitutional government will never, at any time, recognize or admit the obligations which shall be contracted by any other functionaries than those who hold their authority from the constitution.

I protest especially against the Mexican loan which was decreed on the 10th of April last by the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, and against every species of obligation which shall be contracted at the charge of the Mexican nation by what person soever who shall not be authorized by the constitutional government, whether these obligations have for their object to create a fresh national debt or to augment the amount of that which already exists, or simply to introduce modification of the English debt, which the government considers sacred, or any other debt legally recognized; and although the protests of the supreme power of the nation have obtained, in Europe, all the publicity that was due to them, I now renew them in the interest of the public, and to affirm as much as possible the rights of the Mexican nation.

J. ESCOBAR Y ARMENDARIZ.

LONDON, *June* 10, 1864.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 27, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 15th instant, transmitting to me printed copies of a protest by Don Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, agent of the Mexican government, in the city of London on the 10th of June last, against the acts of the French intervention in Mexico, and of the functionaries emanating therefrom, and principally against the loan decreed on the 10th of April previous by the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON, *July* 16, 1864.

Mr. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to enclose to him a printed slip, taken from yesterday's New York Herald, containing the latest news from Mexico, about which he spoke to Mr. Seward in his interview with him this morning.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Correspondence of the New York Herald.]

CITY OF MEXICO, *June* 26, 1864.

The pressure of time, the abundance of matters to communicate, and my desire to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Spanish mail steamer to forward my last communication, prevented me from sending you any detailed account of the entrance of Prince Maximilian into the capital of his new empire. I now, however, have much pleasure in transmitting a detailed and consecutive narrative of his movements from the moment of his arrival on the borders of the chief city, and of the ceremonies and rejoicings which took place on the occasion. In order that your readers may fully comprehend the movements of the imperial party so as to form a candid conclusion from the facts presented, I will resume my narrative where I last left off, and follow on the footsteps of "his Majesty" from the moment of his arrival at Rio Frio to his advent at Guadalupe and the grand triumphal entry into the capital itself.

As soon as it became generally known in the city of Mexico that "the coming man" had changed the order of his entrance into the capital, the French military authorities, in connexion with the municipality, began to make extensive preparations for his escort and welcome. A strong guard of French and Mexican soldiers was at once ordered to Guadalupe to await the arrival of the imperial cortege, and to assist in doing the honors of the occasion. The most "notable" part of the citizens, who change their opinions as the chameleon changes the colors of his skin, were instantly thrown into a tremendous state of flurry and excitement. The corporation met without delay, and began to vote large sums of money for a grand public reception, without having a cent in their coffers, and being utterly indifferent as to where the money was to come from. Under the heat and political exhilaration of the moment, recklessness and stupidity became the order of the day. The wondering people, passive and obedient in everything as they have now become, looked on in wild amazement at the strange inspiration of their municipal representatives. Beyond this there was nothing for them to say or do. Indeed, for their lives they dared not. In pursuance of the monarchical programme, the ayuntamiento at once issued an address to the citizens, informing them that "their elected sovereigns" were near the gates of the capital, and soliciting them in the warmest terms to perfect their preparations for a brilliant reception of the Emperor and a general illumination of the whole city. It was also ordered by the same infallible authority—though the command was modified into the form of a peremptory "request"—that all stores, shops, and other places of business throughout the capital should be closed for three days immediately following the entrance of the Emperor, and that the proprietors, with their employés, should devote those days to public rejoicing and to a sincere welcome of "the new sovereigns." This "request," or rather order, was in every instance accompanied by the significant intimation that all persons not closing their houses in accordance with the decree would be subject to be mulcted in a sum ranging from twenty-five to one hundred dollars. It is hardly necessary to say that under such circumstances there was a general closing of all places of business throughout the city. Furthermore, every householder was required, under a heavy penalty, to decorate his windows and balconies with flags or curtains, or with both; and as a consequence all the residences along the line selected for the entrance of the Emperor and his friends were abundantly adorned with banners and devices of every kind. Occupants of houses were also threatened with municipal wrath, if not imperial castigation—swift, sudden, terrible—if they did not get up illuminations in honor of the Emperor and the "tender mother" of the Mexican nation. Fear operated like a charm, so that on the sight of the "triumphal entry" there was scarcely a house or shanty in any part of the city that did not show some kind of light. Of course the people had no choice whatever in the matter. Their masters for the time being had ordained a decree, and their only duty was to obey it to the letter. Public opinion and free will were altogether out of the question. Compulsion and force were the grand coercive elements of the moment, and, considering the rotten construction of Mexican ideas, it is not wonderful to me that they prevailed.

ARRIVAL OF MAXIMILIAN AT GUADALUPE.

On arriving at Rio Frio, a small hamlet occupied by coal-burners and notorious thieves, many of whom have been implicated in sanguinary murders in Mexico, the emperor decided on changing his programme and on entering the city by a different route from that originally proposed. This was to branch off from Rio Frio, and, instead of entering the capital through the gates on the south, to take a circumlocutory course which would include a visit to the far-famed Guadalupe by the way. This is a place well known to every one who has visited Mexico, numbered as it always has been among its greatest attractions. Here the Virgin is worshipped at a shrine that is among the most costly and splendid throughout the land; and it is not to be doubted that the empress, impelled by religious fervor, induced her royal husband to change his course so as to give her an opportunity of paying her devotions to the sacred shrine of the converted Indian. Maximilian, moved by very different motives, it is said, to wit, the veteran thieves of the district of Rio Frio, had no particular objection to the change of programme, and hence the movement towards Guadalupe.

It was about two o'clock on Saturday, the 11th of June, that the emperor, escorted by a large number of soldiers, and followed by a motley crowd of Indians, dressed in strange and uncouth garments, rode into the town amid the noise of artillery and the clashing of musical instruments. After leaving Rio Frio, he and the empress travelled on horseback for six miles, arriving at the hacienda of Zoquiapan at nightfall, while the rain was falling copiously. On the following day (the 11th) they again left for Ayutla and Guadalupe, and it was between these two towns that the Indians flocked to join the cavalcade, bearing banners made of palm leaves and calico, and covered with devices and inscriptions in the Mexican language. A number of floral arches were also erected along the road, and on one or two occasions children were sent out with bouquets of fresh flowers to be presented to the empress, who received them with great kindness and evident satisfaction. Deputations of citizens, male and female, left the city early in the morning to meet the imperial party, and, arriving at Guadalupe at about noon, added to the activity and brilliancy of the scene.

As soon as the cannons of the fort announced the appearance of the emperor, the political and municipal authorities went out to greet and welcome him. The archbishops of Mexico and Michoacan and the bishop of Oajaca awaited their majesties at some distance from the door of the church, and on their approach conducted them within its walls under a silken canopy. The church itself was decorated for the occasion in the most complete and expensive fashion, a throne having been erected for the sovereigns. The services of the day began by the intoning of the "Domino salvum fac Imperatorem" by Archbishop Labastida and the other prelates present. At the close of the religious exercises the emperor returned to the entrance and passed through to the cabildo. Here, in one of the largest saloons, the political prefect of Mexico, Señor Villar de Bocanega, made the following address to the emperor:

"Sire: At the foot of the portentous Cerro of Tepeyac, and divided only by a wall from the temple in which is venerated the protecting mother of the Mexicans, the Guadalupan virgin, the political prefect of the first department of the empire, the municipal prefect of the great city of Mexico, the ayuntamiento, the archbishop and other authorities, full of the most grateful pleasure, their hearts swelling with joy, present themselves before their beloved sovereigns to welcome them on their happy arrival at the gates of the city in which is erected the throne which the Mexicans have reared for them. Words fail me to express at once our gratitude for abandoning another throne, riches, country, parents, brothers, and friends; and having compassion for our misfortunes, your Majesties have deigned to come and try to make us happy, and to save us from the evils which were leading us to disappear from the catalogue of nations. By information and writing your Majesties have heard of the will of the people, and now you personally see that you have not been deceived, but that from the shores of Vera Cruz to the gates of the city all acclaim their sovereigns, their enthusiasm having no limits. The Mexicans will continue to do so; and sire, I protest, in the name of the department under my charge, that we will obey and assist the monarch whom we have chosen."

The emperor's reply was brief and to the point. He said:

"Profoundly moved by the enthusiastic reception which I have from all the towns and cities in my progress, my emotion and my gratitude acquire new intensity on finding myself at the gates of the capital, to see its principal authorities assembled to congratulate me in a place so respected and so dear to me and the empress, as it is to all Mexicans. I thank you for your felicitations and salute you with the warmth of one who loves you and who has identified his fate with yours."

At the close of this short speech, which the emperor evidently spoke with great earnestness, there were some faint symptoms of applause, and the eyes of the empress became moistened with tears. There were many distinguished persons present on the occasion, among whom were General Bazaine, Baron Neigre, General Almonte, the Minister Velasquez de Leon, the Marquis Montholon, the archbishops and bishops, the ladies of honor and other members of the imperial household. The emperor was very affable with every one, and by his directions all who desired access to him, male or female, were at once admitted.

The triumphal entry into the capital took place at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 12th day of June. Such a brilliant sight has seldom been seen in Mexico as the appearance of the city on this occasion. The streets selected for the imperial transit were decorated in the most profuse and dazzling styles of beauty and splendor. Every building, public or private, was closed and hung with flags and banners, mingled with festoons of flowers. The streets and public places were lined with soldiers, French for the most part. Balconies and windows commanding a view of the line of march brought fabulous prices. Churches and church-towers were gaudily decorated, while the bells of the cathedral and other edifices kept up a continual clangor. The palace and public buildings in the square were sumptuously ornamented, and portraits of the emperor and empress appeared at many of the windows. To give a full idea of the various decorations of the streets would occupy much more space than is necessary. But it must be confessed that it was a brilliant and successful affair, so far as the mere display of taste was concerned, though it was not accompanied by the genuine enthusiasm of a free people.

The arrival of the emperor was made known by salvos of artillery from in front of the Portales, and as he rode along in an open carriage, with the empress at his side, the ladies from the balconies and *azoteas* showered down rose-leaves and gold and silver leaves upon them in great profusion. Frequently the streets were so crowded with people that the whole cortege had to stop, and then the emperor would bow all around to the people in the streets, on the balconies, and on the housetops. There was, however, no cheering or *vivas*, though the women in many cases waved their handkerchiefs and small flags, both French and Mexican. The emperor rode along the Calle San Francisco to Calle Potrero, and thence direct to the cathedral, where the bishops were prepared to conduct him to the throne there erected for him. The crowds gathered about the square and the palace at this time were very large, but there was not the slightest manifestation of excitement. The enthusiasm, if it can be so called, was confined exclusively to the French residents and their friends, and the numerous employés of the government; but it is a fact that, beyond a natural curiosity, the people proper did not seem to care anything about the advent of the emperor. On the contrary, many of the Mexicans were most anxious to impress upon foreigners present in Mexico the difference between the reception of Gonzalez Ortega and that of Maximilian.

In the imperial palace the emperor received all his friends and adherents after mass, and presented the most conspicuous among them to the empress. On several he conferred the order of Guadalupe, among others General Mejia, who has given in his adhesion to the empire. Then banqueting and feasting began, and continued for the rest of the day, save during the hours when the emperor went out for an evening ride in the Alameda or groves at the end of the city. In another letter on my impressions of Mexico I will necessarily have to refer to these things again, and will then be more full in my details. For the present I have other matters of importance to communicate, and must therefore draw this description to a close.

The illumination of the capital in the evening was about the most brilliant and substantially successful part of the whole demonstration. As darkness fell upon the city, the dwellings on the principal streets were at once transformed into palaces of light and beauty. Brilliancy of color and effect prevailed everywhere. The great square or plaza in front of the palace was decorated and illuminated in excellent style, while the centre of the enclosure was reserved for the display of fireworks to come off at night. The palace itself, as well as the Monte Pio, Portales, Museum, and other public and private edifices in the vicinity, blazed with lights of every order of form, color, and brilliancy. The cathedral, with its old towers flashing out hundreds of lights, was the most attractive of all. From its portals, around its corridors, and to the highest pinnacle of its great belfry, innumerable lamps were suspended, the united effect of so many lights on so great an eminence being more than ordinarily beautiful. The windows of the towers, too, were all thrown wide open and illuminated, as were the bells within, which were kept continually revolving and thundering out their rough notes of acclamation.

At eight o'clock the gathering in the square consisted of many thousands of people, the vast majority of whom were of the lowest strata of Mexican society, leperos, thieves, pickpockets, and others. I observed, as a curious feature of this public rejoicing, that there were large numbers of French soldiers thrown in among the crowd, who appeared, for the most part, to be a jolly set of fellows. Nevertheless they were all armed, and they disposed themselves in such a way among the crowd as to lead one to suppose that they were there on business more than on pleasure. Wherever I went among that vast crowd—and a quieter assemblage I have never seen, notwithstanding the extremely impoverished condition and suspicious character of the people—I invariably found knots of armed French soldiers, prepared for any revolutionary emergency that might possibly have arisen. In addition to this there were strong guards of Mexican troops posted inside of the plaza, and around and about the gates of the palace, so that it would have been utterly impossible for any assassin, however insane and desperate, to reach the imperial breast with his deadly knife. As a finishing stroke, and to give the rejoicings a piquancy and variety not generally observed in other countries on festive occasions, an additional guard of Frenchmen, armed with double-barrelled guns instead of the usual rifle, came on the ground at about nine o'clock, and were distributed by their officers in positions of the greatest advantage. This was making security doubly secure with a vengeance; but I must confess that such proceedings naturally threw a gloom over what was originally intended to be a regular people's festival, and this, perhaps, more than anything else, was the reason why there was nothing like joy or hilarity exhibited on the part of the immense crowds assembled through mere curiosity and the desire of witnessing a grand display of fireworks.

The main street, which traverses the city from the square to the Alameda, was the scene of much activity, beauty and attraction. All the houses along its whole length were draped with white and colored curtains, and from the windows, balconies and *azoteas* floated innumerable national flags, banners, and ensigns. Here and there, at regular distances, gigantic triumphal arches were erected, and, though not all entirely complete or perfect, adorned with a multitude of green boughs, odorous blossoms and fresh flowers, gathered in the extensive gardens around the city. Exquisite bouquets and garlands, skilfully worked in every style of native art, were suspended around the columns, tributes of ingenuity and of loyalty of the Indian peasants, who had gathered the fragrant roses in the bosom of the tranquil mountains. Beneath the gleaming multi-colored light of thousands of lanterns, all these designs and architectural triumphs were seen to great advantage. The principal decorations and illuminations in the Calle de Potrero and the Calle de San Francisco, the one being a continuation of the other, were those of the German club, the Hotel de Iturbide, and the residences of Messrs. Barron and Escandon, wealthy residents of Mexico. The German decorations were got up with all the taste and elegance for which this people are so famous in all parts of the world. Many of their congratulatory inscriptions were written in the language of "Vaderland," and must, therefore, have been particularly pleasing to the emperor. Mr. Escandon's house was ornamented by two splendid oil paintings of Maximilian and Charlotte, very good likenesses indeed, the productions of a Mexican priest; but the whole arrangement was sadly blotched by the wretched manner in which the house was illuminated. The residence of Mr. Barron, on the other hand, was artistically illuminated. In the centre were two paintings, more than ten feet high, the one representing Maximilian seated on his throne, attended by figures of Peace and Plenty, and handing to Almonte a scroll of the constitution. In the perspective Napoleon the Third was seen pointing to the valley of Mexico, or something intended to represent it, where a couple of very large oxen were seen ploughing, and a railroad extending in circuitous lines until it was lost in the clouds. The other painting was a representation of the empress surrounded by the ladies of the court. The scene along the street, from seven to ten at night, was more like the realization of some fairy dream than of anything else one could suppose. I had heard a great deal of the skill of the Mexicans in preparing illuminations and pyrotechnic displays; but the brilliancy of the reality surprised me still more.

The inscriptions were as numerous as they were varied, in Spanish prose and poetry. Some of the latter were wretched doggerel, which will not bear reproduction, much less translation. It is sufficient to say that they were all highly characteristic of Mexican bombast and treacherous adulation. That the priests were the authors of many of them was made evident from the fact that the question of religion was worked into them with ostentatious frequency. Maximilian and Charlotte were apostrophized not only as the saviours of temporal Mexico, but as the safeguard of religion for the whole habitable globe; Mexico, of course, being the regenerated fountain whence streams of pure faith and morals are henceforth to flow in perennial vigor and translucency. As a set-off to these bigoted ideas, I subjoin a few of the inscriptions of the Indians in the Mexican language, which it will not be out of place to preserve among the historical records of the accession of Maximilian to the throne of Montezuma and Iturbide, premising that the Indian language is liquid and full of sweetness when spoken by those who are properly instructed in its variations and inflections.

Over one of the triumphal arches near the railway terminus was this inscription:

"Ye huecouh Azteca, ye palli in Ti huei, Maximiliano mitzmo chislitica."

The ancient throne of the Aztecs awaits thee, O Maximilian!

"In huell nelli macehualmecayo amo qui pie tlein mitzmo huentilliz, in Tihuei Tiatoani, oa san ittatocatopil in to huei Moteuczoma."

The pure Indian race has nothing else to offer thee, O great prince, save the sceptre of Montezuma.

"Ximo yolchicauhitzimocan Mexicaye ca nilie tlanextli qui tetocatiuh im cehnallo in que quetzuma."

Take heart, Mexicans! the true light now pursues the darkness of hatred.

"Mexicave, equizayampa tonatich ohualla Itlaiximatilliz in to testlanahuatilliz. Nican oquinec tlacatz itolocaliz. Aub axcan ximo papaquillican, ca zano ic ompa iquizayan in tonatiuh huitz enema potlalliz. Ma ticto teetican ihueca. Tiachielitzin Dros."

Mexicans! From the east came the knowledge of the evangelical law; here they sought to persecute it. But let us be glad now that from the same east comes its defence. Let us adore God.

"Xihualmo huica, in Ti tlaughilli ihuan ximo chiuhtzino tito Zeoyatica Napaloliz in to Zecuio Jesucristo."

Come, O worthy prince, and be our firm sustainer in the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The procession of Indians was a most picturesque, although somewhat strange exhibition. In front went bands of music playing on reeds and drums, while fast at their heels came numbers of children, dressed up in the most brilliant garments of feathers and spangles, scattering rose leaves and decimos along the way. Then came a number of triumphal cars, with girls and boys dressed to represent peace, plenty, &c., strewing the line of march with roses and green leaves. Some of the "big injuns" had evidently been around early in the morning, for they did not keep step very steadily to the music of the band. This music was simply a succession of the same sounds, slightly varied in their arrangement, producing a monotonous but not disagreeable effect. They accompanied the emperor all the way to the Cathedral, where he entered to hear mass, and during the rest of the day and night remained in the city, going heavily into pulque and other liquors, and wishing in their hearts that they could have a new emperor every once a week, for the sake of the good things they would be sure to get.

The enemies of the intervention, whose name is legion, made several attempts to cut down two or three of the triumphal arches, and nearly succeeded in one case. There were also rumors of a design to assassinate Maximilian; but I could trace them to no source, and the guards and soldiers were too vigilant even if they were true. Everything connected with the reception passed off quietly, without any outbreak or opposition on the one hand, or enthusiasm or excitement on the other. The emperor and empress seemed much better pleased with the reception given them in the capital than with the cold and frigid welcome which awaited them on their arrival at Vera Cruz. But of this more anon. Let us now take a glance at the other side of the question, and see what the constitutional President and forces of the republic are about.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM THE STATES OF JUAREZ.

I have, at considerable difficulty, succeeded in obtaining some highly important news from the States which have strongly adhered to the cause of the national and constitutional independence, known as the States of President Juarez, in contradistinction to the small fractions of the republic at present occupied by the French invaders It is very interesting, in connexion with the great feasts which have preceded and followed the inauguration of the empire, so-called, to take a glance at the actual condition of the difficulties by which the new sovereign is beset, and the moral and physical forces with which he has to contend, and which he must succeed in overcoming before he can even dream of founding a sure and certain dynasty in Mexico. I have, of course, chronicled all the grandeur and brilliancy of the compulsory feasts and festivals intended by the friends of Maximilian to do him honor; but it does not follow by any means that these demonstrations were or are the spontaneous expression of the sentiments of the Mexican people. On the contrary, I have already stated in a former part of this letter that the people had no choice in the matter. They were in almost every instance compelled, by the force of circumstances and of superior power, to make a show of loyalty and "enthusiasm," which, I am fully aware, was felt by but few of them. In order to judge of the real condition of things as they now exist in Mexico, I found it absolutely necessary to find out how the two opposing parties were situated in regard to each other, and in relation to the forces at their command, for the definitive resolving of the question at issue between them. This is, I need scarcely say, the preservation at all hazards of the free, independent, and constitutional republic on the one hand; and, on the other, of the usurpations of European despots, crowned by the founding of an empire, with a foreign prince, on the ruins of a people's liberty. I therefore took such steps as I thought necessary to attain the desired information, and on application to sources of the most complete reliability I obtained facilities to give you some details, which, as I think, are of considerable importance at the present juncture.

I will, first of all, proceed to give you some idea of the territories of the republic, as they are now occupied by the forces of France and of the constitutional President, with a computation, as nearly as it can be obtained, of the armed forces at the command of either power, the points of territory occupied by them, and all other facts relating to the military part of the question.

The only States that are, up to the present time, actually under French domination, or occupied in all points by the soldiers and emissaries of the emperor of the French, are Mexico and Yucatan, to which have been added or annexed the old State of Campeachy and the territory of Carmen, the only section of the country in which there has been anything like a spontaneous *pronunciamiento* in favor of "the intervention." It will be remembered that some months ago some of the Indians of Campeachy, led on by a few merchants and shopkeepers, on whom they were altogether dependent for employment and support, declared themselves in favor of the French and of the projected emperor. Soon after a small force was sent to occupy the place, and since then its allegiance has been transferred to the "Empire of Mexico."

The following States are partly occupied by the French forces in the manner and to the extent hereafter mentioned:

Vera Cruz.—Of this State, which is a very important one, as being that in which the chief seaport is situated, the only portions occupied are the town and port of Vera Cruz, the city of Cordova, Orizaba, Jalapa, Alvarado, and Soledad, the two latter places being of no importance whatever. Besides these points, there are over twenty towns in the State—towns of wealth and commercial importance—not occupied at all by the French, without counting those of minor importance. The constitutional or liberal forces are one thousand men in Tlacollalpam, under the command of General A. Garcia; six hundred men in Tlacolulan, where the government of the State is at present situated, under the command of Generals Parra and Alatorre, and five hundred in Zacapuassla, under Colonel J. Francisco.

Puebla.—The city of Puebla and capital of this State is the only point occupied by the French. Of course it is the most important, but there are some fifty other towns and cities from which it will be still necessary to dislodge the liberals before the empire can be established. The constitutional forces in this State are as follows: The government is situated in Buachinango, and is supported by Generals Benavides, Carvajal, and Cuellar, and Colonel Tellez, each of whom has a force under his command; but the numbers cannot be definitely determined. The whole of the forces united, however, will not be less than from twenty-five hundred to three thousand men; a pretty respectable army of guerillas.

Mexico.—This State is entirely under the power of French bayonets, aided by some bands of unprincipled Mexicans under Mejia and other leaders.

Michoacan.—Morelia, the capital of this State, and the towns along the road to Mexico, are now in the occupancy of French forces. In the rest of the State there are constitutional forces, the headquarters of the liberal army being at Pastcuaro, which is the seat of the State government. Here there are a thousand men, under Colonel Riva Palacios, grandson of the hero of Mexican independence, and one of the firmest supporters of the republic. In times past he was also President.

Guanajuato—The capital of this State, of the same name as the State itself, is occupied by the French, as well as the city of Leon. All the rest of the State, whose population is a most important one, is submitted to constitutional government. The governor not long since removed the capital to Celaya, where he has, with a few troops in other points, some twelve hundred men, under the command of Rincon Gallardo, who is taking measures for the defence of the place.

San Luis Potosi.—The capital of San Luis is the only point held by the invader. The governor resides in the Valle de Maiz. The governor and commander-in-chief of the forces here concentrated is General Insures, who has at his disposal five thousand well-disciplined soldiers of the national army, and not State troops.

Tamaulipas.—The port of Tampico is all that the French hold of this State. General Cortinas, the governor and commander-in-chief, resides at Matamoras, where he commands two thousand men, scattered throughout the whole State.

Jalisco.—The French occupy Guadalajara, the capital. The governor, Don Pedro Ogazon, resides at Sayula. The vanguard of the constitutional army is situated in this State, and consists of ten thousand men of the national army, under the command of General Lopez Uraga. This general is reported to have made his submission to Maximilian, but there is no truth whatever in the rumor.

Zacatecas.—The capital, Zacatecas, and a place called Tresvillas, are occupied by the French. The governor, Gonzales Ortega, is the commander of the forces, and resides at Sombrerete. The force at his command is not a very large, though a compact and disciplined one.

Toluca.—The capital of the State, Toluca, is in the possession of the French. The whole State is of very small importance; but the liberals have many guerillas in the mountains.

The States which are entirely under the constitutional order of things are Nuevo Leon, capital Monterey, and residence of the governor, and up to within a very short time the seat of the national government, which has been removed to Saltillo, capital of Coahuila; Chihuahua, Sonora, Sinaloa, Oajaca, Chiapas, Guerrero, Durango, Tabasco, Baja California, and the territories of Colima and Tehuantepec.

The ports of Acapulco and Mazatlan, in the State of Guerrero, it is reported, have been occupied by the French in small force.

The army of Juarez has its centre in divers parts of the State of Jalisco, the headquarters being at Sanyula, under Uraga. In the capital of Oajaca there are nine thousand men, under Porfirio Diaz. The army of reserves is in New Leon, with its headquarters at Monterey, consisting of five thousand men, under Doblado. The French, however, say that Doblado is about to desert the cause of Juarez to take up his residence in the United States, as he will not serve Maximilian; and since his engagement with and repulse by the troops of Mejia at Matehuala, he is not inclined to fight any more. All these French rumors must, however, be taken with a little salt, and digested accordingly.

MAXIMILIAN PROPOSES A CONFERENCE.

I learn, from sources entitled to the highest credit, that immediately on the arrival of Prince Maximilian at Vera Cruz, and before he landed on the soil of Mexico at all, he despatched a special messenger with a letter to President Juarez, inviting him to come to Mexico, whither he was going himself, and there to discuss with him a plan by which the new empire might be securely established without more bloodshed, and a durable peace given to the country. This was done so privately that no one knew anything about it except the parties immediately concerned; for it was not known what kind of answer Juarez would be likely to give, and the emperor did not feel like informing the public of a rebuff. I have endeavored by all means to obtain this interesting communication, with the reply, but without avail. I have, however, succeeded in getting a synopsis of President Juarez's reply, which you can read and consider for yourself:

THE POSITION OF PRESIDENT JUAREZ.

RESPECTED SIR: You have privately addressed me a letter, dated the 2d instant, on board the frigate Novara, and, in my character of a polite and respectable person, the obligation is imposed on me of replying to it, although hastily, and without anything like meditation, because you must already suppose that the delicate and important charge of president of the republic absorbs all my time, without cessation; not even at night. French filibusterism is seeking to endanger and overthrow our nationality, and I, who by my principles and my oaths am the one called to sustain the national integrity, its sovereignty and its independence, have to labor actively, multiplying my efforts to respond to the sacred trusts which the nation, in the exercise of its sovereign faculties, has imposed upon me. Nevertheless, I propose, however briefly, to reply to the most important points contained in your letter.

You tell me that, "abandoning the succession of a throne in Europe, abandoning your family, your friends, your property, and the dearest thing to a man—your country—you and your wife, Donna Carlota, have come to distant and unknown lands only in obedience to the spontaneous call of a nation which fixes in you the happiness of its future." I certainly admire in one sense all your generosity; but on the other my surprise has been truly great in finding in your letter the phrase "spontaneous call," for I had seen before that when the traitors of my country presented themselves, on their own authority, at Miramar, to offer you the crown of Mexico with a few acts of nine or ten towns of the nation, you did not perceive in it anything but a ridiculous farce, unworthy to be seriously considered by an honest and decent man. In reply to such an absurdity, you demanded a free expression of the national will as the result of universal suffrage. This was to demand an impossibility; but it was the proper duty of an honorable man to do so. How great, then, must be my wonder to see you coming to the Mexican territory, without any of the conditions demanded having been fulfilled? How must I not wonder at seeing you now accepting the same farce of the traitors, adopting their language, decorating and taking into your service bandits like Marquez and Herran, and surrounding your person with this dangerous class of Mexican society. Frankly speaking, I have been greatly deceived, for I believed and hoped that you were one of those pure organizations which ambition could not succeed in corrupting.

You cordially invite me to go to Mexico, a city whither you yourself are about to proceed, to the end that we may there have a conference in conjunction with other Mexican chiefs who are now in arms, promising us all the forces necessary for our escort in the transit, and pledging as security and guarantee your public faith, your word and your honor. It is impossible for me, sir, to accede to this call; my official occupations will not admit of it. But if, in the exercise of my public functions, I could accept such an invitation, the public faith, the word and honor of an agent of Napoleon the perjured, would not be sufficient—of a man whose safety reposes in the hands of Mexican traitors; and of the man who at this moment represents the cause of one of the parties who signed the treaty of Soledad. We know too well in America the worth of that public faith, that word and honor, just as the French people know how much the oaths and promises of a Napoleon are worth.

You say also that from the conference which we might have (in case of my acceptance) you do not doubt that peace will result, and with it the felicity of the Mexican nation, and that in the future the empire, placing me in a post of distinguished honor, would count upon my talents and the aid of my patriotism, for the general good. It is certain, sir, that the history of our own times records the names of great traitors, who have betrayed their oaths, their word and their promises, who have been false to their own party and principles, and even to their antecedents and all that is most sacred to the man of honor; true also that in all these cases of treason the traitor has been guided by the vile ambition of command and the miserable desire of satisfying his own passions, and even his own vices; but he who is at present charged with the trust of president of the republic, emerging as he has from the obscure masses of the people, will succumb, if in the wisdom of Providence he must succumb, fulfilling his own to the last, corresponding to the hope of the nation over which he presides, and satisfying the inspirations of his own conscience.

The want of time compels me to conclude, and I will add but one observation. It is given to man sometimes to attack the rights of others, to seize their property, to threaten the lives of those who dare defend their nationality, to make the highest virtues appear like crimes, and their own vices to shine with the lustre of true virtue. But there is one thing that is beyond the reach of the false and perverse, and that is, the tremendous sentence of history; it will judge us.

I am, &c., &c.,

BENITO JUAREZ.

There is a degree of calmness and dignity pervading this extract which contrasts strangely with the terse and sanguinary reply of Porfirio Diaz to the imperial message sent to him:

EXTRACT FROM PORFIRIO DIAZ'S DECREE.

HEADQUARTERS, STATE OF OAJACA, *June* 27, 1864.

* * * * * * * *

When the French convention in 1793 condemned Louis the XVI to be beheaded, they desired by such a measure to concentrate and unite their own forces and power, and to throw down a defiance of death to the cause of the past, and proving to Europe that they had full confidence in their means of defence. * * * In the actual circumstances in which the Mexican republic is placed, measures of equal sternness and decision are imperiously necessary in the attitude which ought to be assumed by those who govern. And for these reasons, without any one pretending to see in them an act of barbarism or a cruel and inhumane deed, but simply a determination in consonance with the political exigencies of the moment, this general command disposes that ———, an emissary of the pretended emperor of the Mexicans, be put to death within the space of twenty-four hours.

Communicate this order for its prompt execution, &c.

PORFIRIO DIAZ,
General-in-Chief.

I am happy to say that the execution did not take place as ordered, through the earnest supplications of many distinguished persons, including several members of the general's own family. The unfortunate emissary was, however, securely imprisoned, and passed through the primary terrors of death, as he momentarily expected to be led out to the Plaza de Armas for execution. On his release he made speedy tracks for the empire, where he will doubtless give a rather lugubrious account of his reception at the republican headquarters. This is a fair sample of the bitterness of parties in Mexico at the present time.

[Havana correspondence.]

HAVANA, *July* 9, 1864.

By the English packet from Vera Cruz, which arrived on the 6th instant, we have dates from that port to the 2d instant, and from the city of Mexico to the 27th ultimo. The news is unimportant.

The Sociedad says that General Uraga, with his whole army, has given in his adhesion to the Emperor Maximilian. The Estafette, however, equally Maximilianic, denies the statement.

General Doblado is stated (on the 21st ultimo) to have disbanded his army, or rather the remains of it, at Potosi, and to be on his way to confer with the parvenu emperor, elected by the people and not by the grace of God, &c.

Elsewhere we are told that Doblado is at Matamoras about to embark for the United States.

Balls are announced and described in glowing colors all over the land.

The stages have ceased running from Toluca and Morelia on account of the Juarist forces who prevent them.

The Spanish consul at Oajaca was murdered, May 20, by one Manuel Mejia. He has been captured, sentenced, and will be executed by the Juarist authorities.

General Douai returns to France. He has been relieved by General Neigre.

Don Francisco Mora has been appointed to go to Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg to announce the safe arrival at Mexico of Maximilian.

Don Gregoria Barandiaran has gone on a similar mission to Italy, to reside at Turin.

Both gentlemen left Vera Cruz per the English steamer of the 2d instant.

From St. Domingo we receive no news; nothing but sick officers and soldiers.

The Hewitt House at Matanzas, so long and favorably known to American visitors, was consumed by fire on the morning of the 3d inst. The insurance on the building was $15,000, and on the furniture $12,000, all in England. No lives were lost.

Sickness here continues rather on the increase than otherwise.

The heat of the weather is almost insupportable, although we have had considerable rain.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 27, 1864.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to Señor Romero, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 16th instant, enclosing a printed slip from the New York Herald of the 15th instant, containing the latest news from Mexico, and for which Mr. Romero will be pleased to accept his thanks.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 20th of August, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you for your information a copy of a printed sheet, published in English, in the city of Monterey, the present capital of the Mexican republic, under the title of "The Foreign Question," which contains a trustworthy narrative of the political events which have taken place in that republic during the month of May last.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

"THE FOREIGN QUESTION."

The French government, having at last divested itself of the apparent apathy with which it had viewed the Danish question, appears with the character of champion of a system of nationalities, by virtue of which, declaring void the treaties which guarantee the rights of the present King of Denmark, it pretends, in order to decide the future fate of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, to appeal to the popular vote of their inhabitants.

Considering the substance of the affair, we shall not combat the principles adopted, because it is, and always has been, our opinion that the will of a sovereign people constitutes, in fact, the only pure source of the legitimacy of its government; but we find it very strange that this should now be the programme of the French Emperor in reference to the subjects of King Christian, whilst in Mexico he inaugurates a policy diametrically opposed to it, imposing upon the country institutions which it detests, and, in truth, supporting them with French bayonets. Although it has also been maintained that the intervention in Mexico leads necessarily to uphold the expression of the popular will, counteracted by an oppressive minority, no impartial person will ever believe that there is liberty in the omission of the suffrage under the pressure of foreign troops. Whatever may be the system definitely adopted in the affairs of Denmark, the parties interested in avoiding at all hazards European complications have agreed upon holding in London a diplomatic conference, in which the basis of a final settlement will be discussed.

Perhaps the very wish that peace shall not be disturbed in Europe will arrest the growing animosity between the Austrians and Italians, which impels both to make formidable preparations, as if hostilities were about to commence. The language of prominent persons, on both sides, is already characterized by much bitterness, and everything indicates that not much time will elapse before they pass from words to deeds. The influence of the grand reception given in England to the celebrated revolutionist, Garibaldi, strengthens this probability. Not only the people, but the aristocracy, and even the government itself, have taken pains in giving him unequivocal proofs of marked regard and attention. Considering these demonstrations on a larger scale, they are a most eloquent testimony of the preponderance that democratic principles—of which the Italian liberator is one of the most illustrious representatives—are acquiring even in nations submitted to monarchical *régime* and aristocratic institutions.

But setting aside the pending questions, which only touch us from afar, we should now occupy ourselves with the importance of an event in which we are deeply interested, that of the final acceptance of Maximilian of the crown of Mexico, and the first act with which he has inaugurated his advent to power. Indeed, the acceptance of the throne at Miramar is already an established fact. Before reaching this result, however, there were no small difficulties to be overcome, on account of which the day previously appointed for this ceremony was postponed.

The discord between the two Austrian brothers assumed considerable proportions, owing to the interest manifested by the Emperor that the archduke should relinquish his right of succession, and the resistance which the latter opposed to such pretensions. Even the parents of Francis Joseph and Maximilian intervened in the dispute, with the object of obtaining a satisfactory settlement, but their efforts were in vain, and they left Vienna after a conference in which nothing was agreed upon.

Things reached a point at which it was already considered as certain that the notables would be left without their monarch, when Napoleon, knowing that this difference would overthrow his projects, sent General Frossard with letters to both disputants, the one addressed to his *protégé* being urgent and severe, with the peremptory notification that if he did not settle the pending difficulty another prince would occupy the throne of Mexico. In such a grave conflict Maximilian was compelled to accept the proposition which was most favorable to him, with the object, no doubt, of not seeing realized in his own person the fable of the dog and the two loaves.

In view of his decision, they proceeded to its official acceptance, the ceremonies being performed at 10 o'clock a. m. on the 10th of April. The deputation of the notables, composed of Gutierrez Estrada, Velazquez de Leon, Aguilar, Woll, Escandon, and Landa, and accompanied by Arrangoiz, Murphy, Facio, and a few other traitors, were conducted to the palace of Miramar in four coaches of the archduke and introduced into the great saloon of reception.

Gutierrez Estrada pronounced a discourse, in which he repeated the notorious lie that the vote of the notables was ratified by an immense majority of the people of Mexico. Maximilian answered in Spanish—a language in which he must have already made some progress—that the confirmation referred to by Gutierrez Estrada appeared from the record of proceedings presented to him.

We do not know whether the Austrian has any idea of the manner in which those fallacious manifestations of the national will were fabricated, or whether he has been grossly deceived, as in all probability he has, in reference to the importance of such documents, in which case chagrin and deception will award him a sad fate.

The archduke referring immediately after to what he called the establishment upon a firm basis of the independence and welfare of the country, declared this secured, thanks to the French Emperor. From these unintelligible words we cannot ascertain if an allusion was made to any guarantee in relation to Napoleon's assurance not to interfere with the acts of the Mexican emperor. If so, the convention to which we shall soon allude is a flagrant contradiction of such a promise. When the archduke stated that the august chief of his family had also consented to his taking possession of the throne offered him, he avoided to mention the difficulties which became necessary to be removed in order to secure that result, and the condition upon which it had been obtained.

In the discourse we are now analyzing there is a paragraph which calls our serious attention to the terms in which it is announced: "I accept the constitutional power which the nation, whose organ you are, confers upon me, and, at all events, I shall only use it to create permanent order and to establish wise and liberal institutions in Mexico." These words can be interpreted in different ways, but the most natural, in our opinion, is that the new emperor is to issue by himself a constitution which will be *octroyée*, as famous as that issued by Louis XVIII of France, without the vote of the nation having any voice in the formation of the institutions which their presumed author, with remarkable modesty, calls *wise* and *liberal*. To this consideration is to be added that the monarchy is not to remain under the protection of the constitutional laws until the country is completely pacified. If until then the generous Maximilian preserves for us the productions of his wisdom, he will have time enough to study carefully all the constitutions in the world—that is, if he is willing to lose time in a study which will do him no good, since the dictatorship is to be his system of government during the ephemeral existence of his kingdom.

The Austrian did not forget to announce his intention of visiting Rome to receive from the hands of the holy father the blessings which are so precious to all the sovereigns. We suppose that the blessed monarch will at the same time endeavor to establish the basis of a concordat to settle the ecclesiastical questions in Mexico, although we do not doubt that the state will be subject to the church in an empire which has all the appearance of being theocratic.

The advent of Maximilian to the throne of Mexico being announced with the salvos of artillery, hurrahs, and acclamations, Gutierrez Estrada pronounced another discourse teeming with flattery, and adding that the Mexicans who were present had to perform the last duty of placing their love, their gratitude, and the homage of their fidelity at the feet of their emperor.

What occurred up to this point in the ceremonies is provocative more of ridicule than of anger, but the following act was so indignant and humiliating that, instead of exciting our laughter, it calls for our contempt. The president of the deputation of notables bent his knee and kissed the hand of the new sovereign, as a sign of homage, which example was followed by all the Mexicans present. Such baseness, we consider, tarnishes the dignity of freemen, and is totally repulsive to our habits, our education, and our principles To-day, more than ever, we are proud of being republicans, because republicans only bend their knees before God.

On the same day, April 10, were appointed Velazquez de Leon minister of state and Woll chief of the military house of the emperor. That evening there was a great banquet, at which Maximilian appeared with the insignias of the orders of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the national of Mexico. We do not know what the last order is; it is created, perhaps, for the new Emperor.

On the 12th other appointments were made to reward the traitors who had labored most for the monarchy and Maximilian. Velazquez de Leon remained as minister of the royal house; Woll, elevated to a count, was appointed chief aid and private secretary of the emperor, and Arrongois, Aguilar, and Hidalgo ambassadors to Brussels, Rome, and France.

To establish relations for the present between France and Mexico a convention was on that memorable day (10th) signed between the two imperial governments, Mr. Charles Herbert and Don Joaquin Velazquez de Leon acting as ministers plenipotentiaries. The treaty contains such niceties as suffice to give an idea of the disgraceful and dishonorable terms on which the new kingdom is established. In spite of the repeated song that they counted an immense majority of the Mexican people in favor of the monarchy and monarch elect, it was stipulated, as a point absolutely necessary to preserve the interests that led to intervention, that the provisional number of the French troops in Mexico should be reduced, as soon as possible, to a force of 20,000 men, including the foreign legion.

As soon as the national forces are organized the foreign troops are to be withdrawn, although the legion of this name, composed of 8,000 soldiers, is to remain here six years after the withdrawal of the French. If the above-mentioned stipulations are consummated, it will show that for the time being there will be in Mexico 40,000 soldiers, in which number is at present included the expeditionary army, exclusive of the men employed in the navy.

The reduction to 20,000 men is to take place immediately, and the withdrawal of the remainder of the French army will not be attended with much delay, leaving only the foreign legion, which will be disbanded at the end of six years. All these are but mere "castles in the air," built upon the pacification of the country, and, besides being contradictory, because they take for granted that pacification, and afterwards admit that it cannot be but slow and gradual, and are really false in *either* case, because peace in Mexico cannot be consummated but with the triumph of independence and republican institutions.

The so-called Mexican emperor has suffered the humiliation of *consenting* that in all places not garrisoned exclusively by Mexican troops the military power shall devolve upon the French commander. This rule will also obtain in combined expeditions of French troops and Mexican traitors. It was not even agreed in these stipulations that preference should be given to officers of the same rank, but the fullest and most general terms were used. The sad spectacle which we have already witnessed, that the Mexican generals, notwithstanding their rank, are subordinate to French officers of inferior rank, will be repeated at every step. The smallest officer of Napoleon III will command the presumed marshals of Maximilian. Such a condition is not strange when the emperor of Mexico has agreed to hold himself subject to the orders of the commander-in-chief of the French troops, with whom he is "to have an understanding" as to the designation of the places to be occupied by the foreign troops, as well as the military expeditions to be undertaken. The words "to have an understanding" have been used simply to save appearances, it being very *clear* that in reality it is the French general who is to govern everything, without any other law than that of his omnipotent master. It is also provided in the TREATY that the naval stations kept by France at the Antilles and on the Pacific ocean will frequently send ships-of-war to the ports of Mexico to show the French flag. If we start from the false principle that Mexico is already pacified, we do not know to what that useless ostentation would lead; if, on the contrary, it is borne in mind that the struggle for national independence is to be prosecuted, then the periodical apparition of the French flag in the Mexican ports will be ridiculous and impotent, since it is not tantamount to the blockade which at present exists.

In reference to the indemnities of French subjects for damages suffered without just cause, which have been the original pretext for the expedition, it has been agreed to establish in Mexico a mixed commission, composed of three Frenchmen and three Mexicans, appointed by their respective governments, to examine and settle these claims, and another revising commission, composed of two French men and two Mexicans, appointed in the same manner, to reside in Paris, which shall proceed to a final liquidation of the claims approved by the first commission, and shall decide upon those submitted to their judgment. As it is already seen, the commission to reside in Paris is in reality to do everything under the immediate and irresistible influence of the Emperor of the French, thus constituted the sole arbiter of the claims of subjects against the poor Mexican nation.

The other stipulations of the agreement at Miramar are in relation to pecuniary affairs. Here, consequently, the terrible question of numbers presents itself, in which it is easy to show how enormous on one side are the damages inflicted on Mexico, and on the other the absurdity of combinations the realization of which is impossible. The first expense imposed on Mexico is 400,000 francs for every round trip of transports plying semi-monthly between France and Vera Cruz as long as the exigencies of the French army shall require it. The fact that the service of the transports is semi-monthly indicates that the expense is doubled every month—that is to say, 800,000 francs; but as this point is not sufficiently clear, we shall take for our basis of calculation the smaller sum.

The expenses of the French expedition payable by the imperial government of Mexico are estimated at 270,000,000 francs up to the 1st of July of the present year. This sum will draw an interest of three per cent. per annum.

From the same date Mexico shall pay all the expenses of the army of traitors, and for every French soldier the sum of 1,000 francs annually as indemnity for the salary and subsistence of the expeditionary corps. Should the loan be obtained, 66,000,000 francs are to be paid to the French government, and 54,000,000 francs to be applied to the account of 270,000,000 above mentioned, and 12,000,000 for payment of indemnities to French subjects for the damages that may be awarded them. The treasury of the Mexican empire shall annually pay France the sum of 25,000,000 francs in specie, which sum shall be applied to expenses of transportation and salary of the expeditionary corps, to the payment of interest and the funding of the debt of 270,000,000, and to the above-mentioned indemnities of French subjects.

These preliminaries being laid down, let us examine the conclusions to which they lead.

The iniquitous French intervention brings to Mexico out of the incalculable damages occasioned by the war the following burdens: that of a new debt of 270,000,000 francs, with three per cent. interest; that of an unnecessary monthly expense of 400,000 francs, or perhaps double that amount, for the service of transports; the expense from the 1st of July next of 1,000 francs annually for every French soldier—a disbursement the amount of which cannot now be estimated, the basis of calculation being uncertain, but which will undoubtedly amount to an exorbitant sum; and that of the payment of the capital and interest for indemnities which evidently have been put down at very exaggerated figures, because they are to be determined by interested parties. The total of all these items will make an amount which will suffice by itself to prove the expedition most detestable and onerous.

In case the loan is made the damage will be great, and without profit to anybody. Supposing that the loan shall amount to the 200,000,000 francs estimated as necessary, they will be immediately reduced to 126,000,000 in specie, on the basis of the 63 per cent. payment. From the 126,000,000 are to be deducted 54,000,000 to be applied to the debt of 270,000,000, and the 12,000.000 for indemnity to French subjects, which will leave a balance only of 60,000,000. Taking from this the 8,000,000 with which Maximilian is to pay his debts, there will be left 52,000,000 francs, or what is the same, $10,400,000. Such an insignificant sum will be spent in a short time, and Mexico will have a new and insupportable burden of $40,000,000, with an interest of six per cent. per annum.

We do not know how the 25,000,000 francs in specie which are to be paid annually will suffice for all the applications that will be made upon them. In the event that the expeditionary corps shall not be less than 40,000 men, the present number, it would exhaust 40,000,000 francs at the rate of 1,000 francs per soldier. Thus it will be seen that 25,000,000 francs would not cover even the first appropriation. Taking for granted that the expeditionary corps will be reduced to 20,000 men as soon as possible, that expense would then be 20,000,000 francs, to which adding 4,800,000 francs for transports, would only leave a balance of 200,000 francs for the payment of interest and funding of the capital of the 270,000,000 francs, or, rather, the 216,000,000 francs to which it would be reduced, after paying 54,000,000 francs of the new loan, and for the payment also of the indemnities to French subjects. The only way to apply anything additional to these last items, even on a small scale, would be the complete withdrawal of the expeditionary forces; but if such an event facilitates the payment on the one hand, it renders on the other the collection of the resources very difficult.

It is important to state here, however briefly, the enormous sum that will be required for the expenses of the Mexican empire. For this estimate it will be necessary to divide the expenses into two parts, the one definite and the other uncertain and contingent.

The interest at 3 per cent. on 270,000,000 francs, or $54,000,000..	$1, 620, 000
The expense of transports..................................	960, 000
The interest on the debt contracted in London, to which is added the unpaid interest..	2, 020, 165
The interest on the English convention......................	125, 250
The interest on the Spanish convention.......................	126, 164
Total..	4, 851, 579

Supposing, now, that the new loan is obtained, and that it produces 200,000,000 francs, or $40,000,000, then the account will stand thus:

Interest on 216,000 000 francs, to which sum the 270,000,000 francs will be reduced, after paying 54,000,000 at the rate of 3 per cent	$1, 296, 000
Interest at 6 per cent. on 40,000,000 francs of the new loan	2, 400, 000
Expense of transports	960, 000
Interest on the debt contracted in London, to which is added the unpaid interest	2, 020, 165
Interest of the English convention	125, 250
Interest of the Spanish convention	126, 164
Total	6, 927, 579

The foregoing calculations refer only to debts already liquidated. Those to be liquidated offer the following calculation:

The expenses incurred by the expeditionary troops will amount to some millions, more or less, according to their number, at from 40,000,000 francs (if the presumed present force of 40,000 men is not reduced) to 8,000,000 francs if the foreign legion alone remains. These being disbanded, the strong and extraordinary exhibition we have made will disappear; but it is to us evidently impossible that such a case may arise, there being no doubt that the empire of Maximilian will fall as soon as the foreign support is withdrawn. It is therefore natural to cajole Spain, and to follow a policy diametrically opposed to that of the liberal government respecting the mon-Almonte treaty. The immediate consequence of this conclusion will be the recognition of the Spanish convention, rejected as fraudulent, thus increasing the foreign debt with the capital they represent, and with the interest already due and maturing.

Inasmuch as the loan will bear an interest of six per cent. per annum, it follows conclusively that the same rate of interest will have to be paid on the Mexican debt due the subjects of other powers. In all the international treaties made by Mexico the other party to the treaty has in every clause obtained favorable advantages over this nation. From yielding this principle emanates the necessity of the obligation under which we make concessions to every country with which we have treated, and a favor granted to one is claimed by all. The interest on the new loan being established at six per cent., an equal amount will be required for the 216,000,000 francs of the government of Napoleon; for the debt contracted in London; for the English and Spanish conventions, and for the indemnities of French subjects. The sum total of this will reach an exorbitant amount.

The home debt of Mexico is at present divided into two classes: the consolidated debt is composed of claims approved by the convention decreed by the law of November 30, 1850; the floating debt comprises the claims after that date. The consolidated debt has an interest of three per cent. per annum, in which there would not be any alteration, because Mexicans are the least favored in Mexico; but the government which has declared its intention to establish order and secure personal rights should at least pay the interest stipulated. There is no reason that the floating debt should not draw interest by virtue of a new consolidation, and at all events the value of both debts will be one of the national burdens.

The simple consideration of the figures, the annual expenses of the order of things to be established, will astonish the financiers of the Mexican empire. The first items have already been mentioned, to wit: the payment of the enormous interest of the debt without any subsequent deduction, the funding of the capital being impossible; the payment of the expenses of the transports as long as the service exists; the payment of the expeditionary forces at 1,000 francs annually for each man for the time that the foreign forces remain in the country. To these sums, then, shall be added the enormous expense of the public administration in all its branches, with all the extravagances and superfluities that the court brings with it, and with the consequent increase of the states turned into provinces, in which all payments are made by the general treasury, as a result of the centralization belonging to the monarchical system. The military list, a cancer for many years to the nation, will expend larger sums than those which have been paid heretofore, because it could not be otherwise, on the war-footing which the imperial army will be for many years in the event that it should exist; nor, even under the impossible supposition that the country was pacified, could that army be reduced to the smaller proportion of a republic, when, on the contrary, the natural tendencies of imperialism would prevail.

The civil list would also acquire large proportions with the appointment of high dignitaries and the creation of pensions for various services.

The expenses alluded to in the foregoing paragraphs being by their own nature continued, there is no possibility of subjecting them now to an exact arithmetical calculation, but their simple enunciation suffices to prove that the annual expenses of the Mexican empire will amount to a considerable number of millions, which can well, and without exaggeration, be estimated at from 38,000,000 to 40,000,000 francs. It shows the most complete ignorance of the resources of the country, even in times of peace, to suppose that in the midst of war it can furnish what is necessary, not only to raise the amount above mentioned, but to meet even the most urgent exigencies of the situation. The emperor Maximilian, who comes—as ignorant of statistics as he is of political questions—to the nation which he has determined to rule, undertaking an adventure unworthy of a sensible prince, will learn, to his own sorrow, that only cares, labors, and sufferings await him in the social position to which he has been dragged by a most contemptible vanity.

By the examination which we have made of the unforgotten treaty of Miramar, we are fully satisfied that the stipulations are impossible to be realized, according to our appreciation of the policy which has blinded each of the contracting parties. One is guilty of perfidy, and the other of imbecility. We have the most profound conviction that Napoleon, having gone beyond his wishes in an enterprise which he has confessed to have undertaken without knowing where he would stop, sought a plausible pretext, at least in appearances, to retrace without dishonor the steps he had taken in his frenzy. Fortunately he has found a short-sighted prince who, without knowing the position in which he is to be placed, has consented to be his "scapegoat." To inaugurate his kingdom he has sacrificed the dignity of the country he comes to rule, and accepted conditions which cannot be realized sufficient to demonstrate his administrative capacity. From such considerations it arises that we, independent and republican Mexicans, should rejoice, as in fact we do, at combinations which cannot but be favorable to us. The establishing a monarchy in a country like this brings with it the most complete ridicule, and the creation of a nobility composed of the most vile and miserable people is provocative of laughter. The absolute want of elements for the exotic government which is imposed upon us by force will be day by day more evident, even in the most insignificant acts and ceremonies. The acceptation of Maximilian will shorten the stay of the French troops in Mexico, which would possibly have been prolonged in the event that Napoleon could not have found some one to accept an empire which is described as pacified, rich, and in full blast of prosperity, when, on the contrary, it is more disturbed than ever, poorer than at any other time, and more embarrassed than the deluded Austrian could suspect. Considering the immense expense that will be incurred after the 1st of July next on his account, the depleted state of his treasury will be sufficient to throw his kingdom into complete ridicule without the necessity of republican bayonets.

On the 14th of April the new emperor embarked at Trieste to go to Rome to receive the blessing of the holy father, as he said in his address. At Rome he visited the Pope, the ex-King of Naples, Cardinal Antonelli, and other distinguished personages representing ideas of retrogression of which the Hapsburg house has always been the symbol. On the 20th Maximilian left for Civita Vecchia, and consequently must have arrived at Vera Cruz about the end of this month.

By a decree issued at Miramar on the 10th of April he appointed the traitor Almonte his deputy in the government of the empire until his arrival on Mexican soil. The regency appointed by the notables ceased. On the 19th instant they published a long and weak address, in which, making their own eulogy, in terms foreign to truth, they assert to have accomplished wonders in all branches of the public service, which had been ruined by the demagogues. The imperial deputy has also published a devout proclamation, in which he offers to rule as heretofore, and prays the Mexicans to be good, loyal, and faithful subjects. We have frequently mentioned, among the constant threats against the establishment and consolidation of the monarchy in Mexico, the imposing and decided attitude of the people of the United States. New events confirming this undeniable truth offer new suggestion.

The citizen José Maria Iglesias, minister of justice and finances, having gone to Matamoras for various official purposes, was the object of the most remarkable attentions of Major General Herron, *commanding* the coast and frontier of Texas, and Brigadier General Hamilton, military governor of the same State. Minister Iglesias daily received unequivocal demonstrations of the desire of the American chiefs to show the good-will which animates them towards the constitutional government of the republic. Frequent calls, visits to the camps and fortifications of Brownsville, repeated invitations and feasts—acts of courtesy like that of General Herron, always sending his coach for the Mexican minister—expeditions on the Rio Grande and the Gulf in steamers of the United States, the hoisting of the Mexican flag in the place of honor, the salvos in passing by the encampments of artillery, and many other similar manifestations, left no doubt of the intention with which they were made. These demonstrations not being personal, but tendered to a member of Juarez's cabinet, bear the marked signification of the interest which our neighbor feels towards that government, and therefore opposed to any French intervention to overthrow it and establish a monarchy in its place.

The acts of Generals Herron and Hamilton cannot be considered as arising from their personal opinions, but as one of so many proofs of the public spirit which prevails in their nation. The chiefs and officers under them expressed at the same time, with the greatest enthusiasm, the firm purpose which they entertain, together with their companions in arms and of the whole people of the United States, to come to aid us in our patriotic struggle against French and traitors as soon as the war with the Confederate States is ended, which, they do not doubt, will occur this year.

Another very important event also demonstrates the firmness of the purpose above mentioned. Don Manuel Garcia Rejon, secretary of state under Vidaurri, having arrived at Brownsville, General Herron caused him to be delivered to the Mexican authorities, considering him an enemy to the United States, he having afforded decided protection to the secessionists. Garcia Rejon was shot at Matamoras on the 28th of March as an accomplice in the treason of Vidaurri.

The character that it had of hostility to the Mexican government and in favor of French intervention give the action of the American general the undeniable political signification of enmity against France, because it shows clearly that the United States cannot tolerate with impunity the friends of intervention whenever they are complicated in the political disturbances of the neighboring nation.

Acts so explicit have already called, as it was natural, the attention of the editorial traitors who have especially placed themselves against the resolutions of Winter Davis, unanimously approved by the American Congress. It is not strange that such a positive declaration should have impressed them so seriously, when, considering its great importance, it is producing the same effect wherever it is known.

On reaching the ears of Maximilian, a few days after he had proved himself deranged by accepting the Mexican crown, it must have produced in him such a sensation that perhaps he regretted what he had done. The news of the resolutions caused a considerable decline in the Bourse in Paris, an infallible thermometer of the effects of events of a high political character. The hope that the American Senate will not follow the energetic conduct of the House, and refuse to act upon it, since neither is willing nor able to make any demonstration opposed to it, has somewhat encouraged those who are afraid of the work of Davis.

These incautious men do not consider that the temporary silence is due exclusively to the influence of Secretary Seward, and in nothing else is the importance of the declaration lessened, nor can it contribute to subdue the public spirit of which it is the expression.

From the same spirit has emanated the declaration made by Hahn, governor of Louisiana, to aid us against the French. The high position of this functionary, not less than the frankness with which he has publicly expressed such an opinion, are new proofs of a determination which cannot be concealed. The military operations on the success of which depends the direct and efficacious aid that the neighboring people will endeavor to render us has already given results of immense importance. The campaign commenced under bad auspices for the Unionists. In two bloody battles fought at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, General Banks was defeated. Fort Pillow was taken by the confederates, who committed there serious outrages, especially with the negroes, for which reason the government at Washington has already announced its intention to retaliate.

Fort Plymouth also succumbed to the confederates, the garrison which defended it having surrendered after an obstinate resistance. But these preliminary acts, of little importance in a war of such gigantic proportions as that in which the United States are engaged, are eclipsed by the brilliancy of the terrible battle which has bathed in blood the fields of Virginia. It had lasted eight days—from the 4th to the 12th instant—being in the beginning favorable to Lee, and ending, according to report, with his complete route. Although we have not received the details of such an interesting event, it is announced that the splendid triumph of Grant has not been obtained but at the expense of enormous losses in killed and wounded by both armies. The disaster to Lee is of great importance. Richmond must have succumbed by this time. The destruction of the forces which have disputed victory is a blow to the confederacy which may be well called decisive and mortal. Instead of being indifferent to us, it touches us very closely, because it will so far influence the solution of the difficulties surrounding us as to compel us to regard it as a success of our own cause. The result of the battle in Virginia will be equally terrible in Richmond, in Mexico, and in Paris.

It will not be amiss, now that we are considering the American question, to state here the proposal officially made by the minister of foreign relations of the republic of Peru for the meeting of the congress suggested by Bolivar. This thought has frequently been advocated without having been realized, and perhaps now the movement of the Peruvian government will be more successful than before. The affair affects the whole American continent, and none of the powers which exist on it should, in our opinion, be excluded from the general assembly, in which a definite policy is to be adopted by this part of the world to stop the encroachments of Europe. We sincerely desire that this idea of fraternity, prolific as it is of natural advantages, may not remain a mere project.

The history of the month, as far as interventionists are concerned, presents evidence characteristic of the meanness which they have so often shown, and of the insolence and effrontery of those who have come to aid them in their parricidal plans.

The 5th of May, a day never to be forgotten in our history, celebrated with patriotic enthusiasm in all the towns of the republic free from foreign rule, was also solemnized in Mexico with public demonstrations, which have been eloquent manifestations of the spirit which prevails at the capital, when not subdued by the fear of the anger of the invaders. The street to which the glorious name of "Fifth of May" was given—a name which it will preserve, no matter if French fury has destroyed the marble which contained it—appeared covered with wreaths of flowers on the anniversary of the triumph of Zaragoza. On the corners of many other streets inscriptions were seen with "long live independence," and the "victory" which humbled the pride of the first soldiers of the world. Various ladies, dressed in mourning, and wearing tri-colored scarfs, went to adorn also with flowers and wreaths the grave of the hero who elevated so high the Mexican name. On the ground adjoining the "public promenade" a ball was given, which lasted until nearly night, to celebrate the national feast of which that anniversary was commemorative. Besides the above-mentioned manifestations, there were others of public enthusiam, not only on the part of the "fair sex," which might have been less liable to be repressed in its exhibition, but also on the part of laborers and other males, to whom there was imminent danger of being transported to Martinique. The French did not deem it prudent to interfere with the demonstrations, limiting themselves to instruct the talkative Barres to publish an article which pretended to burlesque, when it showed indignation in every line, treating as false and insignificant the glorious and ever-to-be-remembered triumph of May, 1862.

We have purposely omitted to speak of a grave scandal which occurred in the ancient capital of the republic until everything had been properly ascertained. Under the weight of a dishonorable accusation of falsehood and theft were tried by a French court-martial Sanchez Facio, secretary and friend of Marquez, colonel in the traitor army, and recently decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor; Piña, commissary of said army; Moreno and Vicário, an intimate friend also of Marquez, whom he calls brother; Gener, a Spaniard, clerking for the house of Mosso, and Bonhomme, a French subject, and well known in the republic by the history of his scandalous transactions. The trial being opened, lawyer Eulalio M. Ortega, counsel for Facio, sustained, in an address teeming with adulations of the invader, the incompetency of the court, as if an interventionist did not know that it is competent in the eyes of all foreigners, and admitted by the traitors, without any other title but the law of the sabre. The imperial judge advocate, answering the argument of the lawyer, said, with insolence, that the object was to withdraw the proceedings of the case from the French tribunal in order to have them decided by the Mexican justice, who was corrupt and venal, as shown by a paragraph in a letter of Bonhomme, in which he attributed the loss of his suit with Ondovilla to the fact that his competitor had been more skilful in bribing the judge. The rule which admits the testimony of a party who has been defeated in a trial as conclusive proof is inadmissible; and from one case, even if it were true, he makes a general charge against the Mexican judiciary. The insult passed without being resented by those who have willingly submitted to such humiliations in accepting the foreign yoke.

The court-martial being declared competent, it proceeded to trial. The evidence furnished as to falsification and fraud was so conclusive that there was no doubt as to the crime being committed. Everybody anticipated a severe verdict of condemnation, and a brilliant example of incorruptible French justice, but, to the general astonishment, with the exception only of Piña and Bonhomme, who were convicted, the sentence of the court-martial acquitted the other accused.

The scandalous "Chronicle" relates that such a result was due to the influence of petticoats, upon which we would like to know the opinion of the French imperial judge advocate, who in pompous terms has so loudly praised French justice, and undervalued the Mexican. The general opinion of the true cause of acquittal will be corroborated with the confirmation of the news received by letters from Mexico, that General Bazaine had sent a communication to the Regency, stating that although Facio had escaped punishment, he was not free from blame, and should be dismissed from the army. The Regency acquiesced, and the French general forbade Facio to wear the cross of the Legion of Honor.

It also corroborates the opinion that there was partiality in the case concerning clothing—the news (not less scandalous) that one Alanis, who was prosecuted before the tribunal, was ordered to be released by a positive order from General Bazaine. It is asserted that he avoided the action of justice, owing to the influence of the famous courtesan called "the Emerald," who is to-day one of the most important personages of the intervention.

As the facts alluded to are so shameful, we have hesitated to relate them in our review, especially not having a full proof of their accuracy; but the assertions of reliable persons have been so unanimous about them, and to portray intervention in its true colors it has become our duty not to omit the statement of such events.

When morality is outraged it has a right to expose the frailties which affect the fate of nations, because they cease to be private and pass into history.

At the beginning of the month the famous Dr. Miranda, one of the principal leaders of the intervention party, died at Puebla. Born to be more of a revolutionist than a priest, he abandoned the altar to become conspirator. He was active, indefatigable, audacious; his death is an irreparable loss to his party.

Preparations for the solemn reception of Maximilian have been going on in Mexico. The fictitious enthusiasm as shown by the advent of the archduke will before long turn into profound disgust, as soon as the inevitable exactions will affect the interests of the crowd of selfish men to whom patriotism is an empty word, not knowing any other God, country or law, but the money upon which their happiness depends. The fact that until this day all the expenses of the war, including those of the traitor army, have been paid by the French treasury, although charging the same to Mexico, has occasioned the singular phenomenon of benefiting for the time being the towns in the possession of interventionists, from which they have not been compelled to exact the enormous sums which the legitimate government of the country has been obliged to draw from that portion of the republic free from invasion. But such an exceptional state of things will completely disappear from the 1st of July next, agreeably to the treaty of Miramar. From that day all the expenses of the war, as well as the other disbursements of the public administration in its various branches, and also the subsistence of the French, army whatever its number may be, will have to be provided for by the imperial Mexican treasury—a treasury to be created, and the vaults of which will never contain the sums necessary to meet its obligations. Many will never be complied with, but the tax-payers, who have been so pleased with the small exactions made of them will soon be oppressed with such numerous and enormous demands as to compel them to curse a monarchy and a pupilage which is already very injurious.

Were it not, as has been shown, that the ease of the capitalists who have property on Mexican territory was so ephemeral, and could an order of things prevail, which would leave the interventionists free from incumbrances, whilst the friends of independence were ruined, the choice between one and the other extremes could only be doubtful for those men of a metallic heart (unfortunately abundant) who prefer the comforts of life to honor, dignity, and self-government. History teaches on every page, that no great progress of humanity has ever been achieved but with great sacrifices. The selfish system of not making them, in order to live in peace and without suffering, would have, with but little difference, left the world as in the first days of creation.

For the laborers of civilization a different path is marked. From schism to schism they move to the conquest of great social principles, regardless of leaving on their march the dearest objects of their hearts. Thus, to-day, the friends of Mexican independence will be indefatigable in the defence of such precious rights which they prefer to the shameful enjoyments of an existence purchased with ignominy.

To those who have adopted a different course, a just punishment, as we have announced, awaits them for their want of shame, with terrible blows to their fortunes, growing out of the necessity which will force the Austrian to fill with duties and contributions a small proportion of the expenditures of the empire. The time of the realization of this announcement is approaching, because only one month intervenes, as the new emperor must have arrived already at Vera Cruz, and received now with applause by rich interventionists, who will be the first to curse him.

The deputy, Almonte, left Mexico on the 27th instant for Orizava and Vera Cruz, accompanied by his family and the sub-secretary of relations of the ex-Regent Salas, and the wife of the latter, to present to his Majesty the homage which princes are paid by pusillanimous subjects—the humiliating history of bending the knee—incomprehensible to men educated in the school of equality, and who esteem their personal dignity more than aristocratic titles, will certainly be repeated.

Apropos to these titles, it is but proper to refer to an article of the "Estafette," ridiculing the masquerade-like Mexican nobility. It calls attention to the numberless inconsistencies of Barres, who, after declaring himself an open monarchist, is now endeavoring to prove the absence of the elements of nobility in Mexico, without which the establishment and consolidation of monarchical institutions is impossible. But the inconsistency of the writer does not alter the fact he has lately maintained, that a monarchy in Mexico is nothing but a dream, since we have not a highly respected aristocracy as in other countries which counts many years of existence.

The Mexican patriots who have constantly opposed that spectre of government imposed upon them by the will of Napoleon cannot cease to protest by the force of arms against the yoke which he wishes them to wear. Blood is still flowing in Mexico, in consequence of a struggle which has been prolonged over two years, and it must end with the triumph of those who defend national independence.

After having been for a long time without communicating with General Uraga, we have at last received intelligence from him up to the 27th of April, ultimo. His despatches are satisfactory, indeed, and confirm the good condition of the troops composing the central army—their number, discipline, morals, and firm decision to continue fighting to the last in defence of our country, notwithstanding the terrible sufferings they undergo from the calamities of war.

To maintain the good name of his army, he determined to protect the State in which he operates. General Uraga has been compelled to display great energy against the false defenders of the national cause, who invoke it to extort money from the people. Prudent measures having been of no avail to arrest the evil, it was necessary to resort to the expedient of shooting three of the guerilla chiefs, guilty of repeated outrages against the honor and property of unarmed Mexicans. In order to make more effective the punishment, the greatest publicity was given to the above-mentioned execution of justice, returning public morals disregarded by a few banditti unworthy of belonging to well-behaved troops. Such plausible conduct will serve to give the people assurance that they may depend upon having protection, and at the same time the calumnies of interventionists, interested in describing their evitable excesses of the war, in which different passions are unrestrained, as the result of a system of theft and depredation.

The army of the centre, commendable for these antecedents, is giving their country days of glory with the valor it displays against the French traitors. It is known beyond a doubt that the force under General Douai have been twice checked, notwithstanding their boasted superiority. The contempt they affected towards the Mexican troops has turned into conclusive evidence, that they so far value them that they avoid occurrences like that of the unforgotten 5th of May. The retreat from Barancas, is to Douai, or rather to the French, a moral defeat more significant than the disaster they would have met in case they had acted with greater courage. The French troops had retraced their steps before the Mexicans, (placed in an advantageous position,) without the former having been detained by the consideration of the announcement of their enthusiastic eulogists, that before their superiority there were no obstacles. Resorting to the mean expedient of seduction, they have endeavored to entice General Uraga from the ranks in which his name can win so much glory, whether fickle fortune reserves for him great triumphs or reverses. Renewing without any success their deceiving offers, they have attempted to tarnish his reputation, announcing that Don Juan Benito Gomez Farias had gone as his agent to Guadalajara and Mexico, to enter into arrangements of submission. The publicity given to such a rumor shows its falsity, it being well known that the parties interested in the defection of the Mexican opposed to intervention, instead of publishing beforehand the preliminaries of the work undertaken with that object, carefully concealed them until they are consummated. As far as General Uraga is concerned, it is not credible that he would exchange his high position as general-in-chief of one of the armies defending national independence for the title of "Lackey of Maximilian."

Some reverses met during the present month by the national arms have diminished the rejoicing caused by a series of events at home and abroad favorable to our cause. To lessen the effect of the disasters of our troops, the consolation remains that they have done their duty, leaving untarnished the Mexican name. The want of success in their fights has no radical influence on the ultimate end to be accomplished; and the fact that the independent party which has been so often thought disbanded is still struggling with arms in its hands, shows that its vitality is superior to all the blows it may receive, and the time will never arrive when either the invaders, Maximilian or the traitors can truthfully say the country is pacified.

Of the last unfavorable encounters, the most remarkable is that of San Antonio Tanchiapa, between General José M. J. Carvajal and the contra-guerilla Dupin, famous for his iniquities.

The valor of the Mexican troops should have won a victory, but the cowardice of the chief of the reserves resulted in a defeat of those who relied on his assistance. General Carvajal, after endeavoring to the last moment to check the advance of the enemy, to whom he offered a stubborn resistance, retreated with a firm intention of avenging on the first opportunity this disaster. To carry out such purpose he is now at the head of new forces, with which he will not certainly delay another combat with Dupin, who, being determined to follow a system of vandalism, has threatened the inhabitants of Panuco with the burning of their town in case they refuse to submit to the yoke of intervention.

Of greater importance still has been the reverse suffered at Matehuala by the

Guanajuato division. Having gone forth as an expedition against the enemy, with the object of fighting him, if the probability of success presented itself, offered battle several times to the traitor Mejia, who as often refused it. General Doblado decided to take the initiative, assured that the superiority of his troops—in valor, discipline, and enthusiasm—would give him victory, notwithstanding the forces of the enemy were larger. This supposition was founded on considerations of so much weight that it would have doubtless been realized had it not been for one of those mishaps of war, before which the combinations of the most skilful fail.

As soon as Mejia was threatened by the loyal troops he called for re-enforcements from the French garrison at San Louis, whence Colonel Aymar started without delay with a considerable force. French and traitors once united, it would have been an unpardonable temerity to attack them, when all the probabilities of triumph were in their favor, but it was a skilful manœuvre to fight the traitors before they could receive the expected re-enforcements. Such was the plan of General Doblado. The arrival of Aymar a little after the action commenced detracts nothing from it, for it was not to be apprehended from the habitual slow movements of the French that they would march nineteen leagues in one day, so as to arrive in time at the place of battle.

General Doblado being satisfied that the French were at such a considerable distance from him, and that he had ample time to defeat Mejia before re-enforcements reached him, ordered the attack which took place on the 17th. The army of the north assaulted with spirit the lines of the enemy, whom they would not have failed in defeating, had it not been for the unexpected arrival of his re-enforcements. Notwithstanding the disparity between the belligerent forces, ours continually displayed an admirable intrepidity. Our artillery was handled in a superior manner to that of the French, for while the shots of the latter were all lost, ours were accurate and made great havoc in the enemy's ranks. The combat was prolonged for some time with dubious success, until at last a combined charge of the French infantry and cavalry turned the tide of battle, and was lost by us, with a considerable number of killed, wounded and prisoners.

The results of the battle have left in those who have taken part in it the conviction that our soldiers are not inferior to the famous soldiers of France. Our great disadvantage has depended rather on the want of arms equal to those of the enemy, who bring them of excellent quality. As soon as this inequality is removed our troops will be able to appear in the field of battle with the confidence that their valor enables them to fight on an equal footing with the invaders.

In the official reports of the battle at Matahuala, due justice has been done the troops who went to attack the traitors in their intrenchments. The exaggeration in placing our forces at 6,000, when, in fact, they were but 2,000, is an impartial eulogy to the bravery of our soldiers. Their attack must have been extraordinary, when French and traitors estimated them at three times more than they actually were; although it is an old habit of the interventionists to reduce to the lowest figures the forces of the constitutional government when they wish to ridicule their weakness, and exaggerate them whenever they defeat them. The reverses at Matehuala, which are certainly painful to all good Mexicans, have not been disastrous in their effects. The evil has only consisted in the loss of a gallant division, but neither the enemy has profited by his unexpected victory, nor the spirit of the defenders of independence been subdued, for they are now more than ever determined to sustain it, and not spare any effort or sacrifice to reach the final triumph, which we consider certain, in spite of any partial defeats that we may suffer. The invasion often announced, of the frontier states, has not been attempted, even in such propitious movements to the invaders as after their troops have obtained a victory. The proximity of the rainy season will soon make all attempts in that direction impossible. In the event that it may be undertaken at all, the historical fields of Angostura are being fortified, and the Mexicans will there fight a second battle in defence of their nationality. Around the government are rallying anew loyal and valorous troops, and in the whole republic the struggle will continue, which Maximilian has announced already ended. He will not be long in learning that arms will never be wanting to grasp the sword against the invasion which has elevated him to the throne.

If after sketching the very important events to which we have alluded, the reader reflects tranquilly and philosophically on their consequences to the Mexican question, he will be necessarily convinced that the deeds which, in the eyes of superficial men, signify the triumph of the Napoleonic policy, the stability of the monarchy, the fall of the independent party, and of the principles and institutions which it proclaims; they have, on the contrary, for the observant men who know how to penetrate the spirit of things, the satisfactory signification that they are attempting plans impossible to consummate, and which will soon fall of their own weight. As the close is near at hand, it will be soon seen who is right.

Since the commencement of the present war, May has been the month of historic excellence, as well as the most prolific in notable events. In May, 1862, was the glorious victory of the 5th. In May, 1863, took place the battle of San Lorenzo, the fall of Puebla, and of the supreme government leaving the city of Mexico. In May, 1864, the very interesting events alluded to in this review have occurred. A consoling presentiment founded not on foolish hopes, but plausible reasons, leads us to believe that in May, 1865, we will have triumphed over foreign invasion, after a struggle as bloody as it will be glorious.

ANTONIO DE CASTRO Y CARRILLO.

MONTEREY, *May* 31, 1864.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 23, 1864.

SIR: Your note of the 20th instant, transmitting a copy of the sheet entitled "The Foreign Question," published at the city of Monterey, Mexico, and containing a trustworthy narrative of the political events which have transpired in that republic during the month of May, 1864, I have had the honor to receive on the 23d instant.

While thanking you for your considerate attention in communicating to me this interesting document for the information of this government, I am also afforded the opportunity of renewing to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c.; Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 9th of September, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a printed copy of a sheet entitled "The Foreign Question," published in English, on the 31st July last, at the city of Monterey, the present residence of the Mexican government, which contains a trustworthy relation of the events of a political character which have taken place in the republic of Mexico during said month of July.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

"THE FOREIGN QUESTION."

We propose to translate some extracts from the "Foreign Question," published monthly with general applause by Don Antonio de Castro y Carrillo.

The fact of its being a publication in Spanish, renders its circulation more circumscribed than meets our wishes, as Mexicans, earnestly desiring, as we do, to demonstrate to a certainty the justice of our national cause, in opposition to the piratical invasion by France of the peoples of America.

We lament that the extracts will, to the author himself, seem like a mutilation or unlinking of ideas produced by a clear and thorough logic, allowing no misinterpretation, such is their adequateness to the subject they elucidate. But in the alternative, whether to leave the treaties unknown, or to do it but imperfect justice, we have decided for the latter, estimating the useful hints it furnishes and its political importance above all literary considerations.

The reviews of Sr. Castro Carrillo always commence with a critique on the politics of foreign powers, France's participation in them having a bearing on the interests of Mexico. We will merely advert, *en passant*, to this portion, and turn to its consideration of the events transpiring at home, the former being well-known, and even commented upon by generous friends to our cause, and the special object of the latter being to disprove the calumnies of Louis Napoleon's paid press, and that which echoes to the voice of treason, whose interests it is to represent the nation as resigned to the foreign yoke, and the national government as sinking powerless and despised into oblivion.

This short explanation given, let us make some short extracts from last month's "Foreign Question," of Sr. Castro Carrillo.

After a brief glance at the affairs of Europe, in which France is shown to be interested, receiving a blow from Russia and seeking through Rome to give vent to her resentment; the recent revolt of the Algerians, caused, not only by the want of ability shown by the French in all their attempts at colonization, but by the absence of the troops taken for the Mexican expedition, he concludes with the following: "In this way are the acts of Napoleon's government complicated and interlaced, and should this man resolve to impose sword-law in Mexico, Algeria, Rome, Cochin China, and Heaven knows how many more lands, he will wind up by attempting enterprises impossible even to France, with all her power and the means at her command."

Alluding to Maximilian's acceptance at Miramar, he calls attention to the conditions on which the former renounces his right as next of kin, and points out his incapability by his first acts as emperor.

Six decrees issued by Maximilian are quoted by Sr. Castro Carrillo for subsequent analysis.

He first appoints a financial committee in Paris to open a grand book in which the English bonds issued in 1851, with a nominal capital of £10,241,650, and interest at 3 per cent. to be paid half yearly, are to be inscribed.

Secondly. For president of his committee he names Count Germiny, appointed by Napoleon, representative of the bond-holders of the Mexican debt.

Thirdly. The empire of Mexico is to contract a loan with a nominal capital of £8,000,000, or 201,600,000 francs, to be entered in the grand book of the

Mexican debt, transferable scrip, bearing 6 per cent. interest, which will amount to 12,096,000 francs per annum, to be paid half yearly, April 1 and October 1, in London and Paris, by the imperial treasury, the first instalment to be made October 1, 1865. In order to fund the debt, one per cent. is designed, the funding to begin April 1, 1869. The scrip is issued at 63 francs to every 6 francs of rente, the nominal capital to be 100. Each subscriber has to pay 13 francs for every 6 francs of rente on subscription, and the remaining 50 in five equal spaces of two months each, the first falling due June 15, 1864, and the last, February 15, 1865. The subscribers who pay their quota at once will be allowed a discount at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. The payments are to be made within a fortnight after they fall due, and after that term is expired, interest must be paid for lost time at the same rate. Failing to pay an instalment when due will cause the whole amount of the loan certificate to be forfeited, and the sale can be effected without previous notice.' Out of the funds derived from the loan, the sum of 21,192,000 francs has a guarantee of the payment of two years' interest will be retained in the chests of deposits and consignments of France.

By a fourth decree, scrip of annual rentes at 6 per cent., amounting to 6,600,000 francs yearly, are to be placed on the grand book of the Mexican debt. These will be equal to the scrip created by the 201,600,000 francs loan, and the interest will be paid in London and Paris at the same time and under like conditions. They are to be placed in the hands of the French Emperor's minister of finance, for the 66,000,000 francs stipulated in the Franco-Austrian convention; 54,000,000 francs on account of the 270,000,000 francs claimed by the French treasury, and 12,000,000 to indemnify subjects of the same power. The scrip of this new debt will be transferable—interest payable half yearly—capital to be funded by means of the one per cent., and enough will be returned in the deposit and consignment chest of France to pay the interest for two years.

A fifth decree approves in every respect an agreement of March 20, last, between Count G. Lichy and Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co., London bankers, who have charge of the 201,600,000 francs loan. The subscription was opened in London, Amsterdam, Turin, Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles and other departments of France. The minimum of subscription was fixed at £1, corresponding to 25.20 francs.

The sixth decree ordains that the 20 half-yearly coupons of interest, unpaid from January 1, 1864, to July 1, 1863, and due to the holders of the Mexican bonds issued in 1851, shall be consolidated into new scrip of the foreign debt, at 3 per cent., 60 francs for 100. For this purpose the sum of £123,625 in annual rentes is to be entered on the grand book of the foreign debt. The scrip will draw interest half yearly, payable in London, beginning July 1 of the present year. The coupons falling due January 1, of the same year, will be paid from the proceeds of the Mexican custom-houses to that date, the imperial treasury to furnish the deficiency. In the deposit and consignment chest of France the sum of £921,750 from the loan of £8,000,000 will be held for the payment of the two annualties on the bonds issued in 1851, and the capitalized interest on the same.

After some highly important preliminary observations respecting the appointment of Germany, the persistence in retaining the sums intended for the payment of the annualties, &c., in the consignment chest of France, and the marvellous inconsistency of alternating the monetary arrangements and sacrificing Mexico still more than she has been, he says that in order to complete the analysis he is under the necessity of making out three statements: one, of the distribution of the famous £8,000,000 loan; another, of the total yearly interest to be paid in consequence of the new obligations; and the third, of the amount of these obligations, as capital of a recognized and consolidated foreign debt.

FIRST STATEMENT.

The £8,000,000, at the rate of 25 *a* 20 francs per £1, 201,000,000 francs, nominal capital of the loan.

The 201,600,000 francs at 63 per cent. of payment become reduced to		127,008,000 f.
Detailed in the French deposit and consignment chest:		
To pay the two years' interest on the above loan, at 6 per cent. per annum	24,192,000 f.	
To pay two years' interest on 110,000,000 francs, at 6 per cent. per annum	13,200,000	
To pay two years' interest on the 1851 bonds, say, £10,241,650, at 3 per cent	13,485,349	
To pay two years' interest on capitalized coupons of the same, at the rate of £153,625 per annum	7,742,700	
To pay two years' interest on the 216,000,000 francs of the Franco-Austrian convention, at 3 per cent	12,960,000	
Total sum deposited		72,580,049 f.
Balance remaining		53,427,951 f.
Although it is to be presumed that the outlay of the French troops stationed in Mexico, at the rate of 1,000 per annum, each man, and the other disbursement of 2,400,000 francs, caused by the six yearly trips of the transports, will demand a larger sum than is stipulated in the 12th article of the Miramar convention, we will in moderation set down the sum therein designated, which is		25,000,000 f.
Balance of the loan		28,427,951 f.

"Reducing francs to dollars, at the rate of 5.40 francs per dollar, we have $5,264,435 and 37 cents. This sum will therefore be the net proceeds of the loan, after deducting the aforesaid items, to which must be added the amount of the Austrian's private debt, cost of printing bonds, commissions of the firm in treating for the loan issue, bank commissions 6 per cent. per annum, discount to subscribers who may advance the total of their shares, and other minor expenses of salaries, brokerage, &c., &c. As it is not possible to fix the amount of these items, we merely enumerate them, remarking that their total will leave the already insignificant remnant of the loan so diminished that it will be but a puff of smoke, and afford no aid to the poor Mexican empire in getting clear of its embarrassments."

SECOND STATEMENT.

The yearly interest on the loan of 201,600,000 francs, at 6 per cent.	12,096,000 f.
The yearly interest on the 110,000,000 francs which the French treasury will consider as paid, also at 6 per cent	6,600,000
The yearly interest on the capitalized coupons of the 1851 bonds, at 3 per cent. per annum	3,871,000
The yearly interest on the 216,000,000 francs, balance of the French treasury debt, at 3 per cent	6,840.000
Total	29,047,350 f.

"Reducing this sum to dollars, at 5.45 francs each, it amounts to $5,379,130 88 cents.

"We do not specify the interest on the £10,241,650, of the bonds of 1851, nor that of the English and recognized Spanish conventions, nor on any of the other debts in course of payment, the nation being, in any event, under the necessity of disbursing it, and our object now is but to point out the new obligations which spring direct from the creation of the empire. As to the Spanish convention, we must add that the fraudulent claims will doubtless be recognized as they were by the treaty Mon-Almonte, so that the interest on those claims must be added to the foregoing statement. But as this indication does not refer to a consummated fact, we reserve said addition until we can correct the statement in view of the fresh incumbrances which may be laid upon Mexico."

THIRD STATEMENT.

Capital of the new loan	201, 600, 000 f.
Capital of the debt contracted in order to cancel the 66,000,000 francs for the French treasury	110, 000, 000
Capital of the debt stipulated in the Franco-Austrian convention, minus 54,000,000 francs, to be deducted from 66,000,000 cancelled by the French treasury	216,000,000
Total	527, 000, 000 f.

Or $97,703,503 70 cents.

"We have included in this statement neither the obligation arising from the consolidation of interests on the 1851 bonds at per 60 francs, nor increasing in the Spanish convention by the admittance of fraudulent claims, nor the indemnization of French subjects as they will definitely stand, because our purpose is to confine ourselves for the present to fixed and well ascertained obligations. Those alluded to will nevertheless be highly important.

"Inferences of the utmost importance are to be drawn from the three preceding statements. On one side, we see that absolutely nothing will be left of the loan for the benefit of the country in whose name it was contracted, while, on the other, it is shown that both in the payment of yearly interest and in the increase of our foreign debt, enormous sacrifices have been imposed on Mexico, which would weigh on many succeeding generations, were it possible that the nation should consent to the scandalous abuse of its name, between a monarch from abroad, set up for the sole purpose of ruining it, and an arbitrary despot whose aim it is to derive advantage from a private adventure.

"Obligations are easily imposed. The consequent sacrifices will be enormous; but even when made they will not enable the ephemeral and impoverished Mexican empire to comply with the insupportable burdens piled upon it.

"It is of course needless to allude to the funding of the debt, when, so far from its being possible to devote part of the public revenue to that purpose, the whole of it would be insufficient to meet the annual estimate. But, confining ourselves to the most urgent outlays of the public administration, we unhesitatingly affirm that the country's resources are totally inadequate to meet them, even in the enjoyment of peace, much less amidst the broils and calamities of war."

Under the foregoing calculations, Señor Castro Carrillo proves the falsity of the information afforded by Don Francisco Arrangoiz to M. Rouher, who maintained in the French corps legislatif that the revenue of Mexico reached thirty millions, and that twenty would suffice for all administration outlay, leaving ten million towards the extinction of the debt.

"Arrangoiz has always borne the reputation of being one of the unfitest and most ignorant of the men who have been raised to power. He owes his melancholy celebrity to his malversation of the public funds, which has won for him the lasting title of 'the drop of water,' from his cynical excuse of his robberies, saying that they only amounted to a drop of water.

"In the most flourishing times," says Sr. Castro Carrillo, "the public revenue has never reached one-half of the sum stated by Arrangoiz, and the expenditure which the empire will render necessary, even on an economical footing, will not be less than twice that calculated by Rouher's informant. In view of these data it may be asserted without fear of error, that the empire was born in a state of bankruptcy, and that weakness, proverty, and ruin will be its distinguishing characteristics throughout its ephemeral career."

While noting obstacles of another nature, Sr. Castro Carrillo treats at length of the noble manifestations of sympathy shown by the American people, and of the reserve of Mr. Seward respecting the acknowledgment of the empire, concluding thus:

"There is therefore no doubt that whatever the result of the present struggle between the United and Confederate States may be, an open opposition will sooner or later arise to the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, which, besides inflicting a wound on the most sensitively republican sentiments of those who never knew that form of government, has to contend against the fatal defect of emanating, not from the will of the Mexican people, entitled in virtue of their sovereignty to determine what institutions are best suited to them, but from the support afforded by an intrusive power to an inauspicious party unable alone to maintain itself in power, and now exhibiting, as the expression of the will of Mexico, the clamor of a few flatterers, and the silence of an oppressed people."

In conclusion we give the whole of Sr. Castro Carrillo's review that relates to our internal affairs, it being our chief object to make known the real state of the country as described by a judicious and reliable person, whose means of thoroughly informing himself on all matters are abundant:

"Turning to events which have taken place in our own country, we will first refer to the doings of the interventionists ere the arrival of their emperor.

"Tales for the chronicle of scandal have been the order of the day, owing to the frequent abuses caused by the influence of the famous 'Esmeralda,' who, in consideration of bribes that will soon make her fortune, has been obtaining posts, employment, salaries and other favors of various kinds for the benefit of her protégés. The courtesan has made a trade in form, charging all those who seek her aid more or less according to circumstances.

"The French court-martials have not flagged in their ferocious missions of shooting by dozens the unfortunates iniquitously subjected to their jurisdiction; and though it be true, that among them, there have been many highway robbers, deserving the severest punishment, there has also been a large number of innocent victims, sacrificed by the sentence of tribunals whose very existence in this country is a violation of its sovereignty, and who trample on all tutelary forms of judicial administration. A sentence given almost without a semblance of inquiry, in a brief audience, without proofs, without defence, without appeal, without recourse of any kind, at every step hurls Mexicans into eternity, "after withdrawing them from their natural judges and subjecting them to the caprice of audacious foreigners." We shall see whether these bloody tribunals continue, after Maximilian's installation, to exercise their unlawful functions to the great honor and glory of the French civilization.

"In the foreign legion now forming, as a nucleus for the 8,000 men which is to count when the French army retires, such scandalous desertion has begun, that severe measures for the repression of this military offence have been decreed, and published by the interventionist press itself. It is a bad omen for those who place their hopes on mercenary troops and homeless adventurers, to see at the outset the little confidence deserved by men held by no tie but interest.

"Some of the great social questions stated to be the cause of the intervention have begun to be mooted by the *Estafetta*, organ of General Bazaine. The civil register and religious toleration have been the most remarkable, and to the wonder of those unaccustomed to the inconsistencies and contradictions of the interventionists, *Sociedad* and the *Pajara Verde*, representatives of fanaticism at its height have had the effrontery to admit the essence of the liberal principles, before combatted with blind frenzy when proclaimed by the reformist government of Mexico. The anathema of every man of morality will fall on the head of such factionists without faith, to whom the foreign intervention is in a great measure owing, appealed to, as it was, to restrain the supposed abuse of a legitimate, enlightened and national power, and submitted to without a murmur, though it now proclaims the same principles which, a short time since, encountered from them an opposition that has drenched the country in blood and subjected it to the most frightful calamities.

"Amid the profitable trafficking of the 'Esmeralda,' the ferocity of the French court-martials, and the recantation of the reactionary party lately converted to liberalism, the days passed off previous to the Austrian's arrival. Since then the newly made monarchists have had no time for anything but the cringing and fawning reception of their master. Days and weeks elapse, and nothing is spoken of but the most insignificant incidents of the journey of Maximilian and the graceful Charlotte from Vera Cruz to Mexico.

"When the so-called emperor landed, on May 28, he addressed an insulting proclamation to the Mexicans, abounding with gallicisms and commonplaces, remarkable for its falsehoods and devoid of all clear and settled programme, instead of which, vague and stereotyped phrases, which really mean nothing, were the only ones employed.

"The Austrian dares to say that the Mexicans have wished for him; that the nation through a spontaneous majority calls him to guide its destinies. Such expressions cannot possibly bear the evidences of conviction in the mind of one who, while he utters them, must be well acquainted with the perfidious manner in which the will of the Mexican people has been falsified, the agreement he has just signed, and the foundation of a corps of adventurers under the title of the foreign legion, proving most irrefragably the certainty that he can only maintain his tottering throne while he is aided by foreign arms, meant to coerce this same people whose love is so emphatically talked of. A spontaneous majority of the nation in favor of Maximilian is quite irreconcilable with the prolonged presence of foreign soldiers.

"Gonzalez de la Vega, sub-secretary of the regency's home department, has issued a circular that proves to the most prejudiced that the acts are not spontaneously passed. This document, which has been duly published, commands the political prefects, with astonishing barefacedness, not to delay the forwarding of the acts by waiting for the signatures of the population as the political authorities; those of the members of common councils, judicial and government employés' signatures, sufficed for all purposes. Nothing can be clearer than that the treason of a few rascals who hold forcible possession of the towns, &c., is passed off as the will of the people.

"The providential mission with which the archduke pretends to be charged by the Almighty, is one of those impostures with which every adventurer may clothe the most piratical enterprises. In the impossibility of discovery what Divine Providence has resolved regarding the fate of nations, the conqueror, the fillibuster, the disloyal friend, the ambitious pretender, and all who have any force at their disposal, may loudly proclaim themselves the instruments of Heaven. At any time that may suit them, Alexander in Poland, Austria in Italy, Spain in Santo Domingo, may declare providential missions, undertakings no less iniquitous than those initiated in Mexico by Napoleon and Maximilian.

"The high-sounding words, justice, equality before the law, personal freedom, development of the national wealth, agricultural, mining and industrial improvements, establishment of means of communication, free intellectual growth, constitute the never-changing programme of all newly-installed governments. Something more positive would be needed if the country wanted to know what to expect from Maximilian's intentions—such as an indication of the political principles he intends to adopt, decisive towards one or other of the opposite schools of reform or of retrocession. 'An inclination towards the theocracy gleams in the phrase relative to the suitability of still being animated by the religious sentiment, though such an inference is contradicted by the circumstance of progress being specially mentioned.' In short, the imperial policy, both before and after the proclamation, is an insoluble riddle, and will remain such till time has given it an unmistakable character.

"The union of parties, without which the empire cannot be consolidated, is only a pleasing dream of the Austrian's, from which he will ere long be awaked by the thundering opposition of Mexicans who love their independence, but hate a foreign yoke, and cling to republican institutions.

"He could not, of course, omit to mention the civilizing banner of France and the Emperor Napoleon, to whom, according to Maximilian, we owe the reappearance of order and peace. Peace! Order! Where are they? Where will Maximilian find them? Mexico's debt to the Emperor Napoleon consists of a series of horrid calamities, from the effects of which she will not recover for a long time. Maximilian certainly owes him a throne, but the dangers to which its acceptance exposes him are such that ere long he will, perhaps, wish the gift in the hands of the giver.

"The flatness and discouragement visible in Maximilian's proclamation shows that the imperial adventurer is not even fired by one of the fanatical inspirations usually to be seen in those who attempt such great undertakings. The protégé of Napoleon III comes to Mexico, full of timidity, to try his fortune, with his glance ever turned seaward, intending to abandon the land he thought to make a gain of, should adversity come, and retire to his peaceful retreat, there to await the possible succession to rights conditionally renounced, because he foresaw it likely that other aspirations might not at last be realized.

"The reception of the emperor and empress at Vera Cruz was cool and not enthusiastic. The ladies of the city did not come forward to do obedience to the graceful Charlotte, who could not help expressing her disgust at such an omission. The populace kept their hats on notwithstanding the efforts of the political prefect, who made himself hoarse by shouting to them to salute Maximilian. The official speeches, of which new additions were being made in every town, were only remarkable for vulgarities and cringing flattery.

"The Austrian's extreme fear of the black vomit, which not even shame induced him to conceal, hurried his departure from the port as soon as he could possibly start by the railway. Reaching the terminus, he took a coach to Cordova, where he arrived at 3 o'clock in the morning, the carriage breaking down on the road. To so prejudiced a mind as the archduke's would seem to be, such an accident is of unfavorable augury.

"Beyond Orizaba the awkward scenes at Vera Cruz were not repeated, the flatterers by profession being too well prepared to prevent a repetition of them. The parish priests had taken good care to make their indigenous flock go forth to meet Maximilian. The public funds had been employed to create a fictitious enthusiasm. The small portion of Mexican society really admitted to the empire had ardently begun their joyful demonstrations. The indifferent portion were present at the foreign prince's reception, moved by the curiosity which an unusual spectacle always elicits. The traitor troops were obliged to evince their attachment to the sovereign proclaimed by their commanders. The French army ordered by Napoleon to receive his protégé with imperial honors, had to obey those orders. These things quite explain the solemnity made so much of by the interventionist papers, alleging it as a proof of the sudden love of the Mexicans towards strangers with whose very names they were unacquainted not very long ago.

"What proves most unanswerably that public opinion had nothing to do with the reception farce—and that it is the result, and nothing more, of the traitor's plans—is the certainty that had the Austrian refused the crown of Mexico, Napoleon naming a substitute, the same festivities, without the slighest alteration, would have been witnessed. If this is true as to the candidate, be his name Hapsburg or Patterson, it is just as true as with regard to form of government had the omnipotent will of the French Emperor chosen to impose republican institutions on us, instead of a monarchy. In the performance of that potentate's satellites, the characters learnt their parts by heart, and rehearsed them scene by scene, so as to give the author entire satisfaction.

"The unquestionable truth that the intervention, the monarchy, and the monarch have but few friends, is plainly shown by the very accounts given by the most enthusiastic monarchists of the reception in Mexico, in which the interventionists naturally took most pains, the families of the mushroom Mexican aristocracy, rotten before it is ripe, taking their part in the spectacle. The latter was very theatrical, according to the confession of Bairés, who is performing the part of buffoon to the interventionist press, administering some very bitter truths with his jokes. Examining the pseudo-Mexican shares in the performance, it is a consolation to the pained mind, after so much baseness, to find there no name not only of the notabilities of the Liberal party, but even of its most insignificant members. Of the conservatives many hold back, determined to follow a cautious policy. The monarchists, *pur sang*, are a handful of traitors, long too well known for their unpatriotic ideas. Their number has not increased; the same men who usurped public posts in the time of Zuloaga and Miramon form it now.

"But, though few in number, they are inimitable in baseness. The conduct of those spurious Mexicans in currying favor with their emperor has been the most abject, repugnant, and degraded that can be imagined since that irritating scene at Miramar, when Gutierez Estrada and his companions bent before the Austrian to do him homage on their knees. The persons who thus love their self-respect have clearly shown what they are capable of, so repulsive have been the adulatory acts of the would-be monarchists, that they are said to have disgusted the very man so much servility was intended to propitiate. An indellible stain rests henceforth on the degraded interventionists, ever prompt to say with Byron's slave, 'Pecha, to hear is to obey.'

"It is not at all strange that such mean and cringing souls should be unable to produce something worthy of note in their monarchical compositions. The imperial literature has been inaugurated under auspices as fatal as has everything else belonging to the new order of things. From Aguilar y Marocho's empty verses, called the '*Memorial Diplomatique*,' the best author of Mexico, down to Louis G. Cuevas's prosaic ode, and the ridiculous distichs of Zamacois and Antonio Pardo y Manquirno, everything has been so bad that one might be truly ashamed to see such poor productions circulated but for the consideration that it is impossible for infamy and treason to inspire even true poets, and hence we may infer what it can do with miserable poetasters without talent or true learning.

"We have not yet learnt how the Austrian will form his cabinet, for which we presume he will seek liberals, although we incline to believe that he will find none, even among the egotists who fold their arms in time of trial, but at least refuse to take an active part in the dark deeds of treason, though they avoid committing themselves on the other side. Neither do we yet know with what acts the emperor of the *notables* will signalize the beginning of his regimé in a manner calculated to make his intended policy understood, the vagueness of his expressions not permitting us to draw from them any conclusion on the subject. In our opinion the refusal of the liberals to form his ministry will oblige him to throw himself into the arms of the conservative party; and this will soon change the contemporizing policy we presume he will prefer to adopt, wildly hoping to become a point of concentration for all parties into one of intolerance, fanaticism, and retrogradation in every sense, which he will imbibe from those with whom he will have to surround himself, and who will exercise a decided influence over him if, as is asserted by those who have had opportunities of knowing, it be true that Maximilian is weak-minded, of narrow intellect, unused to the world, and ignorant of the duplicity of the human heart.

"His inclination towards the worst portion of the traitors (his only support) is clearly shown by the distinction with which, before and since his arrival in the country, he has rewarded the services they have rendered him. Marquez and Mejia received autograph letters from their sovereign, as presents from Miramar, in which he is prodigal of praises, and sends them the cross of the ridiculous order of Guadalupe. Still greater favors have been received by Almonte, whose antecedents point him out as one of the principal persons of the empire. He first figured a few days as lieutenant of the emperor, which was doubtless done for the purpose of ridiculing the triple regency, for how can a change of a fortnight's duration be otherwise explained? The lieutenant has since been made grand marshal of the palace, and also condecorated with the Grand Cross of Guadalupe, which will pair well with that of the Legion of Honor granted him by Napoleon as a reward for his services rendered, not to Mexico, but to France. Almonte will probably figure in the imperial ministry, thus at last quenching the thirst for honors which has tormented him all his life, though he will have to submit to appear in the second place after having always aspired to the first.

"Besides the three last mentioned personages, the prelates of the Mexican church (all of them in favor of the monarchy) have been tendered by the emperor the inevitable Cross of Guadalupe—a very inexpensive gift; and so have the local authorities of the places touched at in his journey. At first sight it seems strange that men so burdened with execrable crimes as Marquez and Mejia should receive such marks of distinction; but on reflection, unless they and their party are the recipients of imperial munificence, the latter would not know what to do with its gifts, inadmissible as they are to every Mexican not contaminated with their monarchy-plague. Maximilian will ere long see that his wished-for fusion of parties is a chimera. The independent, the liberal, the reformist, the republican party, resolved never to treat, openly thrust him away. The only prop of Maximilian is that of the insignificant minority formed out of the old reactionary party. Weak and powerless as this faction is, it will be able to keep power in its chosen sovereign just so long as it can count upon the efficacious assistance of the foreign bayonets. The day in which they disappear will see the fall of the throne which they uphold, the parvenue seated thereon, and the few traitors around it.

"Few are the events concerning the friends of Mexico's independence which we can mention here. The constant efforts made by the constitutional government to prepare to again renew the struggle in which it is resolved never to waver, be its concomitant accidents and dangers what they may, admit of no full explanations which might injure the good cause. The result of those efforts will in time be given, treating at present only those events which already belong to publicity.

"Interesting communications have passed between the governor of the state of Tamaulipas and the captain of a French vessel that has long been watching the harbor of Matamoras. The captain thought to gain over the governor in favor of the intervention and the empire by employing the thread-bare argument that the national will is declared in its favor. The governor replied, in terms as dignified as energetic, by showing the falsehood of alleged fact, declaring that he was firmly resolved to uphold the laws and the government that the nation had framed for itself in the enjoyment of its indisputable sovereignty. Both sides employed courteous phrases in their communications, such as those of enemies belonging to civilized nations should always be.

"In the first part of the month a deplorable military revolt occurred, in which, though the government was not ignored, some of its orders were disobeyed, alleging dislike to certain officers. When the mutiny was suppressed, it was necessary to go to the sad extremity of severely punishing the ringleaders guilty of a very severe crime under any circumstances, but much more so in the present case, when all promoting of discord and encouragement of anarchy among the defenders of our country's nationality is a fault of the greatest degree.

"We have only just received the accounts of various military encounters of more or less recent date. The most noteworthy was that under General Kampfner, again master of Zacualtipan, where he has re-established the government and military commandancy of the second district of the State of Mexico.

"Vincent Riva Palacio, governor of the first district of the same State, is carrying on the campaign with activity and success. Other leaders, as Tellez, Romero, the Craviotos, and many more, allow the enemy no rest. The guerilla soldiers of Zacatecas have latterly obtained some advantages over the French detachments sent in pursuit of them.

"Colonel Joseph Rincon Gallardo, recently appointed governor of Guanajuato, withstood an attack in the beginning of the month in the port of San Gregoria, successfully repulsing the French; but, being short of provisions and ammunition, and being threatened by forces very superior in numbers, he resolved to abandon the State. In doing so he passed over a large extent of territory, as he did before he undertook the expedition in that direction, and he is now here with all his men, ready to receive orders from the government itself.

"The troops gathered in Ciudad Victoria under the command of General J. M. J. Carvajal, and those from Matamoras under J. N. Cortina, governor and military commandant of the State of Tamaulipas, are watching the operations of the French and traitors of the counter-guerilla leader Dupin, justly known as a bandit and an incendiary, through the horrible acts of vandalism committed in towns that do not submit unhesitatingly to the intervention. According to last advices Dupin was at Alamitos, Cortina must have reached Ciudad Victoria, and Carvajal was in the mountains. An action between these belligerent forces will probably occur.

"The corps d'armée of Generals Uraga, Diez, and Gonzales Ortega still occupy the ground on which they have for some time been, and are ready for all events likely to occur. We shall soon see what the latter will be by the manner of inaugurating the new period in which the establishment of the empire has initiated us. Although there is room for all sorts of conjectures regarding it, there is, notwithstanding, such sure grounds of reasoning that the suppositions formed now respecting matters that awake the most important considerations will not err very seriously.

"The first among them all (the mainspring we may call it) is that regarding the conduct Napoleon intends to pursue towards his political godson. Either he has merely obtained his elevation, intending to leave him in the lurch, thus seeking an apparently honorable escape from an unpopular, absurd, and unattainable undertaking, or he intends, on the contrary, to continue for some time the execrable work of his intervention, keeping the French expeditionary corps more or less reduced in Mexico, and thus accepting all the consequences of unforeseen events.

"In the first case the question would soon be solved. The removal of the French troops would cause Maximilian's throne to vanish, for there is no stability or duration for it without their support. The independent party, rid of its only formidable enemy, would quickly retake the whole country, from which the adventurer-prince, who came intending to rule it, would be ignominiously ejected. As to France, the result would have a most unfavorable effect on Napoleon's prestige, for his work would fall flat as a card castle; the sacrifices of men and money demanded of the French would be not only servile, but prejudicial; all the immense advantages wrung from the weakness of a monarch in whose eyes neither the dignity nor the welfare of the country over which he is sent to reign are of the least consideration would disappear like smoke—all the treaties, decrees, and financial acts which have settled the ruin of Mexico becoming valueless; and it would be necessary to undertake a new war to get reparation of new and old offences, or to acquiesce in a denouncement every way shameful.

"In the second case, Napoleon, far from really gaining anything by Maximilian's advent to the throne of Mexico, only gets deeper into difficulties and complications. Marshal Forey, with astounding want of penetration, considered the military question settled as soon as he had occupied the capital of the republic; Napoleon with still less, considers the Mexican question settled in all its phases by the acceptance of Maximilian, considering the issue so favorable for the relief of the French treasury, that in the letter addressed on the occasion to Fould, his minister of finance, he proposed the suppression (now adopted) of the charge of the second centime collected as a registrar fee. But plenty of objections to such a pleasing perspective present themselves. The loan meets with immense difficulties in the way of its realization, and may yet be classed under the head of a *canard*. The relief to the French treasury will then be illusory, as it will not receive the 54,000,000 francs on account of the 270,000,000 francs, or the 25,000,000 francs destined for the yearly payment of the expeditionary corps, for the transport service, for the principal and interest of the 216,000,000 francs, to which the debt is considered to be reduced, and for the indemnification of French subjects. The definite result will therefore be, that neither the 54,000,000 francs, nor the yearly 25,000,000 francs will be paid; that the French army will still be supported by Napoleon; that the transport service will also be paid by France; that the expenditure of the expedition will go on *ad infinitum* out of the French treasury, or rather out of the French taxpayer; that the impossibility of a satisfactory denouement to the lawless Napoleonic policy will become more and more apparent; and that popular animadversion will at last put an end (Heaven knows how) to a war in which everything has been sacrificed to caprice and vanity.

"We must not omit to mention the ignominious part the French expeditionary corps will have to play, reduced to a mere auxiliary of the traitors, and paid by the Mexican treasury. That army would not then be in the service of France, but of Mexico, as Guéroult truly remarked. Those troops, their country's pride, would deserve no other name than mercenaries, as Jules Favre has said. After hiring their blood for money, they would only be looked upon with the deepest hatred by the people against whose independence and liberty they would wield their arms.

"We repeat that we do not know how Napoleon will extricate himself from the difficulty into which he has got. The Mexican war cannot be more unpopular in France than it is. The opposition in the forum and the press waxes bolder and stronger every day, because the arguments it employs against the Emperor's policy are unanswerable. The belief that the Mexican question was really settled, with the happy result for France of indemnifying her for all her outlay and insuring the payment of all the claims she might choose to make, leaving at the same time firmly established the monarchy set up under its auspices, would have a very beneficial effect on Napoleon's prestige had not doubts arisen immediately as to whether what was so pompously announced was true or not. When it is positively known that everything continues in the same or rather in a worse condition than before, public discount, hitherto restrained by illusory hopes, will be plainly manifested. Of those hopes are probably those given by Rouher in the French corps législatif, that by the 1st of January, 1865, the expeditionary corps in Mexico would be reduced to 25,000 men, who would also withdraw soon, although no term was fixed. The minister affirmed, notwithstanding, that they would remain but a short while in the country, when the traitor army is being increased and organized, and where the Marquis of Montholon has declared with more than French thoughtlessness, in his official correspondence, that everything has terminated favorably for the empire, opposed by but a few armed bands of robbers. When the real state of affairs is known, we shall see what Napoleon will do, remembering, while we watch his fickle proceedings, two very important facts revealed in our last correspondence, that his intellect is on the wane, and that Eugenie, the clergy's fanatical fool, exerts more influence over him every day.

"Respecting the Mexican empire, it will be well to examine the different eventualities it may encounter. The first and decidedly its most desirable one is that the French army should remain in the country.. But this arrangement, though it will lend efficient support to the throne, will, on the other hand, cause endless complications from the want of funds for the most urgent of the public expenditures. We should not forget that from to-morrow, July 1, all the disbursements belonging to Mexico and those of the French expeditionary corps are to come from the Mexican treasury. It is to be presumed that the latter will be attended to in preference, even though it should be necessary to leave the principal branches of the administration in the completest neglect. All that can be collected, however, will not suffice for the simultaneous expenses of the auxiliary troops and the transport service. In a short time there will be breaches of the compact, and we cannot say what will be done then, such an occurrence not being comprehended in the Miramar convention. First one deficit and then another, until the empire dies of inanition, unless it should perish of something else before.

"Its defunction will be more rapid should it soon miss its only element of vitality—that is, foreign assistance. The days of its ephemeral existence will then be fewer because the ultra reactionary party (the only one that upholds it) is impotent alone, as our history repeatedly proves, to surmount the difficulties of the situation, or even to oppose much resistance. This party, a galvanized corps that will remain utterly motionless as soon as the volaic pile that gives it life be withdrawn, is to-day more than ever despised and known to be a nullity.' We see, therefore, that in the only two cases possible the result will be the same, the only difference being the length of time. In what we have said regarding events near at hand, any one will be able to prove our remarks. Until the day of fulfilment arrives we must follow the clue of the events that are to prepare it.

"Our last advices from Mexico are of the 19th instant. So far there was no cabinet, nor any announcement of the Austrian's political programme. The sub-secretaries of state still performed their functions of a secondary order under the direction of the portfolioless Velazquez. Endeavors were being made to induce some of the liberals of the extinguished moderate party to accept posts under the new government. We understand that these endeavors will be fruitless, those invited refusing to commit an act of the blackest treason, which would admit of no excuse. Their refusal will force Maximilian over to the side of the only people who care for the duration of his reign; and the same will happen with respect to his politics, which the force of necessity will change from contemporizing and fusionist at first, into exclusivist and reactionary under pain of having to adopt none at all, and of carrying out his promised abdication.

"From the beginning of his reign the flatterers of the Austrian prince have not hesitated to give him the title of great, reserved by history for the eminent men to whom nations owe great benefits, or who have at least immortalized themselves by their uncommon actions. The so-called emperor of Mexico has done, and has been able to do, nothing to deserve so distinguished a surname. We do not know what will in future be his proper appellation in view of his acts. For the present, taking into consideration his good and bad qualities, he should be called Maximilian the Early-riser, Maximilian the Devout, Maximilian the Candid, Maximilian the Usurper.

"The Mexican empire is the fruit of an abortion. Rickety, emaciated, and ill-combined, it will have a sickly life and an early death.

"ANTONIO DE CASTRO Y CARRILLO.

"MONTEREY, *July* 31, 1864."

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 19, 1864.

SIR: I have had the honor of receiving your note of the 9th instant, transmitting, for the information of this government, a copy of the printed sheet called "The Foreign Question," issued at the city of Monterey, Mexico, and containing a trustworthy account of the political events which have occurred in the republic of Mexico during the month of July, 1864.

Thanking you for your considerate attention, I tender to you renewed assurances of my consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 12th of January, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, extracts from a political review published in the city of Chihuahua on the 31st of October, 1864, which contains an impartial and correct account of the public events which have transpired in the northern states of the Mexican republic during the said month of October and the previous one of September. I also enclose with this note another review recently published in New York, which contains important news from the city of Mexico, the former capital of the republic, and which shows the true state of affairs at the present time in the part of the country occupied by the French.

With the same object I accompany an important letter written from Vera Cruz to a French paper published in New York.

I avail myself of this occasion to reproduce to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

"THE FOREIGN QUESTION."

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Our last correspondence from Mexico, which scarcely reaches the early part of August, relates various notable cases demonstrating the absolute dependence of the so-called sovereign of that country on the French authorities.

The revocation of the contract by virtue of which the Seminario Consiliar was made the property of a Spanish subject had not been carried into effect, although it was done by Maximilian. The opposition of the French minister had been stronger than the imperial will, obliged, as it is, to submit under the tutelage in which his position places him.

An embargo being issued against Mr. Alfred Balbot, he resisted by force its execution, assisted by some French zouaves. Remonstrance was made for this attempt upon the administration of justice; but a becoming decision had not been obtained, the authority of the judge being entirely disregarded, only because the party interested was a Frenchman, and he relied on the protection of his countrymen, the veritable lords of that portion of the republic subjugated by the intervention, and where there are no laws, nor tribunals, nor any other guarantees save those they feel inclined to allow.

The guerilla Guzman, being sentenced to death by one of the French court-martials, which are now disposing at pleasure of the lives of the Mexicans, some influential persons from Guanajuato interested themselves in saving his life, and asked Maximilian, by telegraph, to pardon him, which he did. Bazaine knowing this, opposed the revocation of the sentence given by the court, and the so-called emperor of Mexico, instead of insisting on the fulfilment of his order—as his dignity demanded—tried to obtain from the French general as a favor to relent in his opposition. We are ignorant of the *denouement* of this disgraceful incident.

In order to put an end to the grievous burden of the tax of one-tenth of eight per cent. which has been levied in order to defray the expenses of the French officers, his Imperial Majesty ordered that a proper decree should be drawn up for the purpose, revoking the previous one, and that it should be sent to the press for publication. Bazaine heard of it, and without any regard whatever to Maximilian, without condescending even to see him in person in order to induce him to suspend his determination, proceeded himself to the printing-office to which the decree had been sent, in order to prohibit its being printed; and the decree was not issued, and the emperor patiently bore an outrage of so much magnitude.

These circumstances are eloquent enough of themselves, to spare us anything more than the simple narration of them, in order to present in all its deformity the abject and miserable subjection in which the interventionists, from the emperor down, find themselves to the bold adventurer who allows himself all these liberties, because he knows that on his assistance exclusively depends the existence of an order of things contrary to the national will, and because he is concerned with men who have lost every sentiment of honor.

So well convinced are all men now of the truth of this, especially as far as Maximilian is concerned, that in order to give in one word an exact idea of the sad part which he is acting, he is now designated by two ingenious nicknames. The French call him the *Archdupe;* the Mexicans, the *Empeorador,* (a man making things worse.)

In order to lay the foundation of the treasury of his empire, we do not know by any means what advice has been given him by the famous committee on finance, appointed for the purpose, and composed, in a measure by the direct choice of the interventionist government, of strangers, ignorant of the statistics of the country, and of Mexicans who are also very far from being considered as very skilful financiers. We suppose that with the accession of the other members who are to be nominated by the departments, the populous committee will proceed to enter upon the discharge of the duties intrusted to them, in accordance with the terms of an intricate regulation, countersigned by the assistant secretary of the body, Don Martin Castillo, who has had the disgrace of being adorned, by Napoleon III, with the legion of honor.

No doubt it was thought to avoid the scandal produced by the assassinations of the court-martials, by the declaration that in the Mexican empire the French military code was in force, which had already been applied in all the cases that had occurred. The very fact of its being considered necessary to make this declaration will serve to show that the previous application of the French code has been, even in the eyes of the interventionists themselves, an assault upon the sovereignty of the country, borne indeed with patience, and in virtue of which penalties have been imposed entirely unknown in our legislation. The inopportune remedy that it has been sought to apply to an evil so serious, will only result in strengthening the conviction, for which so many other proofs abound, of the fact that the so-called Mexican empire, wherein Napoleonic laws prevail, and where tribunals of Napoleon himself are established, is in reality nothing else than a French colony.

Of the great measures by which the regeneration of Mexico is being effected, one of the chief is that of the obligation of hearing mass, as if the civil government should interfere in the religious actions of the governed. Desiring, nevertheless, to conciliate the command of the church with official duties, it has been ordered that officials should be present on Sabbath and other holy days also at their offices, for which the phrase has been used that they *should attend to business (vaque al trabajo,)* a gallicism by which we are very forcibly made to understand that it is sought even to extend the French intervention to the beautiful Castilian language.

The other administrative measures that have come to our knowledge are the creation of the general treasury, under the likewise Frenchified name of central chest, and the appointment to a diplomatic mission of D. Pablo Martinez del Rio, to whom the rights of Mexican citizenship were previously granted. The elevation of this new subject of the empire, the only act as yet known to be performed by the minister of foreign affairs, Ramirez, can be characterized simply as scandalous, when we remember that the individual thus honored, a native of South America, and an English subject for many years, belongs to a commercial house that has had a very direct hand in the serious grievances that have been endured by the national exchequer, in virtue of one of those diplomatic treaties by which foreign ministers have exerted so terrible and baleful an influence.

The heirs of the ancient titles of nobility of the epoch of the vice-regal government have commenced to resume those aristocratic distinctions, Don Antonio Hurtado, Conde del Valle, figuring among the first nobles. The presentation is already announced of various pretenders to titles and pensions, as descendants of the Emperor Montezuma. Those who know the history of the acquisition of the pompous titles which it is now proposed to restore, may be moved to smile at the pretensions and baubles of a ridiculous aristocracy, whose origin is in almost all cases derived from a very low extraction. With these laughable titles, the new ones will come to sport which Maximilian will undoubtedly confer upon his courtiers, with the aggravating circumstance that the recent nobility will be, not simply ridiculous, like the ancient one, but detestable and hateful, as emanating from infamy and treason.

In regard to the eternal question relative to ecclesiastical affairs, a noisy discussion has taken place between the Sociedad and the Estaffete. The former of these periodicals, in accordance with its old and fanatical ideas, continued its opposition to all the reforms proper to the enlightenment of the age, although in practice it had already retrograded, being a thousand leagues away from the energy which it displayed as the organ of the party of reaction, when it was the liberal government of Mexico that decreed and carried into effect the salutary innovations, since sustained by General Bazaine, and which it is believed will be likewise accepted by Maximilian. The Estaffete, remarkable to a degree that no other paper is for the versatility of its editor, has, in matters ecclesiastical, reached the ground of good principles, although certainly disposed to combat them anew to-morrow, in case it should so suit the protectors who support him with so much generosity, that Barrés receives every month a thousand dollars of the revenue of Mexico.

In order to become acquainted with the provinces of his empire, Maximilian proposed in last August to undertake a journey, which, indeed, he did as far as Leon. Although he had intended to proceed further, it appears that some bad news which he received did not permit him to do so. We know that on the 15th of September he was at Dolores, where he delivered a speech, at half past eleven o'clock at night, from a window of the house of Hidalgo. This act of mockery on the part of the adventurer, who thus thought to manifest his feelings in favor of Mexican independence, while he is in fact serving as an instrument in the hands of the crowned despot of France to deprive us of the precious benefit bequeathed to us by the immortal curate whose house he profaned, will serve to confirm the idea that the empire, and everything connected with it, is a miserable farce, which would only appear in a ridiculous character if the imperishable traces of its existence, which it is leaving everywhere, were not marked with blood.

In Mexico, also, the anniversary of our glorious emancipation was celebrated with sacrilegious solemnity. To the great disgust of the conservatives, who have always sought to place the 27th of September on a level with the 16th, a circular was issued by the so-called imperial government, prescribing that the feast of the 27th should not be celebrated. For the ceremonies of the 15th and 16th, there were particular places set apart for the court and the family of Iturbide, in the Cathedral, in the theatre, and in the public square, where Charlotte, in the absence of Maximilian, proceeded to lay the first stone of the monument consecrated to independence, as a new instance of the Austrian hypocrisy. A decree was likewise to be issued, establishing a house equally called by the name of Independence House, as if this were compatible with foreign domination.

Convinced that his government cannot be established except under the protection of French bayonets, the archduke has sought, in concert with Bazaine, to take advantage of the brief time that the expeditionary army in its actual strength is yet to remain in the country, in order to subject to the foreign yoke some of the States of the republic which have preserved themselves free from this plague, and especially to employ himself in destroying the national government, whose existence is a constant protest, and the most eloquent of all, against the supposed conformity of the Mexican people with the new order of things, proceeding from the will of Napoleon. In order to execute the above-mentioned project, the expeditions against Oaxaca and Monterey were undertaken and conducted at the same time that the ruin of the army of the centre was to be procured by the means of treason, when force of arms had been found impotent to conquer it.

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In that of the centre, not only were the treacherous means fruitless that were employed to seduce it into following the defection of Uraga, but also, on the very contrary, the praiseworthy result of measures so treacherous only purified the valiant defenders of the good cause, who, after the resistance which they have offered to the attempts at seduction made at the most critical moments of the present unfortunate epoch, inspire the whole country with the most just and merited confidence, so far as to induce the belief that it is impossible under any circumstances for them to falter in their sacred duty of sacrificing themselves for their country.

Among the most remarkable circumstances of loyalty and firmness on the part of the soldiers who have remained faithful to their flag, the case of ex-General Caamaño deserves to be cited. This man set the forces under his command in motion, and took the road to Morelia, without having communicated to them the treacherous plan which he had of delivering them to the enemy, in order that they might not be able to escape, even if such were their will. Fortunately, the loyal Colonel Garcia suspected what was going on, and resolutely refusing to proceed any further, succeeded in tearing the mask from Caamaño, who managed with much difficulty to save himself by flight, thereby escaping the punishment to which he had rendered himself amenable. Of the force not one man followed him, so that he had to appear alone before the traitors in the most contemptible manner.

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After his defection, instead of retiring to private life, Uraga endeavored on every occasion to show himself more and more disloyal, and made renewed efforts to make his former companions in arms participators in his cowardly treachery. With this vile purpose he wrote from Leon to all the generals of the army of the centre, from whom he received patriotic and pointed answers, that have been a humiliating lesson for the improvised agents of Maximilian.

As soon as General Arteaga assumed command, he issued a circular, remarkable for its energy, wherein, considering the war under the urgent character that belongs to it from every point of view, he sets down the incontrovertible principle that the lives, the fortunes, and all that Mexicans possess, ought to be employed in the defence of the country. The interventionist periodicals raised a howl about these declarations, and characterized them as a proclamation of the most scandalous vandalism; but if their signification be well considered, there can be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man but that, as it would be reprehensible in the highest degree to extort anything from districts or individuals for the particular benefit of the person who should do it, it is, on the contrary, lawful and even obligatory in those intrusted with the direction of public affairs and the maintenance of the contest against the foreign invader, to exact whatever sacrifices may be indispensable in view of the circumstances of the case.

Through considerations of this nature the supreme government has seen itself forced at every step to impose contributions, from which it would prefer to be excused, if it were for a moment permitted to disregard the obligations incumbent upon it as the representative of a nation invaded by audacious foreigners. And yet that same government, while at Monterey, and when the funds destined for the exigencies of the situation had become very low, ordered a general contribution to be levied on capitals of five thousand dollars and over, and indicated the respective quotas to be paid by the States of New Leon, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, and authorized the governors of the other States, not invaded by the enemy, to indicate those that, in their judgment, were compatible with the state of affairs in their respective localities. On the arrival of the time for the payment of the first instalment, there were shown almost in their entirety the quantities assigned to Monterey and to Saltillo, which amounted to half the contribution, the rest remaining uncollected, with the exception of a part that was negotiated on account of the withdrawal of the government before the accomplishment of the second term.

This withdrawal arose from the necessity of not remaining in places threatened by the French forces, whose expedition to Coahuila and New Leon was finally effected about the middle of August. Although the idea of the government had been to make a vigorous defence at Buena Vista, Augostura, availing itself of the advantages of that position, the want of proper means to carry that plan into effect obliged it to adopt the policy of retiring the forces on which it counted, in order to preserve them for enterprises wherein there were more probabilities of a success.

It being arranged that the members of the government should leave Monterey on the 15th day of August, at three o'clock in the evening, an incident occurred, branding its authors with disgrace, and which we would much prefer not to be obliged to mention, which caused the removal to be effected in the midst of undue confusion. Notwithstanding the generosity with which it had pardoned the insurrection of Quiroga, on account of the supposition that he entertained patriotic sentiments, that disloyal man not only did not acknowledge the clemency with which he had been treated, but even thought to take advantage of the critical situation in which the faithful soldiers were placed, threatened as they were in front by the French expeditionary forces, to assault them in the rear, thus making himself guilty of the most infamous treason. Some of his subordinates, in the most complete state of insubordination and want of discipline, commenced at an early hour of the morning of the 15th to fire upon the small detachment that had remained in the city to escort the President, as the whole disposable force of infantry had marched off on the road to Saltillo. The battalion of Guanajuato having been ordered to return, its presence sufficed, without any necessity of having recourse to arms, to restrain the few intractable men who were giving so sad an example of ruffianism amid a peaceful people. The President of the republic, regarding with the contempt which it deserved, this outrage on the part of the followers of Quiroga, did not change in the slightest particular the order appointed for his march, which was begun at the hour previously appointed, without one minute's anticipation, and after due transaction of all the business that offered itself on that day.

On that first day he rested at Santa Catalina, four leagues from Monterey, as a new demonstration of the contempt with which he regarded the purpose of the authors of the insult offered to the chief magistrate of the nation. But persisting in their disgraceful and infamous course, these men, on the morning of the 16th, committed the further crime of firing again on the escort of the government. Repulsed in the act, they returned no more to molest it in any way, and from their repeated delinquencies gained no other advantage than to have given a shameful example of ruffianism.

The abandoned city fell under the power of the soldiers of Quiroga, who had the assurance, notwithstanding the notoriety of the acts just mentioned, to boast in the proclamations which he afterwards issued, that he had wrested Monterey from the government by force of arms. Not content with publishing such a barefaced falsehood, he carried his insolence to such a degree as to presume to attack, in terms the most disrespectful, the very same government to which he had submitted a few days before with protestations of his intention to obey its orders, and to fight against the foreign enemy. With an astonishing amount of falsehood, he asserted that the government had failed to keep the promises that had been made to him on condition of his submission, when the truth is, that his submission was entirely unconditional, and when in no case would it have been caused by the conditions which he supposes were offered. He found himself under the necessity of maintaining that his protestations of obedience had been fictitious, without reflecting that by such a disgraceful confession he necessarily degraded himself in the eyes of every man of honor. He accumulated charges against the official acts performed in virtue of the law which ordered the sequestration of the property of traitors, going so far even as to stigmatize as robbery the just punishment inflicted on the gravest crime that can be committed. In fine, he shows himself throughout his whole conduct in such a repugnant light that he appears to be one of those men, fortunately very rare, in whom has been extinguished every sentiment of morality, of honor, and of delicacy.

As soon as he returned to the State of New Leon with arms in his hands, he presented himself in the character of acting governor of the State, appointed such as his substitute by Don Santiago Vidaurri, who remained in Texas, away from all danger, in expectation of the issue of the enterprise undertaken by his substitute. It is now very evident that this could never have been carried into effect had it not been for the coincidence of the proximity of the French expedition. The government had ample means to suppress an insurrectionary movement that found no support among the people of New Leon, who had already received a sufficiently severe lesson from their former sufferings under the unsupportable yoke of the functionary Vidaurri who had, for so long a time, imposed his rule upon them, without any limitation than that of his own caprice. When circumstances unexpectedly made Quiroga master of Monterey, he immediately called in Vidaurri, impressed with the firm belief that the French would leave him as political prefect, in recompense for the acts of treason which caused his fall, and on account of the submission which both of them were disposed to make. Such calculations, however, proved fallacious; the baseness by which it was sought to preserve positions which have always been occupied to the exclusive advantage of those who held them, was not a reason to induce General Castagny to enter into the indicated combination. Vidaurri and Quiroga submitted voluntrily to the intervention, in the quality of private citizens, notwithstanding which they were ordered to report at the city of Mexico.

General Castagny advanced from Saltillo to Monterey, where his first action was to issue a proclamation, in order to assure, without any other guarantee than his own word, that the Emperor Maximilian was going to change to a lasting happiness the state of misery under which the Mexicans had hitherto lived under the republican system. Subsequently, he proceeded to the appointment of local authorities, for which, although he selected, as was natural, persons characterized as inventionists, he had the precaution to indicate the punishment of imprisonment for six months, in case of resistance; thus giving the most unequivocal proof of the distrust which the French themselves entertain in regard to the popularity of the intervention.

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In New Leon, as well as in Coahuila and Tamaulipas, the patriotic spirit is kept alive, which the invaders have nowhere succeeded in suffocating. The constitutional authorities are there giving remarkable proofs of their attachment to the national cause. General Hinojosa, governor of New Leon, was at Cerralvo about the end of September, organizing forces to oppose the advance of the enemy, and as soon as he receives the re-enforcements under Colonel Naranjo, he will be in a condition to advance to the gates of Monterey. Colonel Don Gregorio Galindo, governor of Coahuila, after indignantly rejecting the insidious proposals of Aguilar, continued to collect, at San Fernando de Rosas, whatever elements of war were possible. General Cortina, governor of Tamaulipas, who had already returned to Matamoras, prepared to resist the attack of a French division that had disembarked at the mouth of the Rio Grande, whence it was getting ready to march on that city. The three above-mentioned functionaries were of one accord and in the best harmony with each other, so as to render each other mutual assistance in their operations. Their patriotism, and that of the inhabitants of the States confided to their direction, left no doubt but that the French should not present themselves with impunity in that part of the frontier.

On the 17th the government reached the *hacienda* of Santa Maria, where information was received that the forces collected at Saltillo began their retreat that same night. In order to unite with them, it took on the following day the road to Monclova, and halted for the night at the *hacienda* of Mesillas.

The retreat of the army, composed of two divisions commanded by Generals Gonzalez, Ortega, and Alcalde, each fifteen hundred strong, was effected in the best possible order, the trains and artillery being all brought off, with the exception only of some six pieces, which on account of their weight were left behind, after being rendered unserviceable. The enemy did not enter Saltillo until the 20th, and did not immediately send any forces in pursuit of ours.

At the *hacienda* of Anhelo, it was resolved to abandon the road to Monclova, which had been followed thus far, in order to take the lateral direction to Parras, since, although this necessitated a prolonged flank march, at a short distance from Saltillo, the enemy did not pursue, and forces were not wanting to resist him, in case he attempted any rapid movement, and the new route had over the former one the advantage of leading to more available positions and of facilitating the junction of the troops commanded by General Patoni. As soon as this plan was adopted, which offered the greatest advantages, it was arranged, also, that the government should proceed ahead with a small escort, and that all the rest of the army should cover the rear, under the command of General Gonzalez Ortega.

The danger that had been anticipated did not fail soon to be realized. A French force came within a short distance of our soldiers, who thereupon prepared for action, as a collision seemed inevitable, since, inasmuch as the retreat which they were effecting was not a flight, and as it was not desirable to abandon the trains and artillery, the marches that were being made were from four to six leagues, and our soldiers were constantly in sight of the enemy. Whether it was that he had no orders to attack, or that he did not consider himself in sufficient number to effect anything, or that he was operating for some other purpose, what is certain is that no action took place. The French did not advance beyond Parras, where they only remained a few hours, withdrawing immediately from there by the road to Saltillo. The retreat, therefore, terminated without any remarkable occurrence, only a few wagons being lost, which it was necessary to abandon, not through fear of the enemy, but through the weariness or exhaustion of the mules that drew them.

At the town of Viezca the army effected a junction with the government, and from thence they proceeded to the village of Matamoras, whose patriotic inhabitants received the President with the greatest demonstrations of respect and attachment, and to whom, in recompense of the good services which they had formerly displayed, the favor was conceded of having their village converted into a town, under the denomination of Laguna de Matamoras.

The march was continued to the *hacienda* of Santa Rosa, belonging to the State of Durango, where General Patoni came to confer in reference to the plan of campaign which was to be adopted. There it was resolved, that the division commanded by that general, and the two divisions under Generals Ortega and Alcalde, should be combined to form the first army corps of the west, of which General Gonzalez Ortega was to be commander-in-chief, and General Patoni his second in command. The plan adopted was, that the army should march upon Durango, with the purpose of beating a French division that was stationed in that State, and of gaining possession of its capital. The realization of the idea was not deemed difficult, as well because it was known that the enemy's force was inferior in number, as also because ours was animated by a desire to fight, and was in a good condition in regard to *morale* and discipline.

Whilst the projected expedition was being organized and carried into effect, the government directed its course to Mapimi, where it remained some days, after which it set out for the *haciendas* of La Goma and La Loma, and then for La Noria Pedrizeña; remaining at a certain distance from the army, which had already undertaken its advance movement against Durango.

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On the morning of the 17th the authorities and principal inhabitants of Nazas presented themselves at Sobaco, with the band of their town, in order to congratulate the President of the republic on his arrival, and to invite him to come to their town. He did so, in fact, on the evening of the same day, and was received with the most enthusiatic demonstrations of esteem and respect, among which deserves to be mentioned the fact that a great part of the poor people of the town turned out in a body, and one by one embraced the chief magistrate of the country, whom they were all anxious to know. At night there was a banquet, at which assisted the principal persons in the *suite* of the government, the chief citizens of Nazas, and the most conspicuous among the refugees from other places. The greatest cordiality prevailed in the assemblage, and numerous and enthusiastic toasts were given.

The President resolved to await at Nazas the result of the military operations just undertaken by our army, in order to establish the place of residence of the government, according to the issue which they might have. The delay would necessarily be only of a few days, inasmuch as the belligerent forces were already confronting each other.

The first army corps of the west had advanced as far as Tapona, four leagues distant from Porfias, where a French force was encountered, when General Ortega received notice that another body of the invaders, marching from Zacatecas, was coming to the aid of those of Durango, and was then in the neighborhood of San Miguel del Mezquital. In consequence of this information, he resolved to make a forced march by night with the intention of surprising and destroying the above-mentioned division, after which he might be able to march upon Zacatecas or return to Durango. In accordance with this plan, he effected a march of eighteen leagues, which, however, did not have the desired result, as the force which he was going to attack had opportunely retreated, being warned no doubt by some traitors of the dangers which they incurred.

This opportunity being lost, it was resolved to return to the first intention of attacking the French belonging to the garrison of Durango. In order to accomplish this, the army started from San Miguel de Mezquital, and took the road to the *hacienda* of La Estanzuela, in the neighborhood of which the enemy had already taken up a position.

In view of the consideration that a battle was imminent, the ground was reconnoitred whereon it could be fought with advantage, our troops being stationed at a short distance from the above-mentioned *hacienda*, its right resting on a hill called Majoma, which was the key of the position. Thereon were placed ten pieces of artillery and the division commanded by General Patoni, the other two divisions, those of Zacatecas and of General Alcalde, remaining on the open plain, and forming the centre and left of the army, with the cavalry posted on the two wings.

General [illegible]rbajal, in command of a body of skirmishers, advanced as far as La Estanzuela, where fire was opened on the French. In this skirmish the advantage remained on our side, our troopers having caused some loss to the enemy and captured some of their Arab horses.

Colonel Martin, who commanded the force opposed to us, thought at the beginning that he had only to do with a small rear-guard of ours, and was not undeceived of his error until he had advanced too far to be able to retire. Under circumstances so critical no choice was left to him but to order his soldiers to attack with their accustomed daring. Our artillery opened fire upon the advanced column, and one of the first discharges killed Colonel Martin, his body being cut into two parts.

Major Fapy, who assumed the command in his place, followed up the assault with all impetuosity, the zouaves being animated by the desire of avenging their chief. The assault was made against the hill of Majoma, as the enemy very soon understood that if he became master of it the battle would be gained. The defence of that position was so vigorous that, notwithstanding the impetus of the French, we succeeded in stopping them and compelling them to withdraw. In this action the battalion of Chihuahua especially distinguished itself, under the command of its brave colonel, Ojinaga.

However, the enemy, unwilling to acknowlege himself beaten, returned to the charge with greater boldness. Resisted in the beginning with the same strength as before, he persevered in the attack until he succeeded in compelling the division of Patoni to yield the field to it, notwithstanding the exertions of that general and of various other officers. In vain, to prolong the defence, did the first battalion of Zacatecas ascend the hill, bravely led by its colonel, Don Francisco Fernandez, who fell there a victim to his courage; and the same fate befell Colonel Villagrana, of the 2d Zacatecas.

Though at that moment the battle seemed lost, a charge of cavalry directed against the brow of the hill succeeded in turning the balance in our favor. The pieces that had been lost were recovered; the enemy suffered considerable loss, as many of his infantry were struck down with the lance; others were dispersed in different directions, and some already appeared in the act of allowing themselves to be taken prisoners. Fate, however, did not permit the triumph which we had gained to be a lasting one. A last and desperate attack of the enemy changed anew the aspect of the battle. The cavalry alone could not defend the position without the assistance of infantry. One circumstance, moreover, contributed to demoralize it, and that was, that General Castro, who commanded it, was severely wounded, as had also previously been General Don Silvestre Aranda. The cavalry, therefore, had to abandon the hill, although neither dispersed nor routed, but retiring in good order, and ready to return to action whenever it should be necessary. All accounts agree that a further re-enforcement of our infantry would have been sufficient to secure to us the victory; but this re-enforcement was not brought up, because it was found impossible to reorganize the troops that had been demoralized, and those that yet remained in good order were not brought into action.

At nightfall the retreat was commenced, by which the battle was terminated. It was a really anomalous one in regard to several of its incidents. Although the French remained masters of the field of battle and of part of our artillery, their loss was much more considerable than ours, and their state of prostration was such that they did not even attempt to pursue our forces in their retreat, which, far from having been completely routed, went off in the best possible order, retiring gradually from the scene of conflict. The cavalry charge, which produced such fortunate results, restored the prestige of that arm of the service, previously very much demoralized. The valor with which our soldiers fought was shown by the fact that they repulsed several assaults of the enemy, although the latter conducted themselves with the remarkable boldness which [illegible] natural to them. The general conviction of friends and enemies that a final re-enforcement of our troops would have given us the victory produces the bitter affliction that a battle should have been lost which ought to have been gained.

In the accounts which the French have published about the memorable action of the 21st of September they falsify with their usual barefacedness. They assert that the Mexican army was composed of 3,500 infantry and 700 cavalry, and they boast of having routed it with only 531 French and 80 traitors under the command of Padre Meraz. Not satisfied, however, with these falsehoods, the cynical Don Antonio G. de Palacio, editor of the *Periodico Official*, of the political prefecture of Durango, and more than usually remarkable for his base adulation to the French, has carried exaggeration to the extreme of saying that they fought in the proportion of one to ten. The historical truth is, that the army corps of the centre did not reach in all to 2,500 men, of whom only 800 or 1,000 were engaged in the battle, the greater part of the force of Zacatecas and the whole division of Alcalde not even having fired a gun.

Likewise, in the losses confessed by the enemy, there has been a very considerable abatement, notwithstanding the affectation with which they have entered into minute particulars at the time of detailing it. The acknowledged loss scarcely amounts to some hundred men, when it is certain that the true number was much greater. It is easy to understand the interest which is had in all these concealments and falsifications which are promulgated for various purposes. When it is sought to picture the constitutional government of the country as already dead, or at least in a state of agony, it is asserted that it is deprived of every element of defence; and especially in regard to armed force, it is always represented in very reduced numbers, and composed at most of a disorganized and undisciplined mob. When, on the contrary, the time comes for offering battle, the whole aspect of things changes, and the number of our soldiers is extravagantly exaggerated. And in order that no dismay may arise when the French suffer any losses of importance, they are concealed with great care, and the invaders would appear invulnerable, if it were possible.

Sad as it may be that the triumph, which ought undoubtedly to be obtained, should have been turned into a rout, it serves as a pleasing recollection that the battle of Majoma has contributed to prove anew the already well known-valor of our soldiers whenever they are conducted by chiefs inspired with high-toned honor. It is equally satisfactory to have the certainty that the enemy paid very dearly for the unexpected triumph which he obtained. The commander of the expeditionary force, several officers, and many soldiers, paid with their blood for the outrage committed by their Emperor. Inasmuch as it is to be understood that it is impossible to replace the losses endured by the French, other battles like that of the 21st of September would give the same result as the victory of Pyrrhus.

Through a fatality that has no satisfactory explanation, the army of the west, which had retreated in good order from the field of battle, was in a great measure disbanded that same night of the 21st. This occurrence has generally been attributed to the fatigue occasioned by a march of seven leagues that was made from San Miguel del Mezquital to the neighborhood of La Estanzuela, by the action which subsequently took place, and by the new march which was undertaken at the termination of the battle of seven leagues more to return again from La Estanzuela to San Miguel, and of three leagues additional which the army proceeded, without having had any food or rest. Already on the preceding days the soldiers had made long and painful marches and counter-marches, and had, moreover, suffered great hardships, inasmuch as the exceeding scantiness of funds in the treasury had not permitted any relief to be afforded to them, except during very few days.

The army of the west being dissolved for the reason expressed, those of the force that yet remained placed themselves under the orders of Generals Carbajal and Quesada, of whom the former was appointed governor and military commander, *ad interim*, of the State of Durango. This force is now being gradually augmented, has already succeeded in reaching a very considerable number, and under the protection of the good positions which abound in the country which it occupies, will continue to increase and become disciplined, so as to be ready very soon to renew hostilities against the French, to whom it will give new and eloquent proofs of the interminable nature of the conflict undertaken in defence of the national independence, while our soil remains profaned by the invaders, and until the tottering throne raised on the points of their bayonets shall fall crashing to the earth.

Being informed of the disaster of Majoma, the government was under the necessity of starting from Nazas on its way to this State of Chihuahua, in which it has found, as it had anticipated, the most profound hatred to the intervention, the most decided feeling in favor of the independence of the country, the greatest loyalty and respect for the supreme government, and the most marked sympathy for the person of the President of the republic. With these sentiments, they have made a display of them truly remarkable, and it is but just that we should assume to narrate some particulars relative to their manifestation.

The first place of any importance that is met on entering from the south of the State, is the town of Coronado de Rioflorido. Being received there with frank demonstrations of joy, the supreme chief of the republic, on the night of his arrival, presented himself to the inhabitants of the place, who were most eager to see him. A public assemblage, participated in by all, covered the way that intervened between the lodgings of the President and those of the minister of war, whose birthday was celebrated at the same time as the arrival of the government. At both places a select assemblage was collected, in which speeches were delivered in reference to public affairs, and repeated protestations were made of the purpose of all to co-operate efficaciously in the salvation of the country. The people, who never ceased to shout enthusiastically for the President and for General Negrete, manifested the most vehement desire to have the government remain here one day more, for the purpose of enabling them to renew their manifestations of affection. The necessity of losing no time in the despatch of various affairs of importance that were pending, did not allow a compliance with these solicitations, for which reason those who had made them were the more anxious to take advantage of this night to reproduce their patriotic manifestations.

On the way from Rioflorido to the town of Allende, the government tarried at the *hacienda* of La Concepcion, whose masters, the Señors Urquidi, invited it to dine there. A notable occurrence at this place was that the respectable Don Juan N. Urquidi took his sons, one by one, into the presence of the supreme magistrate of the nation, impressing upon them the importance of the act, in order that it might be one of those reminiscences that are never forgotten, and telling them that they should never forget that they had the honor of knowing the President of the republic

In the town of Allende the reception was as spontaneous and enthusiastic as in all the other towns of the State. The President having rested at the house of Señor Don Joaquin H. Dominguez, there took place in it, on the day following his arrival, a reunion of friends to dinner, partly composed of the followers of the government and partly of various distinguished citizens of Chihuahua. The toasts were so patriotic and moving that they drew tears from eyes accustomed to encounter death without blinking. Then they went out by the pleasant walks under the shade-trees bordering on the town, and situated along the banks of the river, until they came to a little square where a band of music soon presented itself with a large concourse of the neighbors. In order to commemorate the arrival of the President, it was resolved to raise a small monument on this location, without any other inscription than that of the date and the names of Juarez and liberty.

In the city of Hidalgo del Parral the same scene was repeated which we have just described. The authorities and principal citizens came out to a considerable distance to receive the President. At the entrance of the city the people awaited him and thronged every available point of transit, and their enthusiastic shouts of applause mingled with the sonorous echoes of the band. Here, as elsewhere, they were eager to take the mules from the carriage, to which proceeding Señor Juarez was always opposed, giving as a reason that freemen should never draw the carriage of any man. The official reception took place in the town-house, where various patriotic discourses were delivered, which were answered by the President in the same strain.

On the evening of the day following that of the arrival of the government, it received the tribute of a ball given in its honor in the same town-house, at which the chief families of the place assisted. When the President passed to the room adjoining the ball-room, in order to participate in the collation that was served up, enthusiastic toasts in reference to the actual circumstances of the country were, as usual, repeated. The President remained at the ball until four o'clock in the morning, much gratified with the constant consideration with which he was treated by that select assembly.

On the 12th of the month was effected the entrance of the government into the capital of the State, at five o'clock in the evening. At the *rancho* of Avalos, situated at the distance of a league from the city, the President awaited the proper hour, and thither came in succession the governor of the State, General Angel Trias, the magistrates of the supreme tribunal of justice, the officials of the federation and of the State, and a considerable number of the most distinguished citizens. For the entrance into the town, the government cortege arranged itself in order on the road. Salutes, ringing of bells, rockets, bands of music, huzzas, were here, as in every place on the line of march, the spontaneous expression of the joy with which the people of Chihuahua regarded the coming of the President. At the public walk of Santa Rita two lines were formed by the forces of the national guard, among whom the cavalry company, formed of youths belonging to the most distinguished families, were conspicuous.

In this capital, as in Nazas and at Santa Rosalia, the people sought to enter the lodgings of the President to become acquainted with him and to embrace him. These proceedings lasted about an hour, on account of the large number of those who took part in them. Each one, undoubtedly, carried away the indelible reminiscence of the affable and cordial manner with which he was received.

At eight o'clock in the evening a banquet was served up, at which assisted the most prominent citizens, and in which toasts were pronounced in which the most decided patriotism was manifested. The people, crowding to the windows of the banquet-room, which fronted on the street, took part in the sincere manifestations of the sentiments which now animate all good Mexicans. They frequently repeated their shouts for the President and for General Negrete, with whom they were very eager to become acquainted.

The banquet being finished, in order that the desires of the people, who called for the President to come out, might be satisfied, he went forth to the square where stands the monument of Hidalgo. When he reached there he delivered an energetic and expressive discourse, in which he manifested his determination to continue to discharge his arduous obligations, and offered the due tribute to the self-sacrificing spirit of the hero sacrificed on that spot by the partisans of the Spanish domination. Afterwards General Trias spoke; he denominated Juarez the second Hidalgo, praised his virtues, and recommended him as a model to be imitated by all patriots. Citizen Jesus Aguirre y Fierro also addressed the assemblage, and energetically called forth the sentiments of patriotic duty incumbent on the people of Chihuahua, to sacrifice themselves for our imperilled nationality, rather than accept the ill-omened intervention to whose yoke the traitors have submitted.

This spectacle, like that of the 15th of September at La Neria Pedrizeña, like that of the 16th at the *hacienda* of Sobaco, was really pathetic and highly moving. The records of two epochs of glory and misfortune combined to unite them with indissoluble ties. Now, even as when Hidalgo rose against the Spanish domination, the same sacred object is in question. It was sought then to achieve the independence of the Mexican nation; now it is sought to preserve this precious blessing obtained at the price of the blood of so many heroes. The fate of Hidalgo, far from causing dismay, produced a contempt for death; and confidence in him who is now, as he (Hidalgo) was then, the representative of our nationality, inspires the soul with the pleasing hope that on this occasion also the just cause which he defends will triumph, as then triumphed that which Hidalgo proclaimed, notwithstanding that there are more serious obstacles to be overcome.

From the monument of Hidalgo they returned to the government-house, whence the President withdrew to his lodgings. The rest of the assemblage remained together until a very advanced hour of the night, without the slightest diminution, for a single moment, of the enthusiasm with which it was possessed.

With the arrival of the government at this capital terminated the long wandering of more than three hundred leagues which it made through the States of Coahuila, Durango, and Chihuahua. In its transit through all the towns and villages on its route it has had occasion to assure itself by experience of the patriotism of the inhabitants of those places. Very few, indeed, are the exceptions of those that showed themselves favorable to the intervention. The respect and affection which were manifested to the government at every point, although it did not come to scatter felicity, but to make the Mexicans of the frontier participants in the calamities incident to the situation, clearly demonstrates the spontaneity of these manifestations. We have purposely dwelt on the minute enumeration of them, in order that a clear and accurate judgment may be formed of the true wishes of the people of the localities free from foreign influence, where interventionist protestations have never been voluntarily made, as in those places occupied by the invader. So remarkable is this difference, that it should engage the attention of every impartial man, as the contrast between the reception offered to Maximilian at those points of his supposed empire which he has visited, and the reception offered to Juarez in those States not yet contaminated by the tread of the stranger. Doubtful, indeed, at the very least, is the popularity of a foreign prince, always coldly received by the mass of the people, and without any other adherents than some few miserable flatterers, who, by means of supreme orders, money, and suggestions of every kind, procure to have a ridiculous semblance of public rejoicing in the reception of their emperor. On the contrary, the popularity of Juarez is very evident, as, in the terrible hour of adversity, in which the potentates of the earth almost always find themselves abandoned and persecuted, he meets with that love, that consideration, that respect, which, at moments as critical as the present, can be attributed to a decided enthusiasm for the cause which he represents.

The display of patriotic sentiment being concluded, the consideration of the actual state of public affairs was taken up, in order to lose no time in providing for them. With the purpose of informing himself in regard to the means on which he could count in the State, the President had previously summoned various of its principal personages to a meeting in this capital. To this meeting came Governor Trias and Señors Dr. Don Roque Jacinto Moron, Licentiates Don José Egidio, and Don Manuel Muñoz, Colonel Don Ignacio Orosco, Licentiate Don Jesus Palacios, recently appointed deputy to the congress of the union, Don Luis Terrazas, constitutional governor of the State, and Don Francisco Urquidi, planter, and likewise deputy to the general congress from three electoral districts.

The object of the meeting having been explained by the President of the republic, a lengthy discussion was entered upon, in which each one of the persons present declared his opinion with all frankness. All agreed that the largest possible force should be raised by means of the system of voluntary recruiting, from which confident hopes were entertained of the most auspicious results. They equally agreed as to the urgent necessity of collecting the necessary funds for the expenses that were to be incurred in the defence of the national independence, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, imposed and to be levied in the way of general contribution, being fixed upon as the smallest limit that could be assigned in the beginning. The unanimity with which persons so well acquainted with the particular circumstances of the State agreed in regard to these points was extremely satisfactory to the government, no less than the expression of the conviction entertained by all that Chihuahua was obliged to spare no sacrifice under the present critical circumstances. We have no doubt but that the patriotism of all its inhabitants will correspond to the noble display of that quality made by its worthy sons who represented it in the meeting, and who, forgetting the disastrous factions that, unfortunately, had made them enemies of one another, deposited their passions and their resentments on the altar of their country, in order to co-operate mutually in the salvation of the national independence.

In conformity with the opinion expressed, and that there should be no delay in the provision of indispensable materials, the government of the State was authorized to impose, as it has already done, the appointed contribution of one hundred thousand dollars, distributed among the cantons according to the data which were at hand of their respective ability. From the good feelings entertained by the people of Chihuahua in regard to everything connected with the nationality of the country, it is to be presumed on good grounds that they will voluntarily pay the quotas assigned, considering that they are necessary for the continuation of the struggle, and that the government, merely on account of the urgency of the situation, imposes on them these burdens which it would be much better pleased to be able to avoid.

In accordance, likewise, with the resolution passed in reference to the organization of military forces, measures have been taken for the creation or increase of State regiments, for which officers have been appointed from among the most popular and estimable citizens of the State. In addition to the regular force that will thus be placed under arms, we may reckon, in case of necessity, on the services of many patriots, ready to take an active part in the contest if Chihuahua comes to be invaded by the French hosts.

From the neighboring States of Sonora and Sinaloa, it is to be presumed that the necessary auxiliaries will come to give a greater probability of a successful issue to the defence that may be made here, or to afford resources that may enable us to assume the offensive. The patriotism of the inhabitants of this western frontier is well tried. They detest the foreign invasion; they are faithful partisans of the republic; they respect and obey the constitutional government; their authorities, animated with the most vehement desire of complying with the obligations incumbent on them in the present state of the country, are raising new forces, reorganizing the old ones, procuring resources, inspiring the public feeling, preparing to take the field, and are in constant correspondence, both private and official, with the President of the republic, at whose disposal they place all the means in the power of the States under their command.

The governor of Sonora, Don Ignacio Pesquiera, must already be at the mineral region of Alamos, whither he proposed to come as to the nearest point to Chihuahua and Sinaloa. He has taken personal command of the force which he has organized, composed of brave men of Sonora, who are resolved not to depart from the path of duty in the present struggle. Pesquiera has ordered to Mazatlan a battery of rifled ordnance, in order to render the defence of that city an affair of more certainty in case the post should happen to be attacked by the French. * * * * * * * * *

Into whatever part of this quarter of the republic the invaders may intend to penetrate, being, as it is now, free from their hated presence, they will encounter a fierce resistance, in which, perchance, their plans of domination will be dissipated. The State which seems destined to be first invaded is this of Chihuahua, against which an expedition has already, at various times, been announced to be in march. Of the troops which are to constitute this expedition, according to what has been reported, some are to come directly from Durango, and others from Monterey. Those of this latter column have proceeded so far as to enter Parras, in number about 1,500 men, and it was thought certain that they would continue on their march towards this place, when suddenly a part of them retreated towards Saltillo or San Luis Potosi. Of the different interpretations that have been put upon this unseasonable retreat, that which presents itself as the most likely is the one which ascribes it to the triumph said to have been obtained by Genwhence the President withdrew to his lodgings. The rest of the assemblage remained together until a very advanced hour of the night, without the slightest diminution, for a single moment, of the enthusiasm with which it was possessed.

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The invasion having stopped short in this direction, it is not at all probable that it will be soon undertaken by the direction of Durango. The forces of the enemy that were in that State before the battle of Majoma were so much cut up in that fierce combat that it is not at present possible for them, so far from thinking of regular expeditions to distant localities, even to make some few excursions to places in the same State of Durango, occupied by constitutional troops. It is only in case of their receiving re-enforcements of considerable importance that they could think of extending themselves.

Is it probable or not that these re-enforcements will arrive? We have sufficient proofs of the interest which they take in making it appear that the country, throughout its whole length and breadth, should seem to have submitted to the interventionist domination, in order that the deluded might consider as terminated the unrealizable undertaking of Napoleon. We are equally aware of the desperate intention of pursuing the republican government without relenting, conformably to the express orders sent from Paris, whence we are evidently to infer the impossibility of securely establishing the empire as long as the legitimate government of the country lasts. From these considerations we may be induced to believe that it is the purpose to direct, at all costs, an expedition into Chihuahua, in order to obtain all these objects at once. But the difficulties of the enterprise are so extremely serious that the sternest determination might well recoil before them. The line already occupied by the invaders from Vera Cruz to Monterey and Durango, even limiting themselves, as they do, to the capitals and some other cities of importance, is so vast, that the enterprise of extending themselves for some hundreds of leagues further is to be considered as entirely unfeasible. In the event of the confirmation of the victories asserted to have been gained by our troops in Oajaca, Jalisco, and Tamaulipas, the invaders will be still less able to think of distant expeditions, when they are scarcely able to attend to the preservation of the points of which they are actually masters. And, finally, if that likewise is true which is asserted, viz: that at the end of the present year there will re-embark for Europe a number of French, which the most moderate calculation swells to 10,000 men, the expeditionary army will remain so much weakened that, far from being able to assume the offensive in order to gain possession of those States to which it has not yet reached, it will most probably have to abandon some of those that are most distant from its base of operations, or that may be wrested from it by force of arms.

These few considerations suffice to show that the situation of the country, apparently desperate, yet contains the indestructible elements of life that render its triumph undoubted, even though it should rely on no more than the simple action of time, efficacious of itself to assure the desired result. The arguments which we have so often adduced in support of this consoling assertion are now applicable with equal or greater force than on the first day. The work of the intervention depends exclusively on the protection expected from the Emperor of the French. While the expeditionary army remains in the country, a portion, mor or less, of the latter will be subject to the foreign imperialist yoke. Accordin as the invading forces are withdrawn, that which has been lost will gradually b recovered, until the total re-conquest of the national territory shall have bee effected. The burdens of the French treasury will become intolerable and n cessitate the bringing of the expedition to a conclusion, if the great expens which it occasions must continue to be liquidated from that source. If, on th contrary, it is the Mexican treasury that has to pay strangers, whether Frenc or adventurers from various countries, the undeniable impossibility of compl ing with this obligation will put out of the question the realization of the idea of sustaining an unpopular throne by means of foreign aid. And as it is not possible but that one or other of the alternatives mentioned must take place, it follows that, in any event, the triumph of the good cause is undoubted. The question is simply one of time.

On the supposition that, notwithstanding the observations which we have made, the invasion of this State, or of Sinola and Sonora, should come to be effected, we repeat that the enemy will encounter here or there the armed opposition from which we may hope the most favorable consequences. Even in the most unfortunate event, scarcely would that be gained which has been attained in other parts—that is, the occupation of the capital and of one or two other points in the midst of States completely hostile to them and ever obedient to their legitimate authorities. Masters only of the territory which they tread, the French will end by being convinced, sooner or later, that it is impossible to realize their purposes among a people that detest foreign domination.

As to the supreme chief of the nation, it is certain that he will continue to perform the lofty duties of his social position, with the faith which has at no time abandoned him for a single moment, with the abnegation of which he has given such striking proofs. He will not abandon the national territory, whatever be the vicissitudes of war. He will not avoid, in the present contest, however serious or however imminent it may be, the danger with which he has to struggle. In Chihuahua, as at Monterey, as at Saltillo, as at San Luis Potosi, as at Mexico, he will labor incessantly to accumulate elements for the defence of the country. If fortune is propitious to him, he will remain in this city, now the capital of the republic, until he can undertake his triumphal march towards the ancient one, at present groaning under the yoke of the French. If new calamities compel him to change his residence, he will undertake his fourth peregrination; he will traverse deserts, he will climb mountains, carrying ever with him, like the ancient household gods, the sacred cause of the independence of Mexico and of its republican institutions.

ANTONIO DE CASTRO Y CARILLO.

CHIHUAHUA, *October* 31, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

Convinced of the fact that the fate of the Mexican republic profoundly affects the most vital interests of the Spanish-American nations, and likewise those of the United States, we propose to devote a few lines from time to time to the calm and impartial discussion of the political events that are being consummated in Mexico, and on the issue of which depends the continued existence of the nationalities and of democratic institutions throughout the whole continent. In order to accomplish this task, we have to collect whatever data may be obtained from trustworthy sources, preferring, in many cases, those which emanate from the French intervention itself; we will set forth facts without ever distorting them, and in all our remarks we will endeavor to banish from us all party spirit, believing, as we do, that against this spirit, ever perverse and ever intolerant, the cause of nationalities should prevail.

The work of the French intervention in Mexico, and the projected transformation of that country into a monarchy, are enterprises which, if they could, even for a moment, have misled the partisans of certain ideas in the world, and cajoled the hopes of some few Mexicans, who thought that foreign assistance would prove favorable to their tendencies, should, on their realization, produce a complete disenchantment, as they give all to understand that the intervention and the monarchy powerfully tend to overthrow the independence of Mexico, to subjugate all parties beneath a purely military *regime*, to establish the rule of material force, to govern without listening to any suggestions from the conquered country, and, consequently, to make all progress impossible, and to extinguish even the slightest appearance of liberty. Thence it follows that the monarchy, imported and imposed by the foreigner, must be by him sustained; must live in open war with the people, without affording satisfaction to any party, and that, failing to obtain any national support whatever, it is necessarily condemned to the inability even of dissembling the iniquity of the most usurping conquests, or else to perish on the very day that it seems to itself sufficiently vigorous and well established to dispense with the assistance and guardianship of the stranger. Nothing stable, nothing regular, nothing permanent, can be founded in Mexico by an Austrian archduke favored by Napoleon, with his tottering throne raised over a republic, wounded and bleeding, but by no means dead, only palpitating and capable of recovering all its strength, if its children, led away by passions and political enmities, open their eyes to the light of truth and resolve to be masters of the destinies of their own country. This very intervention, and Maximilian himself, are fated by their actions to operate this disenchantment which is to be the precursor of his ruin.

And whether the action of time be rapid or slow, things cannot proceed otherwise. A party that was in a minority, as soon as it was conquered on the battle-field and in the arena of discussion, anxious to recover its power to stay the course of the progressist revolution, committed the fatal error of believing that a powerful European nation should employ its arms and its resources in destroying the work of reform, in re-establishing the dominion of the clergy, and that in all this it would labor with the greatest disinterestedness, leaving Mexico under the power of the conservatives, and providing for them a foreign prince who should pursue with docility the policy of the party that called him to the throne. Nothing of this has been realized. The conservatives find themselves dispossessed of power and deprived of all decisive influence; the doleful voice of the bishops has cried out that their situation is a thousand times worse than it was under the republic; the church, free in spiritual matters, sees itself attacked in this very freedom with which the liberals never interfered; the laws, called those of reform, the principal and almost the only cause of the contest, continue in vigor and are on the point of being confirmed by the Pope, from whom Napoleon can wring all sorts of concessions in return for assuring to him the possession of Rome; the reactionary army suffers the humiliation of seeing itself systematically subjected to the control of French officers, in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Miramar; it is regarded with so much distrust that its numbers do not increase even on the extension of the imperial domination over the country, and that, in contemplation of the return of the expeditionary army to France, it is sought to replace it with legions of Austrian and Belgian adventurers; in the cabinet of the archduke there is no place for the chiefs of the conservative party, who see themselves supplanted by the most insignificant individuals of a sort of clique which, years ago, lost all political significance through its want of courage and its absolute deficiency in political principles; and, finally, as if all this were not sufficient to make the interventionists understand that they have lost all prestige, Bishop Munguia and General Miramon, the one considered the master mind, the other the right arm of the conservative party, have been expelled from the country.

Supposing the existence yet in this party of some love for the independence of their country, or at least of some sentiments of personal dignity, it is not rash to suppose that, in the depths of their consciences, they already repent of their work and are watching an occasion to destroy it, in order to set themselves right before the Mexican people and the world. How much better would it have been for the conservative party to have accepted the constitutional order of things and to have established a parliamentary opposition in order to enter into relations with their adversaries. The little that would thus have been obtained would be much greater than that which it receives from the foreigner, and it would not have to be held to a tremendous responsibility for the calamities of Mexico and the dangers of all America.

From the complete exclusion of the retrograde party it is not to be inferred that the projected empire counts on the aid of the liberal party. This party may be accused in Mexico of more or less errors, of more or less reprehensible acts, inevitable consequences of the state of civil war; but it has the merit before America of having proudly scorned and rejected the foreign yoke, of having combatted until all its resources failed, without regard to its power of perseverance in the conflict, and without being dismayed in the undertaking or abandoning any of the principles which it maintained in the days of its prosperity. The national independence is its first aspiration; it rejects the intervention and the conquest, be the pretence what it may with which the invaders pretend to cover their designs, and it is not intimidated by the severities of courts-martial, nor does it yield to the cajoleries of amnesties and of the assumed and transitory liberalism of the archduke.

From this dignified and energetic attitude of the Mexican people, who, in those places subject to the invader, observe the most complete reserve, depend the incessant variations in the policy of Maximilian, who tries clemency and rigor alternately and without perseverance. His last journey to various States of the interior seems to have effected a new change of policy. The resistance everywhere met by the empire, the coldness with which it has been received in various districts, the obstinate refusal of prominent men to accept public positions, the frights which the guerillas have given him on his route, the continuation of hostilities in all quarters, the existence of the constitutional government in the north of the republic, by this very existence invalidating the acts of the foreigner—all this seems to have deeply irritated the mind of the unexperienced German, who, abandoning his apparent mildness and clemency, and forgetting his declared purpose of withdrawing if his crown had to be stained with blood, has proclaimed as bandits and malefactors and condemned to death all the defenders of Mexican independence, recommending their extermination to the French court-martial, fearing probably that compassion still existed in Mexican hearts. This imperial resolution, communicated to the minister Velasquez de Leon, in an autograph letter of the 3d of November last, is an indication that the throne finds no support in any party, and that the empire is going to inaugurate an era of blood and horror that will more and more alienate popular sympathy from it. In order to threaten the country with an *inexorable and inflexible arm of iron*, the archduke proceeds on the assumption that the empire is a fact firmly based on the strong will of the immense majority of the nation, and that the people eagerly hope for peace, tranquillity, and justice. If it were certain that the empire was based on the national will, the occasion would have come for uniting, attracting, soothing dissenters; but the severities announced by Maximilian, the *arm of iron*, are intimating that he wishes to intimidate the people, to exterminate his adversaries, and to raise his throne on corpses and ruins. Can there be a more convincing proof given of the fact that monarchy in Mexico is solely and exclusively a work of violence on the part of the foreigner?

The terrible threat of the Austrian finds an echo in the mouth of his worthy minister of foreign affairs, Don Fernando Ramirez, an impudent renegade from all parties, who, in his circular of the 10th of November, proclaims, that "there is no longer any remedy but the complete extermination of the factionists." It is easily understood that this is the wish of a feeble and cowardly cabinet, which feels the earth that it treads tremble under it, and dreads the hour of national justice.

Ramirez, in the said circular, relates the reception given by degraded mobs to Maximilian on his return to the capital, and lauds the instructions to the prefects which Maximilian dictated, although he had but just returned and had not reposed after the fatigues of his long journey; he expresses his admiration of the fact that the press has unanimously applauded the resolutions of his master, when in this very same document this unanimity is equally well explained as the liberty conceded to the press by the empire. "The prefects," says Maximilian in his famous instructions, "will pay attention to the press, which should proceed on the law, free and independent, because my government fears not frankness. Such writings as overstep the limits of the law, direct attacks upon our religious convictions, upon good morals, upon the institutions of our country, and upon individuals, should not be tolerated, and offences of this kind should be punished sternly and energetically." The liberty of the press allowed by the Austrian is the same as that of which Figaro speaks, and Don Francisco Ramirez is, in truth, not at all felicitous in making a merit of the eulogies of a press so free and so independent.

So much noise has been made about the imperial instructions to the prefects, that we must refer to that document, which is the first act of the Austrian's government, and reveals how vulgar are his ideas, how superficial are his attainments, and how poor his plans of administration. He himself has attached most importance to these instructions, since he considers them as his political and administrative programme, and authenticates them with his own signature, distrusting the capacity of his ministers to draw up one of those ordinary circulars which any head of a bureau might write any day much better than his Majesty.

In the imperial programme there is not found one word in reference to the political question, in reference to the institutions that are to be given to the new empire, and this reticence appears to indicate that nothing whatever is thought of in this regard. A like silence is observed in all relative to foreign relations—assuredly, because, Mexico being a feud of France, this point belongs to Napoleon. About the army and all belonging to the military service, Maximilian likewise says but very little, being subject as he is to the protection of Bazaine, and he merely confines himself to declaring that the French courts-martial will continue in the discharge of their functions, which, in order to make patent the independence of the new empire, issue their sentences and proclaim that they dictate them in the name of Napoleon. The financial question is likewise an omitted subject, and the instructions give not the slightest light as to the amount of the estimates, the system of taxation, the payment of the foreign debt, the manner of supplying or diminishing the enormous deficit that hangs over the revenue.

With what, then, does the regenerator prince occupy himself? With commonplaces and vague promises. He commences with a candid and genuine confession of the fact that the fruit of the monarchy is chaos in the administration. In every prefecture the government is carried on in a different manner; different principles are observed, the acts of the authorities are arbitrary, and abuses are noted which are the result of party spirit. To this picture, which we suppose most faithful, succeed promises, which, without one exception, are ridiculous and nonsensical. No one, for example, can be detained in prison without having notified to him the cause of his arrest, *in the briefest possible space of time.* Thus, this space of time may be either one day or ten years. Precautionary arrests should not take place under any pretext, *except in case of extreme danger.* Extreme danger being the normal condition of the empire, the exception becomes the rule.

In all the rest, the Austrian desires to have statistics to enable him to become acquainted with the country, and meanwhile he inserts a goodly and copious collection of what are called truisms *(verdades de Pero Grullo,)* such as these: It is good to prosecute and punish robbery. Where there are schools, something is learned. Hygienic precautions should be greater in time of epidemic. Hospitals should be clean. Without easy communication there is no commerce. Agriculture is the ultimate source of a country's wealth. Wherever cattle are raised the best breeds should be procured. If cereals are copiously produced there will be no famine. Mines yield more the better they are worked. Among metals, gold and silver are not the only valuable ones; copper and iron are equally so. Wherever there is coal not much wood is required. Wherever there is little wood the timber should not be destroyed. By making collections of laws it is easy to become acquainted with those laws.

Such are lucubrations of the great, the extraordinary, the privileged mind sought out by Napoleon to regenerate Mexico and inaugurate the monarchical transformation of the New World. But what village functionary is there in all America that is not capable of issuing a plan of good government equal to the instructions of Maximilian? Can a new empire be founded on such emptinesses? Up to the present moment this is all that the German prince has done in Mexico.

About the middle of November some progress had been made in the organization of the cabinet, the emperor having appointed as associates to Ramirez the Licentiate Don Pedro Escudero y Echanove in the department of justice, Don Luis Robles in that of public instruction, and Don Juan de D. Peza in that of war. The *Estafette* qualifies these men as the most distinguished and honest of the liberal-moderate party. This qualification implies the exclusion of the conservative party, which was the one that called in the intervention. Not at all inclined to descend to personal estimates, we will merely remark that the Licentiate Escudero is very much interested in the maintenance of the reform laws, since they and the favor of General Comonfort changed him into a great proprietary; that Robles is a man entirely without political antecedents; that the accession of the second-rate clerk Peza to the ministry of war is the severest punishment and the cruelest humiliation that could be administered to the generals who, like Yañez, Parrodi, Uraga, Vidaurri, and some others, have submitted to the empire in the hope of effecting their personal aggrandizement; and that the new cabinet signifies the isolation of Maximilian and the withdrawal of all political parties.

As to the ministry of finance, no capable person has yet been found to whom to intrust it, and therefore it remains provisionally in charge of a commission, composed of three individuals. This reminds us of the anecdote of a general who, having commanded a battery to open fire on the enemy, and being told by the artillerists that the shots fell short of the mark, thereupon replied: "Well, then, open two batteries upon them."

The threats of the Austrian have had no other effect than to intensify the enthusiasm of those who are fighting for independence. Oaxaca, which has once already repulsed a French expedition, is preparing for a new and heroic resistance, sustaining a siege that will equal the memorable one of Puebla.

In the State of Vera Cruz the independents are organizing their forces, and, by incessantly harassing the invaders, seek to give the greatest guarantees to commerce.

Chiapas and Tabasco are free from the intervention, and combine their forces to the aid of Oaxaca.

In Puebla and in Tlaxcala new bands of guerillas appear, who have occupied considerable districts, and keep in check various detachments of the invaders.

In Michoacan, in Jalisco, in Durango, in Sinaloa, and in the northern States, with varied fortune but with unchanging constancy, the resistance to the empire continues; the reactionary army suffers constant desertions, and in all quarters the contest assumes the character of a war against the foreigner, and it cannot be maintained that Mexico is the victim of a merely civil war, but rather that its people, alone and unaided, weak, and devoid of resources, continues struggling for its independence, and sacrificing itself to frustrate European intervention, which every day more and more threatens all America.

The impartial observer cannot despair of the result of this bloody and unequal contest. Without aid from abroad, without awaiting the settlement of the difficulties, more or less serious, which engage the attention of the other peoples of the New World, the Mexicans can triumph, if they have recourse to the great element that should make them strong, to a sincere and fraternal union of all parties in defence of the autonomy of their country. Let them reflect, once for all, that the intervention and the empire mean the conquest of the country, that the monarchy is essentially hostile to all feeling of nationality, and that by their united opposition to the invader, or his abandonment of the field, they will save their country, and remain free to settle among themselves the questions which have divided them.

SOME MEXICANS.

NEW YORK, *December*, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

[Taken from "Le Messager Franco-Americain," December 10, 1864.]

(Special correspondence of the Messager.)

MEXICO.

VERA CRUZ, *November* 23, 1864.

The religious question has always been in Mexico one of those that have most excited the masses. When the liberal party undertook to lay hands on the privileges of the clergy; when it sought to reduce the representatives of ecclesiastical authority to the republican level; when, in fine, it wished to transfer into the coffers of the state the chief part of the unproductive riches of the clergy, it aroused a general opposition among the creatures and the dupes of the class that was threatened.

Upon the accession of Juarez this opposition was no longer content with delivering the country to civil war; it dreaded defeat, as well through the force of events as through the awakening of the people. Therefore it was that it called the foreigner and his armies to its assistance.

At present the scheme seems to have reached its consummation; an emperor sits enthroned in the palace of the ancient city of Montezuma, and the liberal party, although in arms and ready for combat, is virtually deprived of the administration of the country. Does it follow that the phantom of the secularization of clerical property has been forever banished from the bedside of our theocratic tyrants? Not at all; like the ghost of Banquo, it ever pursues them with its threatening presence.

Removed for a moment during the administration of Marshal Forey, the question of the property of the clergy has not failed to reappear with renewed vigor. Those imperialists who entertain progressive opinions have learned that by a little address they might themselves become the governing party if they took advantage of the self-styled liberal opinions of Maximilian to consign the clericals to a secondary position. They have therefore imposed their own conditions before agreeing to yield their support to his empire. What are these conditions? The tone of the journals in the city of Mexico proclaim them very clearly. They are full of transparent allusions to the question of the secularization of the goods of the church; they are leagued together to overthrow the cabal formerly so formidable, wherein figure those who delivered Mexico to Maximilian. It is easy to foresee the result of these dissensions. The clericals will declare against the empire, either by secret intrigues or by open assaults. What support will then remain to Maximilian? That of the progressive monarchists, on whom he seems willing to rely, is very precarious. The members of that party constitute a wretched minority of the nation; and, nevertheless, there are men to be found in its ranks who would not hesitate to overthrow the new monarch, if they found an occasion for it. Those among the Mexicans who, on account of their monarchical ideas, would perhaps have accepted or tolerated an emperor voluntarily chosen by the majority of the people, will never submit unreservedly to a monarch imposed upon the country. Maximilian will, therefore, be compelled to have recourse to a foreign army as his only support. He must continue to make military force the keystone of his administration. Now, is it reasonable to admit that such a system can procure for Mexico that prosperity which is so vauntingly held up before the eyes of the idle votaries of public opinion.

I had proposed to myself to speak to you, also, of the condition and disposition of the Indian population, and likewise of the financial future of the empire; but my letter is already long enough, and I must give you an account of the last political measures adopted by Maximilian, and of the military news subsequent to my letter of the 1st instant. I therefore postpose the examination of those questions to a future occasion?

Maximilian's proclamations have generally the merit of clearness; this is a justice which it gives me pleasure to render to his Majesty's secretary. The last document of the kind, bearing date the 3d instant, is, like its predecessors, explicit and to the point. It refers to the general policy of the government, and prescribes to the prefects of the various departments a line of conduct at once firm and conciliatory. This circular—such is the name officially given to the document in question—is published with the purpose of guaranteeing "the liberties of all Mexicans," if we would believe the imperialist journals of the capital. We would be glad to admit it; but will they explain to us the meaning of the letter addressed by Maximilian to Don Velasquez de Leon, his minister of state, immediately after his return to the city of Mexico? This letter, of which I send you a copy, speaks of the determination of the government to shoot all the liberals taken in arms. Here, certainly, is a "protection" with which many would willingly dispense. Is Maximilian acting the bully in order to conceal his weakness? or has he already recognized that the only reliable support of his government must be his army, his cannons, and his bayonets? Both suppositions are admissible, but that to which I wish to call your attention is the effect produced by his Majesty's threatening letter.

The semi-official journals of the cities subject to the empire approve it feebly, and as if reluctantly; while the independent press—for such exists yet, in spite of the empire—boldly and loudly protests against the Napoleonic tendencies of the emperor. It does not hesitate to remind him of the Spain of 1809 and the Mexico of 1810.

Some pretend that the sudden rigor of Maximilian is due to the discouragement which he has brought back from his tour in the interior. The force of inertia which the populations of the subjugated districts everywhere oppose to the imperial administration must have convinced his Majesty of the impossibility of governing by the people alone; therefore, the rigors and the employment of the violent measures that have signalized his return to the city of Mexico.

At Puebla they have already commenced to put in execution the new measures of "protection" ordered by the emperor. On the 5th instant six liberal prisoners were shot, and the military commander of the district, wishing no doubt to give evidence of his zeal, has decided that henceforward all prisoners should be executed within the twenty-four hours succeeding their capture. On the 9th two more liberals were shot in the city of Mexico on the Place Mixcalo. Will any one now be astonished that we should affirm that the imperial era of Mexico is to be only an epoch of blood and carnage, very different from that dreamed of by those who called in the intervention?

The interior of the country continues in the same anarchical state. The guerillas are more numerous than ever. Romero, the chief of the *cuadrilla* of Tenango, has thus far escaped all pursuit of the imperialists, and continues seriously to disturb their communications. Quite recently an imperialist detachment started from Toluca to pursue this band, but it returned after a few days, without having encountered it.

I could give you a long list of the depredations committed by the guerillas in the districts subjected to the empire, and of the engagements which they have daily with the troops of Maximilian. But these details would be of no great interest to our readers. In most of the encounters the imperialist soldiers have the advantage; but these successes are of no great importance, and they cannot influence the final result of the contest, inasmuch as the guerillas, routed at one point, do not fail soon to appear at another.

Let it not be presumed that I confine myself here to the narration of facts that may be contradicted to-morrow; the official newspapers of the empire are my authorities. Thus it is in the *Sociedad*, one of the journals of the capital, that I find the announcement of the proclamation of martial law in the city of Guadalajara. This measure was adopted immediately after a pretended victory gained by the imperialists over the guerilla force commanded by Simon Gutierrez, and which occupied the principal part of Jalisco. This guerilla band attacked, near Ameca, a part of the Mexican division of Rivas with 800 men, infantry and cavalry, and two mountain howitzers. According to the papers that favor the intervention, the liberals have been repulsed with considerable loss. I shall not question the truth of these assertions; but I would ask only to have explained to me why it is that, immediately after the announcement of this victory, martial law has been proclaimed at Guadalajara?

It is said that the Castagny division, supported by a Mexican corps, is preparing to march upon Chihuahua, in order to drive the government of Juarez from that place. The expedition is to start from Durango.

On the other hand, it is announced that an expeditionary column, composed of 3,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, was about to start from Tepic, in order to occupy the State of Sinaloa. The French squadron was to co-operate with this corps by obtaining possession of Mazatlan, the principal port of the State.

On the 13th the French mail steamer landed here a part of the Belgian legion; it comprised 590 fantassins, of very good appearance, well armed and equipped. They immediately started for the capital.

The 99th of the line, one of the regiments that accompanied General Lorencez at the first landing, has arrived at Vera Cruz. These troops are to embark soon on their return to France.

General Miramon is also here; he is preparing to start for Europe by the next English steamer.

NOPAL.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 18, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant, with which you were pleased to communicate, for the information of the government of the United States, excerpts from two reviews published in the cities of Chihuahu and New York, of a recent date, touching the condition of public events in Mexico at the present time, and also a letter from Vera Cruz, in a French paper published in the city of New York, likewise bearing upon the same subject.

While thanking you for your attention in transmitting these papers to me, I avail myself of the occasion to offer to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 6th of February, 1865.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican republic, has the honor to address himself to the honorable William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, for the purpose of protesting, in the most explicit and formal manner, against the cession which the ex-Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, has made, or is about to make, to the French government of various States of the Mexican republic.

The undersigned permits himself to remind the honorable William H. Seward that at the interview which he had with him, on the 19th January last, he read to him a letter written at the city of Mexico on the 28th December previous, the latest date from that city received up to this date in this country, in which a person well-informed and entirely trustworthy communicated the news that French agents in that city had proposed to the deluded Mexicans, who now encircle the usurper that the Emperor of the French has sent to Mexico, a settlement, in virtue of which there are to be ceded to France the Mexican States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Coahuila, parts of those of San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Durango, and Chihuahua, almost the whole of Sonora, and the peninsula of Lower California, the dividing line to be formed by the river Yaqui, on the Pacific, and Panuco, on the Gulf, to their sources, and a straight line drawn from one point to the other; that, to make the cession of so considerable a part of the Mexican territory acceptable, assurance was made that France would establish in the ceded territory a military colony, which would be under its immediate protection, and which would place the rest of the country under shelter from filibustering attacks from the United States; which would besides produce the liquidation of the supposed debt which Mexico has with France, and would facilitate the acquisition of three hundred millions to the treasury of the usurper. It is added, also, to make so considerable a loss less sensibly felt, that the States referred to have only belonged in name to Mexico, because they have been ruled by authorities which have not respected the orders of the central government of Mexico, and which were doomed to self-destruction, either because they might fall into the power of the French or of the United States, and that in such alternative there cannot be a moment's doubt of the preferable extreme. In the same letter assurance was given that such settlement had not been yet submitted to the usurper, and it was given out as understood that he would not fail to hesitate and even manifest opposition to it before his acceptance.

This circumstance signifies nothing, however; the usurper either has not his own will, or if he has, he cannot make it prevail when in contradiction to that of his protector. Besides, it is not to be presumed that he takes any interest in the destinies of a country which is not his fatherland, in which four years ago he was not known, even by name, to the vast majority of the nation, which he himself knew only by name, to which he has been brought and is sustained by foreign bayonets, and in which he is shedding the blood of patriotic Mexicans, who are maintaining their independence, to satiate a blind ambition for rule, which for his punishment he exercises only in appearance.

The undersigned always believed that the Emperor of the French would close up in this manner his interference in Mexico, when he should become convinced that it would not be possible for him to retain the whole republic as a French colony, and had the honor so to state to the honorable William H. Seward in the communication he addressed to him the 27th December, 1862, and which the President sent to the House of Representatives among the documents relating to Mexican affairs transmitted with his message of 4th February, 1863.

That which then, however, did not exceed conjecture, although well-founded, has come to be realized with the course of time and the development of events. News received from Mexico, from an entirely trustworthy source, has been confirmed by other advices received simultaneously from San Francisco, California, and from Paris; and such coincidences, combined with other antecedents which the undersigned is possessed of in this matter, do not leave him in the least doubt that if the settlement proposed has not been ratified, it is on the point of so being.

This conviction obliges the undersigned, in fulfilment of the duty which belongs to him, as representative of the Mexican nation, to protest solemnly and energetically against any settlement made by the ex-Archduke of Austria, in the name of Mexico, with the Emperor of the French, or with any other government, by which he alienes or hypothecates Mexican territory, or in any manner compromises the responsibility of the native country of the undersigned.

Addressing himself to the government of the United States, the undersigned does not think it necessary to halt to prove that the ex-Archduke of Austria only represents in Mexico the Emperor of the French, by whose army he was brought to that republic and is there sustained; and that therefore any settlement made between the ex-Archduke and the Emperor of the French would have the same obligatory force on the Mexican nation as one concluded between the said Emperor and General Bazaine, commanding in chief the French forces in Mexico.

The undersigned has not thought that he should await for official notice of the conclusion of such settlement in order to protest against it. It is of such gravity and transcendency, not only to the interests of Mexico, but to those of the whole American continent, that he would consider himself to be wanting to his most sacred duties should he for a moment delay to take this step.

The undersigned thinks fit, in justification of his conduct in this affair, to remind the honorable Secretary of State of the United States of a fact slightly resembling the present, when the representatives of the French government in Mexico protested against a treaty concluded between Mexico and the United States of much less importance than the present, only because of the vague rumors, more or less founded, that they had received that it had been concluded, and before they had official notice of its execution.

After the rupture between the allied Europeans at Orizaba, and when France alone continued making war on Mexico, the minister of the United States to this republic made a treaty with the Mexican government, in virtue of which the United States were to lend to Mexico eleven millions of dollars, Mexico hypothecating in payment for such amount the unoccupied lands of the republic, the unsold national property, previously called church property, and the unsatisfied bonds and promissory notes for national property already aliened. This treaty was signed in the city of Mexico the 6th of April, 1862; but as it did not receive ratification by the government of the United States it was not officially published, and only mere rumors, more or less founded, were circulated about its object and stipulations; notwithstanding which the representatives of the Emperor of the French addressed to the Mexican government, under date of the 15th April aforesaid, a note in which they said to it that they had been informed that said government had concluded or was about to conclude a treaty with a foreign government, by which were sold, ceded, transferred, or hypothecated thereto a part of the lands and public revenues of Mexico, to the whole of which lands and revenues France made claim of right, in virtue of the fraudulent claims of her subjects. With the note which the undersigned had the honor to address to the honorable Secretary of State on the 2d June, 1862, he remitted a copy of such protest.

The undersigned avails of this opportunity to renew to the honorable William H. Seward the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 25, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th instant, in which, in your character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States, accredited to the government of the United States of America, you enter your protest, in the most formal, energetic, and solemn manner, against any settlement or cession, either made or to be made by the ex-Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, in the name of Mexico, with the Emperor of the French, or with any other government, by which he alienates or hypothecates Mexican territory, or in any manner compromises the responsibility of the Mexican republic.

This measure you are led to take under the circumstances more fully detailed in your note, believing it to be in consonance with your most sacred duties as the representative of Mexico.

In reply, it affords me pleasure to state that the protest referred to will be placed upon file in the archives of this department, there to remain a testimony to your course in the premises and as an additional evidence of the zealous and patriotic discharge of your functions as the minister of Mexico in the United States, and for such other uses and purposes as future events may render it necessary to apply it.

I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you, sir, the renewal of my very high and distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 17th of February, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of the proclamation which the constitutional President of the Mexican republic addressed to his fellow countrymen on the 1st of January last, manifesting anew his firm intention to continue without rest, to struggle, against the foreign invader, in defence of the liberty and independence of that republic.

I avail myself with much pleasure of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

PROCLAMATION.

The Constitutional President of the United Mexican States to his compatriots:

MEXICANS: After three years of an unequal and sanguinary contest against the foreign legions which treason brought to our country, we are still firm and resolved, as on the first day, to continue the defence of our independence and liberty against despotism. We have been unfortunate it is true; fate has been adverse to us on many occasions, but the cause of Mexico, which is the cause of right and of justice, has not succumbed, has not perished, and will not perish because there still exist valiant Mexicans, in whose hearts the holy fire of patriotism still glows; and in whatever part of the republic they may be carrying arms and the national standard in their hands, there, as here, will the country live; there, as here, will the living and energetic protest of right against might continue to exist. Let the incautious man, who has accepted the sad mission of being the instrument to enslave a free people, understand this well, and let him remember that treason, the failure to abide by plighted faith in the preliminaries of La Soledad, and the acts of recognition and of adhesion dictated by the foreign bayonets which sustain him, are the only titles through which he pretends to govern; that his tottering throne does not repose upon the free will of the nation, but upon the blood and corpses of thousands of Mexicans whom he has sacrificed without cause, and only because they were defending their liberties and their rights; that the traitors who have longed for and called him, and those who under the pressure of force tolerate his direful influence or render him vassalage, must recollect that they are Mexicans, and that they have children to whom they must not bequeath a legacy of infamy; and that, during a cruel and obstinate war of eleven years against a more powerful enemy and one more deeply rooted to the country, we have learned the manner of reconquering our independence, effecting it with the same means which our former rulers had at their command.

Probably the usurper may not be disposed to think of the false position he occupies, and instead of listening to the truths which our words contain, he may repel them with a smile of scorn and contempt. This matters not; conscience, which never forgets nor pardons, will cause them to prevail, and will avenge us. In the bustle and noise of the court, in the silence of the night, in the public festivities, and in the privacy of the domestic hearth; at all hours and in all places it will pursue him, will importune him with the recollection of his crime, which will not permit him tranquilly to enjoy his prize, until the hour for expiation arrives; and then for the tyrant, for the traitors who sustain him, and for all those who to-day mock us and delight in the misfortunes of our country will come their awakening from error with repentance; but these will then be fruitless, because then the national justice shall be inflexible and severe.

That hour will come, doubt it not, Mexicans, as that of our former conquerors came, in the year 1821; let us wait, but let us wait while acting with the heroic resolution of Hidalgo and Zaragoza, with the activity of Morelos, and with the constancy and self-denial of Guerrero, by preserving and increasing the sacred fire which will produce the conflagration that will devour the tyrants and traitors who profane our land.

Mexicans! those of you who are so unfortunate as to live under the dominion of the usurpation, do not resign yourselves to bear the yoke of ignominy which weighs upon you. Do not delude yourselves by the perfidious insinuations of the partisans of accomplished facts, because they are and have always been the partisans of despotism. The existence of arbitrary power is a permanent violation of right and of justice, which neither time nor the force of arms can ever justify, and which it is necessary to destroy for the honor of Mexico and of the human race. This is our task; aid us, if you do not wish to bear the name of abject slaves to a foreign tyrant.

And you who, in these times of common danger, are contending against our oppressors, continue your task, working with the same heroism which you have shown up to the present moment, without being discouraged by misfortunes, terrified by dangers, and dismayed by the lamentable defections of some of our brothers. These, perhaps, may return to their ranks, to blot out, in defending their country, the infamous stigma of traitors which now degrades them; and should they not do it, if obdurate, they should continue in their degradation. Have pity upon them, because while in the midst of the enjoyments and distinctions they may possess, they are unfortunate. The remembrance that they are Mexicans and vassals at the same time of a foreign despot will be the dreadful pang which shall wither and consume their miserable existence. Do not forget that the defence of our country and of liberty is for us an imperative duty, because it carries with it the defence of our own dignity, of the honor and dignity of our wives and of our children, of the honor and dignity of all men. Therefore have we generous colaborers within and without the republic, who, with their pens, with their influence, and with their means, are aiding us, and offer up fervent prayers for the salvation of our country. Redouble, then, your efforts, with the assurance that in due time our constancy, our union, and our activity will compensate our sacrifices by the final triumph of the holy cause we uphold. Mexicans! he who now addresses you these words, faithful to his duty and to his convictions, will continue to devote his vigilance to the national defence; he will further it by all the means which may be within his reach, and with your assistance and co-operation he will keep aloft and without humiliation the beautiful standard of independence, of liberty and progress, which Mexico has conquered by the heroic valor of her warriors, and through the precious blood of her sons.

Done at the national palace, in Chihuahua, January 1, 1865.

BENITO JUAREZ.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 15, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 17th ultimo, in which you are pleased to communicate, for the information of the government of the United States, a printed copy of the proclamation which the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, his excellency Benito Juarez, addressed to his fellow countrymen on the 1st of January, 1865, and in which he renews his determination to continue the struggle in Mexico in defence of the liberty and independence of the republic.

Thanking you for your polite attention in communicating to me so interesting a document, I avail myself of the occasion to reiterate to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c.,*
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 28th of March, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I deem it proper to call the attention of the government of the United States to certain documents which have recently been brought to the public view, and which have reference to the events which are actually taking place in the Mexican republic, which documents, accompanied by an index, I transmit enclosed with the present note.

It is generally known that the Mexican clergy, who have taken so direct a participation in the civil wars of that republic, with the object of preserving the property, privileges and influence which they enjoyed during the Spanish domination, upon finding themselves overcome, in 1860, by the public opinion of their country, and deprived of their wealth and influence, and having no longer the means in the country to incite another rebellion against the legitimately constituted government, conceived the project of intriguing in Europe in order to influence some of the powers of that continent, by availing themselves of the occasion of the breaking out of the civil war in the United States, brought about by a hierarchy similar to the ecclesiastical one of Mexico, to intervene in the internal affairs of my country, to overthrow the existing constitutional government, and to establish by the force of arms a European monarchy, with a Catholic prince upon the throne, who, agreeably to the official declarations of the French government previous to the intervention and its subsequent acts, was to be the then archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian.

It was to be supposed that this monarchical government, which was to be established in Mexico, should follow a policy diametrically opposed to that of the republican government then existing. What was called the arbitrary acts, the excesses and errors of the latter, were painted in the darkest colors; among those which occupied a very important place, the laws of reform which had been decreed in Vera Cruz in July, 1859, establishing religious liberty, the supremacy of the civil authority, diminishing the privileges of the clergy, and declaring as the property of the nation the rich property which the former had until that period administered, and which was called the property of the church.

The clergy of Mexico who had intrigued to bring the intervention to their country, and who were lending to it their co-operation and their influence, were bound to believe, and with reason, and confidently expected, that so soon as the city of Mexico should fall in the power of the invaders, and there should be established in it the semblance of a government, they would begin by abrogating the laws of reform, which were the most conspicuous work of the national government, and which had so powerfully contributed to bring about the unjust war against which it was then defending itself.

Matters happened, however, otherwise, and after a series of events which it would be a long affair to relate, the usurper, who now calls himself the emperor of Mexico, and who has been placed and sustained there by the French bayonets, has just declared that he will carry into effect the laws of reform referred to, dictated by the government which he attempts to supplant, and he has thus in this manner given evidence, that in the opinion of the usurper himself, and of the Emperor of the French, whose instrument he is, the policy adopted by the said national government was both wise and prudent, and that the principal motive which was alleged for palliating the unheard of outrage of desiring to overthrow a national government is precisely what the usurper admires most, seeing that he has sanctioned it, notwithstanding his losing by it the support of the clergy; and it is also what it is being endeavored to present to the public opinion as his greatest merit, and the strongest proof of his ability, prudence and energy.

With regard to the clergy of Mexico, to whom the same thing has happened as to the instigators of the southern insurrection, who in their endeavor to save slavery have seen it perish more speedily in the hands of the pretended government which they themselves created with the object of making it prevail, the protest which they have addressed to the usurper, and of which I accompany a copy among the documents annexed, (No. 3,) puts it out of all doubt that hereafter they will wage against the so-called empire the same war which they have made to the government of the republic, and that the phantom of a government established by France will lose, with the clergy of Mexico, the sole element of national support upon which it had relied up to this period.

It is very satisfactory to me to avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

Mexican Legation in the United States of America.

An index of the documents which this legation this day transmits to the Department of State of the United States, with a note of this date, in reference to the rupture which has occurred between the usurper and the clergy of Mexico:

No. 1. Rome, October 18, 1864—Letter of Pius IX to Maximilian.

No. 2. Mexico, December 27, 1864—Letter of Maximilian to his minister, Señor Escudero.

No. 3. Mexico, December 27, 1864—Protest of the Archbishop of Mexico, and of the three principal bishops, in reference to the letter No. 2

No. 4. Mexico, February 26, 1865—Decree of Maximilian, declaring a state religion, and religious tolerance.

No. 5. Mexico, February 26, 1865—Decree from same, confirming the laws of the government of the republic, called those of desamortization and reform.

IGNACIO MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *March* 28, 1865

No. 1.

[Translation.]

SIRE: When in the month of April last, before assuming the reins of the new empire of Mexico, your Majesty arrived in this capital in order to worship at the tombs of the holy apostles and to receive our apostolic benediction, we informed you of the deep sorrow which filled our soul by reason of the lamentable state into which the social disorders during these last years have reduced all that concerns religion in the Mexican nation.

Before that time, and more than once, we had made known our complaints in public and solemn acts, protesting against the iniquitous law called the law of reform, which attacked the most inviolable rights of the church and outraged the authority of its pastors; against the seizure of the ecclesiastical property and the dissipation of the sacred patrimony; against the unjust suppression of the religious orders; against the false maxims that attack the sanctity of the Catholic religion; and, in fine, against many other transgressions committed not only to the prejudice of sacred persons, but also of the pastoral priesthood and discipline of the church.

For these reasons your Majesty must have well understood how happy we were to see—thanks to the establishment of the new empire—the dawn of pacific and prosperous days for the church of Mexico; a joy which was increased when we saw called to the throne a prince of a Catholic family, and who had given so many proofs of religious zeal and piety. Equally intense was the joy of the worthy Mexican bishops who, on leaving the capital of christendom, where they had presented so many examples of their fidelity and self-denial towards our person, had the happiness of being the first to pay their sincere homage to the sovereign elect of their country, and of hearing from his own lips the most complete assurances of his firm resolution to redress the wrongs done to the church and to reorganize the disturbed elements of civil and religious administration. The Mexican nation also learned with indescribable pleasure of your Majesty's accession to the throne—called to it by the unanimous desire of a people who, up to that time, had been constrained to groan beneath the yoke of an anarchical government, and to lament over the ruins and disasters of the Catholic religion, their chief pride at all times and the foundation of their prosperity.

Under such happy auspices we have been waiting day by day the acts of the new empire, persuaded that the church, outraged with so much impiety by the revolution, would receive prompt and just redress, whether by the revocation of the laws which had reduced it to such a state of oppression and servitude, or by the promulgation of others adapted to the suppression of the disastrous effects of an impious administration.

Thwarted hitherto in our hopes by reason, perhaps, of the difficulties which attend the reorganization of a society long overturned, we cannot now refrain from addressing your Majesty and appealing to the uprightness of your intentions; the Catholic spirit of which you have given so many striking proofs on former occasions, and the promises made to us by your Majesty of protecting the church; and we confidently hope that this appeal, penetrating your noble heart, will produce the fruits we have a right to expect.

Your Majesty will undoubtedly perceive that if the church continues to be controlled in the exercise of her sacred rights, if the laws which forbid her to acquire and possess property are not repealed, if churches and convents are still destroyed, if the price of the church property is accepted at the hands of its unlawful purchasers, if the sacred buildings are appropriated to other uses, if the religious orders are not allowed to reassume their distinctive garments and to live in community, if the nuns are obliged to beg for their food and forced to occupy miserable and insufficient edifices, if the newspapers are permitted to insult the pastors with impunity, and to assail the doctrines of the Catholic church—if this state of things is to continue, then the same evils will certainly continue to follow, and perhaps the scandal to the faithful and the wrongs to religion will become greater than ever before.

Ah, sire, in the name of that faith and piety which are the ornaments of your august family; in the name of the church, whose supreme chief and pastor God has constituted us in spite of our unworthiness; in the name of Almighty God, who has chosen you to rule over so Catholic a nation with the sole purpose of healing her ills and of restoring the honor of His holy religion, we earnestly conjure you to put your hands to the work, and laying aside every human consideration, and guided solely by an enlightened wisdom and your Christian feelings, dry up the tears of so interesting a portion of the Catholic family, and by such worthy conduct merit the blessings of Jesus Christ, the prince of pastors.

With this purpose, and in compliance with your own wishes, we send you our representative. He will inform you by word of mouth of the sorrow which has been caused to us by the sad news which thus far has reached us, and he will better acquaint you with our intentions and aims in accrediting him near your Majesty.

We have instructed him to ask at once from your Majesty, and in our name, the revocation of the unjust laws which for so long a time have oppressed the church, and to prepare, with the aid of the bishops, and when it may be necessary, with the concurrence of our apostolic authority, the complete and definitive reorganization of ecclesiastical affairs.

Your Majesty is well aware that, in order effectively to repair the evils occasioned by the revolution, and to bring back as soon as possible happy days for the church, the Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the glory and the mainstay of the Mexican nation, to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship; that the bishops must be perfectly free in the exercise of their pastoral ministry; that the religious orders should be re-established or reorganized conformably with the instructions and the powers which we have given; that the patrimony of the church and the rights which attach to it may be maintained and protected; that no person may obtain the faculty of teaching and publishing false and subversive tenets; that instruction, whether public or private, should be directed and watched over by the ecclesiastical authority; and that, in short, the chains may be broken which up to the present time have held the church in a state of dependence and subject to the arbitrary rule of the civil government. If the religious edifice should be re-established on such bases—and we will not doubt that such will be the case—your Majesty will satisfy one of the greatest requirements and one of the most lively aspirations of a people so religious as that of Mexico; your Majesty will calm our anxieties and those of the illustrious episcopacy of that country; you will open the way to the education of a learned and zealous clergy, as well as to the moral reform of your subjects; and, besides, you will give a striking example to the other governments in the republics of America in which similar very lamentable vicissitudes have tried the church; and lastly, you will labor effectually to consolidate your own throne, to the glory and prosperity of your imperial family.

For these reasons we recommend to your Majesty the apostolic nuncio who will have the honor to present to you this our confidential letter. May your Majesty be pleased to honor him with your confidence and good will, in order that he may more easily comply with the mission that has been confided to him. Your Majesty will also be pleased to grant the same confidence to the worthy prelates of Mexico, in order that, animated as they are by the Holy Spirit, and desirous of the salvation of souls, they may be enabled to undertake with courage and joyfully the difficult work of restoration in all that they are concerned, and thus concur towards the re-establishment of social order.

Meanwhile we shall not cease daily to direct our humble prayers to the Father of light and the God of all consolation to the end that all obstacles being overcome, the councils of the enemies of religious and social order turned to nought, political passions calmed, her full liberty restored to the spouse of Jesus Christ, the Mexican nation may be enabled to hail in the person of your Majesty its father, its regenerator, and its greatest and most imperishable glory.

Confidently hoping to see fully consummated these the most ardent desires of our heart, we send to your Majesty and to your august spouse our apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, in our Apostolic Palace of the Vatican, the 18th of October 1864.

PIUS IX.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *March* 18, 1865.

No. 2.

[Translation.]

MEXICO, *December* 27, 1864.

MY DEAR MINISTER ESCUDERO: In order to smooth the difficulties which have arisen on account of the reform law, we propose to adopt a means which, while satisfying the just requirements of the country, shall re-establish peace in the minds and tranquillity in the consciences of all the inhabitants of the empire. For this purpose, when we were at Rome we opened negotiations with the Holy Father, as universal chief of the Catholic church.

The papal nuncio is now in Mexico, but to our extreme surprise he has declared that he is without instructions, and has to await them from Rome.

The unnatural situation in which we have continued, with difficulty, during seven months, admits of no more delay. It demands an immediate solution. We consequently charge you at once to propose suitable measures in order that justice may be administered without consideration of personal station; that legitimate interests created by these laws may rest secure; correcting the excesses and injustice committed in their name; to provide for the maintenance of public worship and protection of other sacred matters placed under the safeguard of religion; and finally, that the sacraments may be administered and other functions of the sacred ministry be exercised throughout the empire without cost or charge to the people.

To this end you will, before anything else, propose to us the revision of the operations of the mortmain and nationalization of ecclesiastical property, shaping it on the basis that legitimate transactions executed without fraud, and according to the laws which decreed such amortization, shall be ratified.

Labor, in fine, according to the principle of free and ample toleration, keeping in view that the religion of the State is the Roman Catholic and apostolic.

MAXIMILIAN.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *March* 18, 1865.

No. 3.

[Translation]

SIRE: In fulfilment of the first and most sacred duty incumbent upon the prelates of the church, whenever the latter comes to be in conflict with the state, we are now placed under the painful but unavoidable necessity of raising our voice to the throne of your Majesty, and we are obliged to do so by the letter from your Majesty to the minister of justice, which has been published in the *Official Gazette*, and in which it appears that your Majesty has taken the resolution to decide by yourself the momentous questions which are pending between the church and the state with reference to the so-called laws of reform, and have instructed your minister to prepare the necessary measures in the premises without deeming it necessary to wait for the new instructions which the nuncio of his holiness is about to ask on account of not having those demanded by the points proposed by the government of your Majesty.

Your Majesty is well aware that during the thirty years which have elapsed since the month of December, 1833, when the laws regarding patronage, termination of civil coaction with reference to monastic vows, tithes, &c., were issued, to the same month of last year, when the two regents, Almonte and Salas, declared the said laws of reform to be still in force, the Mexican church has never ceased to oppose right to might against all the laws and measures which attack its doctrine, its jurisdiction, and its canonical immunities and privileges, protesting respectfully, but energetically, before the respective governments, carefully restraining and guiding the canonical conduct of the ecclesiastical authorities, and teaching and admonishing the faithful with reference to the obligations incumbent upon them under such circumstances as Catholics Apostolic Romanic.

Your Majesty also knows that neither the interests of party, nor the character of institutions, nor the political complexion of governments, have ever exercised the slightest influence with regard to this course of the church, which, faithful only to its mission of preserving pure and intact the doctrines of the faith, the rules of morals, and the authority of canonical discipline, has never taken any step, except in the nature of self-defence, when these principles have been assailed, and, in so proceeding, it has had in view no other end but the most worthy and holy purpose of saving intact the principles upon which the relations between church and state are based, and of re-establishing concord between the two powers, in order that, by means of this concord, the general peace of the nation should be preserved.

Your Majesty likewise comprehends, through your knowledge of our national history, that the principal if not the only cause of the civil wars that have devastated our unhappy country is the endeavor of an odious minority to assail religion and the church by means of laws which do violence to conscience.

Your Majesty knows, finally, that the arms which the Mexican episcopacy have employed in its defence have been only the *non licet* of the gospel, and that their earnest desire has constantly been that by means of an agreement between the national government and the Holy Apostolic See the unhappy necessity upon which their passive resistance is based should be be made to disappear.

It is impossible to exaggerate, sire, the pain and unhappiness of the Mexican church on account of this persistent warfare, which, in the name of liberty, of progress, and of civilization, has been made upon it by this at once old and new revolution, that after having desolated Europe has come to combat its enemy—that is to say, Catholicism—in this part of the New World.

When, after so many vicissitudes, affairs arrived at the crisis produced in December, 1860, by the triumph of the democratic faction in the capital of the republic; when we saw consummated among us the work which the enemies of the church had labored so long to effect, we should have lost all hope whatever, had not our confidence been strengthened by our trust in Divine Providence, and also by our intimate knowledge of the Catholic character, which has always distinguished the Mexican people.

This hope gained new strength when the intervention, triumphing at last in this capital, made the declaration that nothing would be attempted against the independence, freedom, and rights of the nation, and that it would confine itself solely to the overthrow of the government of Don Benito Juarez, in order that Mexico should freely constitute itself; and it was still more increased, giving the greatest consolation to the church and the people, when it became known that your Majesty was the prince who was called upon to rule the destinies of Mexico. The tidings that we all had of your devout Catholicism, the sentiments manifested by your Majesty, both in your speeches and your writings, the highly significant step of not leaving Europe and sailing for this, your new country, without resorting to receive and bring with you the benediction of the common Father of the faithful; the readiness with which your Majesty sent a minister to Rome, and your earnest wish for the arrival of the apostolic nuncio, in order to enter upon the arrangements necessary for a happy termination of the terrible crisis into which this unfortunate country has been plunged on account of the questions raised by these so-called laws of reform; all this, sire, had filled us with unspeakable consolation; all this awakened in our hearts the most lively enthusiasm towards the august person of your Majesty, and diffused throughout all the country that extraordinary rejoicing which was universally and splendidly manifested from the moment your foot touched the shores of our country.

To no one did it then appear doubtful that these grave questions would be speedily and happily arranged, and we all expected that the day of true peace, the peace of conscience, terribly agitated by the laws and the measures of the government of Don Benito Juarez, would now arrive. That desired day appeared nearer and nearer to our sight when we learned that the apostolic nuncio had reached Vera Cruz; because, it being impossible that the pending questions could be settled without the concurrence of both powers—that is, without the concert of the temporal and the spiritual sovereigns—the arrival of the nuncio was regarded by all as a pledge of that concert, especially considering the Catholic character of your Majesty, and the benevolent disposition and conciliatory spirit of the holy pontiff.

What must have been, therefore, our sorrow and our affliction when, instead of all that we had so earnestly desired, and with such good reason had confidently expected, we have seen all our hopes dissipated at one blow by the declarations and instructions embodied in the letter of your Majesty to the minister of justice. In this notable document we see that there has been no arrangement with the apostolic nuncio, on account of his instructions not embracing such points as have been raised; that your Majesty has not been willing to await the arrival of further instructions, and that you have resolved by yourself alone to determine these grave questions, and have ordered that the necessary measures consequent upon this decision shall be prepared by the minister of justice.

Being ignorant of all that has transpired in the secret conferences, as also with regard to the documents and instructions brought by the envoy of his holiness, we ought to respect the mystery in which the causes of what has passed, and the motives which have determined your Majesty to take a step of such grave importance, are involved. But as, in our humble opinion, whatever may have been these motives, we do not believe them capable of diminishing the sovereign power of the Catholic church, or of conferring upon the state a sufficient increase of power to enable it, by its decrees, to tranquillize the consciences of the faithful; and as this circumstance, far from bringing about the desired end, will still leave on foot all the existing evils, because it is only the spiritual sovereign that can decide grave questions of moral import and tranquillize conscience, we are, therefore, compelled to approach your Majesty, and earnestly pray you to be pleased to suspend the operation of the declarations and orders contained in the above-mentioned letter of your Majesty.

In taking this step we feel ourselves sustained not only by the arguments and motives set forth in the manifesto issued by the Mexican episcopacy on the 10th of August, 1859, with reference to the so-called laws of reform promulgated by Don Benito Juarez at Vera Cruz, and in the expositions we addressed to Generals Almonte and Salas, as regents of the empire, in December of last year, in consequence of the circular issued by them on the 15th of that month, (copies of which documents we enclose to your Majesty herewith,) but also by the character of higher gravity which this question has now assumed by the fact of the intervention of the holy father, who has sent his nuncio at your Majesty's request.

The bases given by your Majesty to your minister involve, sire, the complete abrogation of all the privileges and powers of the church, the ratification of the laws of sequestration of ecclesiastical property, the confirmation of the interests created thereby, the authoritative intervention of the civil power in the maintenance of worship, the extinction of the canonical means of subsistence, upon which public worship and its ministers depend, and, finally, the sanction of free and ample tolerance for all religions, without other restriction than the declaration that the Roman Catholic apostolic is the religion of the state.

To none do we yield, or will we ever yield, sire, in our fidelity in the compliance with our strict duty towards the temporal sovereign; but when, in order to obey him, it is necessary to fail in obedience to the law of God, or that of the church, and consequently to commit the sin of prevarication, passive resistance ought then never to be considered as an act of disobedience, because obedience is based upon the law of God, and ceases to be a duty when it is inconsistent with that law.

The article of our creed with reference to the Catholic church is a dogma of faith, and this dogma establishes a supreme right in matters of doctrine, of morals, and of canonical government, a supreme authority that cannot be subordinated to any other on earth, and it proclaims, as an unimpeachable principle for all Catholics, and as a rule of conduct, that whatever may be the power, rank, and position of those who exercise supreme authority in the state, they have absolutely no power whatever over these matters; for it is only the visible head of the church—that is, the Pope—who can exercise this jurisdiction; it is only this power that binds and unbinds consciences; it is only this authority that is competent to proclaim dogmas of faith, to enlighten belief, to rule over morals, to decide doubtful questions, and to order all conflicts to cease by means of its sovereign declarations.

Your Majesty will permit us, protesting above all our most profound respect, to state that your sovereign resolution, with reference to the matters referred to in the letter addressed to the minister of justice, relates precisely to those very points of the struggle between the church and the state which would not be the subject of dispute did they not invade the spiritual power, as has been constantly demonstrated to the various governments by the Mexican episcopacy; that they are in open opposition to the social basis of the Catholic church, and directly opposed to positive provisions of the canons, and especially to those of the last general council; that they have been explicitly condemned by the apostolic see in pontifical allocutions; and that even the request and sending of an apostolic nuncio, for the definite settlement of these questions, proves that your Majesty has been of this same understanding, since it is clear that, had your Majesty not recognized the positive necessity for the concurrence of both powers in the settlement of these questions, your Majesty would not have made so great an effort to obtain the sending of the apostolic nuncio.

Besides, your Majesty, in referring to this step, characterizes it as "a means capable of satisfying the pressing necessities of the country, and of restoring peace to the minds and calming the consciences of all the inhabitants of the empire," which declaration, as true as precise and conscientious, renders unnecessary, sire, any demonstration on our part.

But we cannot omit to observe that these conceptions hold good, only supposing that the steps referred to had not been taken, and that, however grave other circumstances may be supposed to be, they cannot be sufficient to enable the resolution contained in your Majesty's letter to satisfy the exigencies of the country or to restore tranquillity to the consciences and establish peace.

Your Majesty is well aware that the temporal sovereign has no power over the conscience, except to retire its coaction over it, and that, therefore, while the Pope does not decide or the sovereign does not withdraw this coaction, conscience will continue to be agitated.

With regard to the just exigencies of the country, we do not know what other there can be if they are not those of conscience in its moral relations with interest. But, referring only to that other class of interests produced by the appropriation of ecclesiastical property in favor of the now unlawful holders of the property of the church, under the laws that have despoiled it, even referring to these, and bearing in mind that many of these holders seek in the solution of these questions, not the quieting of conscience merely, but the consolidation and restoration to value of their sudden wealth, your Majesty will allow us to state that even these persons will remain in the same condition as before, for the sovereign declaration of your Majesty will produce on their minds only the effect of adding the fear of new exactions and other burdens to the uncertainty which will continue to prevail so long as the concurrence of the holy pontiff shall not have been obtained.

We will not dwell, sire, upon what relates to the competent maintenance of public worship and the support of its ministers, because whatever the gratuitous enemies of the church may say, interest has never had the slightest influence upon the conduct of its pastors; nor will we state to your Majesty that civil coaction having ceased, only those contribute that are so disposed, and that the noble moral impulse that determines these gifts subsists independent of all human power. But we can assure your Majesty that all of us are ready to depend solely upon the piety of the faithful rather than upon any civil appropriation, because nothing is so dear to us, under these circumstances, as to sustain the dignity of the church and the independence of her priesthood.

With regard to religious tolerance, we can see nothing that renders it, not to say urgent, but even excusable. Mexico is exclusively a Catholic country, and the opposition of the people to religious tolerance has always been manifested in the most unequivocal manner. When the constituent congress of 1856 was discussing the fifteenth article of the project of constitution, which would have established religious tolerance, notwithstanding the assembly was made up of the most advanced partisans of what is called reform and progress, and in spite of their unanimous endeavor to secure the success of such an idea, they were obliged to give way under the irresistible pressure of public opinion, manifested as never before. The radical liberals were the masters of the situation—they had all power and controlled the public offices everywhere; yet, notwithstanding all this, and the slight influence of the opposite party, and particularly of the church, they were unable to stem the torrent. Addresses poured in from all parts of the country, municipalities, guilds, entire populations, men and women, all the community, pronounced against the article; and even the government of Comonfort, perceiving it was not wise to oppose the popular feeling so unanimously manifested, took its stand against religious tolerance, and the article was rejected by an immense majority.

These facts, sire, are eloquent indeed; and in seven years the character and will of a people are not changed.

It would have been very easy for us, in lightly touching upon the points to which this address relates, to make with reference to each one of those points, and in general with reference to the so-called laws of reform, more ample observations; but we have been desirous to confine ourselves carefully to the simplest indications, both in order not to exceed what our duty strictly requires, and not to distract your Majesty's attention; and finally, after so much that both ourselves and our predecessors have said, and have proved and demonstrated with all classes of arguments in our representations and protests to the different governments which have attacked the church, and very particularly in the documents which we enclose herewith, in order not to unnecessarily prolong this address, we do not feel that it is necessary for us to say anything more. We shall never, however, cease reiterating our supplications to your Majesty that you will cause an end to be put to the grave embarrassment that has arisen from the issuance, without awaiting the arrival of the new pontifical instructions, of a resolution that, not having the concurrence of the two powers, leaves still on foot, and even will largely augment, the evils already suffered, will aggravate each day more and more the situation and render it more critical; and we cannot say to what point will multiply the difficulties with which your Majesty is struggling for the re-establishment of peace and the consolidation of the empire.

PELAGIO ANTONIO,
Archbishop of Mexico.
CLEMENTE DE JESUS,
Archbishop of Michoacan.
JOSE MARIA,
Bishop of Oajaca.
BERNARDO,
Bishop of Queretaro.
IGNACIO MATEO,
Bishop of Zacatecas.

MEXICO, *December* 29, 1864.

A true copy: Washington, March 18, 1865.

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

No. 4.

[Translation.]

Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, having consulted our council of ministers, we have decreed and do decree the following:

ARTICLE 1. The empire protects the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion as the religion of the state.

ART. 2. All forms of worship not contrary to morality, civilization, and good manners, shall have free and ample toleration in all the territory of the empire. No worship can be established without the previous consent of the government.

ART. 3. As circumstances shall demand, the administration, by police regulations, will arrange all that may concern the exercise of worship.

ART. 4. Abuses which may be committed by the authorities against the exercise of worship, and against the liberty which the laws guarantee to their ministers, shall be laid before the council of state.

This decree shall be placed in the archives of the empire and published in the official journal.

Done at the palace at Mexico, February 26, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By order of his Imperial Majesty.

PEDRO ESCUDERO Y ECHANOVE,
Minister of Justice.

WASHINGTON, *March* 18, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO MARISCAL.

No. 5.

[Translation.]

We, Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, having consulted our council of ministers, have decreed and do decree the following:

ARTICLE 1. The council of state shall revise all the operations of the amortization and nationalization of ecclesiastical property, executed in consequence of the laws of the 25th of June, 1859, and others agreeing therewith.

ART. 2. The council on making the revision shall remedy excesses and injustice committed by fraud, by violation of the said laws, or by the abuses of the functionaries charged with their execution.

ART. 3. The council will make the revision truly, openly, and in good faith, and with no more impediments than those which it may consider necessary in each case, for the manifestation and illustration of truth.

ART. 4. The resolutions of the council are irrevocable, and will be executed as they are, without exception of any kind.

ART. 5. Lawful operations executed without fraud, and in accordance with the laws already cited, will be confirmed. Those which do not come under this head will be annulled.

ART 6. Irregular operations which may have been executed against the tenor of the said laws, with the approbation of the federal government, may be ratified, reducing them previously to the terms prescribed in the same laws, so long as there be no injury to a third party.

ART. 7. Transactions which may be declared null and void may be revised on condition that they be brought forward in accordance with the terms of the law of the 13th July, 1859, that there is paid into the treasury in money, a fine of twenty-five per cent. on the total value of the estate or capital adjudged; and that no loss is caused to a third party by rights acquired previous to the revision of the claim.

ART. 8. Concessions made by the federal government, so that the part in money of the adjudication or redemptions should be covered with credits arising from the personal services of servants of the state, will not vitiate the operation so long as the concession is understood to be solely and immediately in favor of those who gave those services.

ART. 9. Lawful rights acquired by the law of the 25th of June, 1856, shall not be considered lost or extinguished, except by express renunciation or on proof of their having been executed simultaneously with the operation from which it is derived. The renouncements of women who may have no other right in property, or of the custodians or guardians of children, in the name of their pupils, will be of no effect.

ART. 10. To qualify the rights which are derived from the said laws and the effects which they must produce, the date of their publication will, in every instance, be considered according to the principles of legislation.

ART. 11. The transfer which the clergy made of property or estates in those places which were subjected to the administration of Generals Zuloaga and Miramon may be ratified, if there be no loss to a third party, by reason of any rights previously acquired. For the same reason the transaction executed by virtue of the laws of the 12th and 13th of July, 1859, shall also be ratified in subjection to them, previous to their publication in their respective places.

ART. 12. In the case of operations on which the decrees have been executed, and judicial acts duly published, the revision thereof shall be limited to the reimbursement of the exchequer with regard to the enactments of this law, which may have been infringed or defrauded in the said transaction. The reimbursement of the exchequer must be made by the actual possessor of the estate or funds.

ART. 13. Whenever a transaction shall be declared null and of no effect, the sums advanced by the person executing it must be returned in coin, and the value which it may have, in the same manner, form, and terms in which it was originally made. The legal interest on these sums shall also be paid in cash, corresponding to the time which may have transpired and the actual value of the improvements which may have been made on the estates. These reimbursements will not take place in cases where it is known that the transaction had been fraudulently executed.

ART. 14. For the restitution of credits which do not exist in the public offices the council will issue a certificate, which will have the same legal effect as the replaced credit

ART. 15. The restitution of estates or funds which may have been the object of invalid operations should be made with the proceeds or results which they may have realized.

ART. 16. There shall be established an office, to be called "The Administration of Nationalized Property." It shall have control over the administration of that kind of property which may not legitimately come under the head of private property; it shall copy the evidence which may be considered necessary for the revisions; it shall put into practice the administrative and economical operations contingent on each act of revision, or whatever may be deemed necessary for the council. And for the departments, wherever it may appear necessary, the council will propose to us the nomination of agents to discharge the functions with which they will be charged. A counsellor or auditor, appointed by us, on the proposal of the council, shall be inspector thereof.

ART. 17. All the funds or capital of nationalized property that may not have been transferred or redeemed, those which are recovered by revision, and those which proceed from the transfer of estates which were afterwards made, shall be in charge of the office of nationalized property, which will see that they are properly administered, and collect their rents while carrying out their functions.

ART. 18. No right which directly or originally proceeds from mortmain transactions or nationalization shall be exercised, or be made of any value, judicial or extra-judicial, while it is not shown in due and proper form that the operation whence it proceeded has been properly and correctly revised.

ART. 19. Although the revision may not be complete, if it be shown in due form that the process to obtain it has been presented, the rights to which the previous article refers may be exercised; but those who obtain it for them must give security to the satisfaction of the chief judge, (*Juez de primera instancia,*) or keep the matter in judicial course until the revision is complete.

ART. 20. Nor shall any right or privilege, judicial or extra judicial, be exercised in relation to nationalized estates which may not have been included in operations of mortmain or nationalization, or which may have been returned to ecclesiastical corporations. The possessors or detainers of those estates must show cause within two months in the form prescribed by the enactments of this law.

ART. 21. Any person contravening the three last mentioned articles, or their accomplices, shall incur a fine of from $1,000 to $15,000, or six months to five years imprisonment. The penalty shall be applied openly and without reference to the nullity of the act or acts which may have been exercised.

ART. 22. The redemption of funds or capital must be shown within two months. If the manifestation be not made, the redemption will be considered null, and the deed of recognition will recover all its vigor and force.

ART. 23. Negotiations now pending in the tribunals in which there is a question of the validity or preference of rights acquired by the laws of mortmain or naturalization will pass the council and thus be disposed of.

ART. 24. Nationalized property which may not have been transferred in consequence of the laws already mentioned, and those which may be reclaimed by virtue of the revision, shall be transferred in the form and terms which the law provides for the sale of the estates of the exchequer, with due regard to the provisions prescribed by this law.

ART. 25. The cost of the transfers shall be placed at six per cent. per annum, with the hypothecation of the estate itself for a term of eighteen years, to be collected annually and in equal parts. The diminution of the time of recognition and the payment in cash of the whole or part of the price shall not have any alteration.

ART. 26. Country property, in order to be transferred, shall be divided into parts, and the project of division which is formed in each case shall be presented to us for our approbation.

ART. 27. In every case of the transfer of country lands the preference shall be given to persons having no other landed property; and in no case shall more than two properties be transferred to a single person.

ART. 28. The transfer of agricultural lands shall only be made in favor of persons who have no other landed property.

ART. 29. All clerks, secretaries, notaries public, judges and others, shall, within two months from the publication of this law, remit to the minister of justice a circumstantial notice of all writings granted in their protocols from the 1st of June, 1856, with reference to nationalized property, with a statement of all notes in reference thereto. Those who do not exactly execute and punctually comply with this direction shall incur the penalty of deprivation of office and a fine of $500 to $3,000.

ART. 30. At the termination of the time specified in the last article our minister of justice shall name examiners of the protocols, to make examination as to the fulfilment of the aforementioned provision.

This decree shall be deposited in the archives of the empire, and be published in the official gazette.

Given in the palace of Mexico, February 26, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By command of his imperial Majesty.

PEDRO ESCUDERO Y ECHANOVE,
Minister of Justice.

WASHINGTON, *March* 18, 1865

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 1, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 28th of March last, and of its enclosures, numbered 1 to 5, inclusive, calling the attention of this government to the said documents which refer to the events occurring in the Mexican republic, at their respective dates.

While thanking you for the information thus communicated, which is contained in your note and its interesting accompaniments, I avail myself of the opportunity to tender to you, sir, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 31st of March, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy, in English, of a correspondence published recently in the London Times, which shows the arbitrary conduct observed by General Bazaine, chief of the French army invading Mexico, towards the merchants of that republic, by compelling them to ship on board the French steamer Rhone, a "conducta" (convoy) of silver which had arrived at Tampico in December last, with the view of being shipped to England on board the English packet. Notwithstanding the protest of the house to which the "conducta" (convoy) was consigned, it was shipped on board the Rhone for Vera Cruz, at which port it was transshipped to the French packet of Saint Nazaire, thus causing to the owners of the silver the loss of their policies of insurance and many other drawbacks and injuries, the whole of which was done for the purpose, exclusively, of augmenting, by force of arms, the freight of a French steamer.

This shameful arbitrariness is a new evidence of the object and aim of the French intervention in Mexico, and of what the national and foreign commerce of that republic would have to expect should the French intervention succeed in prevailing and establishing itself within it.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c. &c., &c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

The following letter from the largest English commercial house at Tampico appears in the city article of the London Times of January 31:

TAMPICO, *December* 29, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: We have this moment come from a meeting of the merchants of this place, which was called this morning by the commander, M. Jaquin, and presided over by him, and we hasten to inform you of the object for which we were called together. M. Jaquin, who had beside him the second in command of the French war-steamer Rhone, began by stating that he had called this meeting merely with the object of communicating to those interested an order relative to the funds coming by the conducta which he had received from General Bazaine. He then read the order, which was to the effect that all the funds that came by the conducta and were intended for shipment, should be shipped here on board the French steamer Rhone, and by her transferred to the St. Nazaire packet at Vera Cruz, about the middle of the month.

We informed M. Jaquin, as did several others of the principal merchants, that we had large sums for account of our friends in the interior, destined for England, with distinct orders to ship by the royal mail steam packet; and that, moreover, these sums, if sent in the way he indicated, would not be covered by insurance. To which he made answer, that, with regard to matters of detail, such as insurance, &c., he was quite incapable of giving any opinion; these must be arranged by the parties interested, and that he would merely confine himself to preventing, by force if necessary, any part of the funds to arrive, per conducta, being embarked other than by the Rhone and St. Nazaire line.

The outrageous enormity of such a determination on the part of the French authorities admits of no comments on our part, and we merely confine ourselves to informing you of what has taken place, that you may take the necessary steps in the capital to have the order cancelled, and enable us to follow the instructions of our correspondents and carry on our lawful commerce with the liberty we have a right to expect to enjoy under the government of his imperial Majesty.

Under the rule of no previous party or faction were ever made such preposterous and arbitrary pretensions, and if they are not at once and forever put an end to, there can be no guarantee in future for the security of interests of any description whatever. The principle involved in this violent measure is one of grave and serious importance, as, if acknowledged in this affair, we may ere long be compelled to confine ourselves to the use only of such means of transport, communication, and traffic as the French authorities think fit to allow us to make use of.

As the packet is expected every moment, we have merely time to send this document in a general form for the government of all concerned, stating that we still have a hope the funds will arrive in time to be shipped per packet. In view of the steps we had taken to facilitate the operation, we shall attempt to make the shipment; but we have the word of the commander, M. Jaquin, that he will forcibly prevent it; in which case we shall retain the funds, protesting at the same time in the most solemn manner against the authors of such a violent interposition in our private affairs, and holding them responsible, in the name of every one concerned, for all the losses and delays which may be incurred by the forcible detention of funds destined for shipment under the ruling tariff of the empire.

We have just been to the custom-house to open the register for the packet for the shipment of the specie, and the collector showed us the order from the interventor, M. Salles, forbidding any permit to be given but by the steamer of the French line.

We are, dear sirs, yours, very truly,

SEWART L. JOLLY & CO.

Messrs. GRAHAM, GEAVES & CO., BARRON, FORBES & CO., A. DAVIESON, AMANDIO BAUME, GUSTAVE GODARD, FRANCISCO DE LA FUENTE, G. NEWBOLD.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 31, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

[From the London Times, (city article,) February 14.]

The annexed correspondence has passed with reference to the proceedings of the authorities in Mexico, in relation to the shipments of specie:

MY LORD: The undersigned, merchants and others interested in the trade with Mexico, have the honor to lay before your lordship a statement of some unusual and arbitrary proceedings at Tampico, of which intelligence has just been received by the Atrato.

A conducta, conveying about $2,000,000 from the city of Mexico for shipment by the royal mail steamer to Southampton, was expected to arrive at Tampico on the 27th of December last, but was purposely retarded by order of Marshal Bazaine, commanding the French troops in Mexico, until after the sailing of the steamer, and on the 29th of the same month a meeting of the merchants and others to whom the specie was consigned at Tampico was called by M. Jaquin, commanding at that post, who informed them that the whole of the treasure by the conducta must be put on board the French war steamer Rhone for transmission to Vera Cruz, there to be transshipped into the steamer of the French Société Transatlantique, sailing about a fortnight later to St. Nazaire. At the same time he stated that if attempts were made to ship any of the specie by the steamer of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, or in any other manner than as before mentioned, force would, if necessary, be employed to prevent it.

This very arbitrary interference with the ordinary course of trade is most injurious to the consignees and owners of the specie, not only from the delay occasioned in the receipt of the funds here, but by invalidating the policies of insurance which had already been effected on the specie by the royal mail steamers, and we respectfully venture to trust that your lordship will deem it advisable to instruct, as soon as practicable, the accredited representatives of her Majesty's government in Mexico to take measures to prevent the recurrence of such extraordinary proceedings, and to secure to the shippers of bullion that freedom of action which they have always hitherto enjoyed, and which it is so desirable in the interest of commerce that they should continue to exercise.

We have the honor to be, my lord, your lordship's very obedient servants,

N. M. ROTHSCHILD & SONS.
BARING BROS. & CO.
F. HUTH & CO.
C. DEMUNIETA & CO.
G. H. & J. F. WULFF.
DRAKE, KELMWORTH & COHEN.
SCHUSTER, SON & CO.
J. HART & CO.
J. C. M. THURNE & CO.

Right Hon. EARL RUSSELL, &c.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 31, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

Earl Russell's reply.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *February* 8, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt this day of the memorial, dated the 3d instant, signed by yourselves and others interested in the trade with Mexico, respecting the interference of the French authorities in Mexico with a convoy of specie destined for shipment at Tampico on board the British mail steamer about to take its departure from that port to Southampton.

I am to state to you that, on receiving from the Royal Mail Steamship Company, on the afternoon of the 31st ultimo, the first intimation of this proceeding, Lord Russell instructed, by telegraph, her Majesty's ambassador at Paris to seek an explanation from the French government; but it appears that no detailed account of the transaction had reached that government, and a report only had been received from Marshal Bazaine, dated the 27th of December, stating that a conducta of money had been forwarded from San Louis Potosi under escort of two companies of zouaves, and had subsequently been sent to Tameniki, there to be embarked for Tampico, where Marshal Bazaine had ordered a French steamer to meet it, but Marshal Bazaine did not allude to any protest having been made on the part of the English merchants against this proceeding.

Lord Russell will instruct Mr. Scarlett, her Majesty's minister in Mexico, to endeavor, as far as may be in his power, to prevent a similar diversion of bullion from its appointed channel of transport to this country; and he will also direct Lord Cowley to request the French government, without prejudicing the explanations which Marshal Bazaine may offer of what has passed, to instruct that officer not to interfere hereafter with the disposal of treasure destined to be embarked for this country on board the royal mail steamers

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

E. HAMMOND.

Messrs. ROTHSCHILD & SONS and others.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 31, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 7th of April, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Pursuant to my intention to communicate to the government of the United States, through your respected channel, the principal documents which may come to my hands, and which may serve to give an idea of the policy observed by the forces and the agents of the French government in Mexico, I have the honor to accompany with this note some of those published in numbers 9 and 10 of "*El Correo de Mazatlan,*" the organ of the so-called government of the ex-Archduke Maximilian in the State of Sinoloa. I will take the liberty to briefly call your attention to these evidences brought to light by the agents themselves of the French intervention in my country.

The first is a decree from the French General Castagny, issued on the 25th of January last, in which, referring to another decree upon the same subject, from the general-in-chief of the French forces in Mexico, and to the instructions of Maximilian, a court-martial is established in Mazatlan, from which there is no appeal, to pronounce, at discretion, sentences which are to be executed within twenty-four hours against every republican guerilla, and even against any prisoner made from the regular forces who defend the independence of their country, for it is known that the former, and even in many cases the latter, are called by the invaders of Mexico "armed malefactors," against whom apparently the decree of which I speak is levelled. This barbarous system of trying by foreign courts-martial, and without subjecting to any law or rule, as they pass sentences at discretion, has already carried to the gallows hundreds of victims, among them many such as Señor Chavez, the constitutional governor of Aguas Calientes and General Ghilardi, the companion-in-arms of Garibaldi. These are the "armed malefactors" whom the invader seeks to exterminate.

The second point in evidence, which I accompany with this note, is another decree from the same General Castagny, removing the political and civil authorities of Mazatlan, appointed by the French agent which preceded the said general at Mazatlan, and constituting other persons in their places, under the threat that, if any one of them should not accept the position to which he has been designated, he will suffer a penalty of imprisonment for six months, agreeably to the law issued upon the subject by the intervention.

The existence of this so-called law, and the necessity of threatening its execution in the decree to which I refer, are the best proofs which can be imagined of the want of popularity with which the cause of the intervention contends in Mexico.

The third evidence comprises several communications which have passed between the so-called political prefect of Sinaloa and the Licentiate Don Ladislao Gaona, from which it appears that this advocate did not immediately accept the appointment which was conferred upon him of judge of the first instance, and though he excused himself upon the plea of infirmity, he was ordered to be imprisoned, and compelled to accept the office.

The fourth and last evidence which I have the honor to transmit, although of a later date, constitutes from its tenor a very singular document. It is a proceeding, subscribed by sundry persons of the city of Aguas Calientes, who were compelled by the political prefect to protest that they would not be hostile to the new order of things. But the fact is to be noted that the majority of the signers, not satisfied that it should appear in the instrument that they acted by order of the prefect, took care to set forth before each of their signatures that they complied with that act solely through the fear of the pains with which they were threatened. What is most singular in this document, which reveals what has taken place in drawing up all the acts of adhesion to the empire, should be brought to light as a proof of the spontaneity with which it is being accepted in Mexico. I forbear from the reflections which these documents suggest, because they cannot be concealed from the well-known penetration of the government of the United States, which I have no doubt will properly estimate them.

I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[Translation.]

[From the Correo de Mazatlan, 28th of January, 1865. Volume 1, No. 9.]

Gregorio Almada, superior political prefect of the department of Sinaloa, to its inhabitants:

Know ye, that his excellency Major General De Castagny, has directed to me the following decree:

"EXPEDITIONARY FORCE OF MEXICO, 1ST DIVISION OF INFANTRY,
"GENERAL STAFF.

"General de Castagny, commanding the 1st division of the Franco-Mexican army:

"In virtue of the constituent decree of the general-in-chief, issued the 20th of June, 1863, in virtue of the orders from his Majesty the Emperor Maximilian and using powers conferred upon him, decrees as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. A court-martial is hereby established in Mazatlan.

"ART. 2. This court is invested with discretional powers to judge, without appeal, every person who belongs to the gangs of armed malefactors.

"ART. 3. This court shall pronounce sentence by a majority of votes and at one session.

"ART. 4. Sentences shall be executed within twenty-four hours, counting from the moment of their passage.

"*General Commanding the 1st. Division,*
"DE CASTAGNY.

"MAZATLAN, *January* 25, 1865."

Therefore I order this to be printed, published and circulated, and that it be duly obeyed.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General of the Prefecture,
GREGORIO MORENO.
MAZATLAN, *January* 28, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

[Taken from the same paper as the preceding.]

Gregorio Almada, superior political prefect of the department of Sinaloa' to its inhabitants:

Know ye, that his excellency Major General de Castagny, has directed to me the following decree:

"EXPEDITIONARY FORCE OF MEXICO, 1ST DIVISION OF INFANTRY,
"GENERAL STAFF.

"General de Castagny, commanding the 1st division of the Franco-Mexican army:

"Considering that the authorities of Mazatlan have been elected by a small portion of the population, and, moreover, have taken little pains to do their duty, it is decreed, that the following persons are provisionally appointed to office till their nominations are ratified by his Majesty the Emperor Maximilian:

"*Political prefect.*—Don Gregorio Almada.

"*Municipal prefect.*—Don Francisco Gomez Flores.

"*City Council.*—President, Don Vicente Alvarez de la Rosa. Councilmen: 1. Angel Lopez Portillo. 2. Leon Villaseñor, (doctor.) 3. Manuel Hidalgo. 4. Miguel F. Castro. 5. Fortunato de la Vega. 6. Juan Ramirez. 7. Jesus Macias.

"*Syndics.*—1. Don Matias Acosta. 2. Don Santiago Rivero.

"*Alcaldes.*—1. Don Manuel Castellanos. 2. Don Francisco Muro. 3. Don Vicente Maldonado.

"Any of the persons above mentioned who refuse to perform the duties of the offices assigned to them shall suffer six months' imprisonment, according to the provisions of the law.

"*General Commanding the First Division,*
"DE CASTAGNY.

"HEADQUARTERS IN MAZATLAN, *January* 27, 1865."

Therefore I order this to be printed, published, and circulated, and command that it be duly obeyed.

MAZATLAN, *January* 28, 1865.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General of the Prefecture,
GREGORIO MORENO.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

[Taken from the same paper as the preceding.]

Gregorio Almada, superior political prefect of the department of Sinaloa, to its inhabitants:

Know ye, that his excellency Major General de Castagny, has directed to me the following decree:

"EXPEDITIONARY FORCE OF MEXICO, 1ST DIVISION OF INFANTRY,
"GENERAL STAFF—No. 1355.

"General Castagny, commanding 1st division of the Franco-Mexican army' considering it of great importance to organize the judicial power as soon as possible, and respecting the recommendations of the superior political prefect, decrees as follows:

"The persons mentioned below are hereby appointed to office till their nominations are ratified by his Majesty the Emperor Maximilian, as officers of the supreme court: Minister, Licenciado Don Jesus Betancourt; attorney, Licenciado Don José Maria Loreto Iribarren. The other officers required in the supreme court of justice shall be appointed by the political prefect, taking into consideration the minister's recommendations.

"The following persons are hereby appointed by the political prefect till their nominations are ratified by his Majesty the Emperor: First judge of first instance, Licenciado Ladislao Gaona; second judge of first instance, Licenciado Jesus Bringas.

"MAZATLAN, *January* 27, 1865.

"*General of the Division,*
"DE CASTAGNY.

"*Political Prefect,*
"DON GREGORIO ALMADA, *Present.*"

Therefore I order this to be printed, published, and circulated, and command that it be duly obeyed.

MAZATLAN, *January* 28, 1865.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General of the Prefecture,
GREGORIO MORENO.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

[From El Correo de Mazatlan, the official paper of the department of Sinaloa, February 8, 1865, volume 1, No. 10.]

Superior political prefecture of the department of Sinaloa.

As the same causes still exist that I explained to the superior political prefect of the department in my conference with him yesterday, why I should be excused from accepting the place of 2d judge of first instance, to which I have been appointed by General de Castagny; and as I am again suffering from another attack of malignant coast fever, from which I have already suffered much, making a change of air necessary to my recovery, as my physician says, I make known this to you that you may inform the superior political prefect of the department that, for reasons given, I cannot accept the aforesaid appointment.

L. GAONA.

To the SECRETARY *of the Superior*
Political Prefecture of the Department, present.

MAZATLAN, *January* 30, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECTURE OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SINALOA *Mazatlan, February* 2, 1865.

EXCELLENCY: Your official letter of yesterday has informed me of the decree against Ladislao Gaona, who, despite his confinement, still refuses to serve as second judge of first instance for this port, to which he was appointed by your excellency's decree, promulgated the 28th of January last.

I now transmit the resolution to Mr. Gaona, and will see that it is enforced, and will recommend to you, when required, a person to fill his place in the abovementioned office.

God grant you many years.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General,
G. MORENO.

His Excellency General of the Division,
DE CASTAGNY, *Present.*

[Enclosure No. 6.]

SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECTURE OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SINALOA. *Mazatlan, February* 2, 1865.

His excellency General De Castagny, of the division, informed me officially yesterday, that notwithstanding your disrespectful refusal of the second judgeship of first instance, to which you were called by a decree of the 28th of January, 1865, he will give a proof of his indulgence by granting you three days from yesterday to reflect upon the serious consequences of your resistance to the decree, and if you remain contumacious, to imprison you for six months for not respecting his commands as you ought.

I communicate this to you for your information.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General,
G. MORENO.

Licenciado Don LADISLAO GAONA,
Appointed Second Judge of First Instance at this Port, present.

[Enclosure No. 7.]

SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECTURE OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SINALOA, *Mazatlan, February* 2, 1865.

SIR: Don Ladislao Gaona writes me officially as follows:

"MAZATLAN, *February* 2, 1865.

"In reply to your note of to-day, I have the honor to say that I did not at first accept the judgeship offered me, for the sole reasons given at the time, and not intended as contumacious. I now accept the place.

"L. GAONA.

"The SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECT *of this Department, present.*"

I send you a copy of the above note, that you may order Mr. Gaona to be liberated and to take charge of the office to which he has been appointed.

God grant you many years.

Superior Political Prefect,
GREGORIO ALMADA.

Secretary General,
G. MORENO.

His Excellency General of the Division,
DE CASTIGNY, *present.*

[Enclosure No. 8.]

MEXICAN EMPIRE, SECOND JUSTICE OF LETTERS,
Mazatlan, February 3, 1865.

I have this day taken possession of the second judgeship of first instance, by order of your note of the 29th January last, and have the honor to inform you of it.

L. GAONA.

The SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECT *of this Department, present.*

[Enclosure No. 9.—Translation.]

[From the Pajaro Verde, Mexico, 25th day of August, 1864.]

PROTESTS.

We, the undersigned, in compliance with the order of the head prefect of the department that persons holding office under the constitution of 1857 shall present themselves at the prefecture and prove that they are not hostile to the imperial government, protest on our word of honor that we will behave like honest citizens, will live in a peaceful manner, and will engage in no act of hostility against the present government.

FELIX DE LA PAZ,
and twenty others.

I signed because the penalty established in the circular of August 10th last is very severe, and I am told that it will be enforced.

FRANCISCO B. JAYME.

I signed this protest for the same reason that the Licenciate Jayme did.

MIGUEL GUINCHARD.

I protest that I have been hostile to no government up to this time, and I sign the present protest because of the penalty imposed by the circular of the 10th of last August.

GUILLERMO R. BRAND.

AGUAS CALIENTES, *July* 18, 1864.

Although we have served none of the governments of the country, nor have joined any political parties, we sign this present paper to avoid the serious consequences that might occur in case of refusal.

J. REFUGIO GUINCHARD.

Although I never held any office, I have been summoned by the prefect to ask me to be neutral. I protest to be so to avoid me further troubles.

A. C. BERRUECO.

Not being employed by the government, but being partial to the liberals, I am called upon to make this protest that I will live in peace. I hereby declare to remain neutral under all circumstances.

TRINIDAD PEDROZA.
JESUS H. ASCON.

For the sake of suffering imprisonment or exile, I signed this protest.

BRUNO DAVALOS.

Although I am partial to the liberal party, I have never shown any hostility to the present government, and I sign this protest to save myself from banishment or worse evils.

LUZ G. BRAVO.
ANTONIO CORNEJO.
FRANCISCO ROSALES.

There are a great many other remarks like the preceding ones.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 2, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your communications of March 31, and April 3 and 7, 1865, with their respective enclosures, transmitting, for the information of this government, accounts of the condition of affairs in Mexico, and of the events occurring there connected with the operations of the forces contending in that republic.

You will be pleased to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the interesting information you have so kindly communicated, while I avail myself of the occasion to reiterate to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c*, *&c*., *&c*., *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 10*th of May*, 1865.

MR. ACTING SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy, in English, of a note which I this day received from Señor Lerdo de Tejada, the minister of foreign relations of the Mexican republic, dated from the city of Chihuahua, on the 23d of March last, and marked No. 102, in which the views of the Mexican government are communicated to me, with reference to the note which I had the honor to address to your department on the 6th of February previous, protesting against the acts of the French agents in Mexico, with which they are attempting to make the republic responsible.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Translation.]

No. 102.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND OF GOVERNMENT,
National Palace at Chihuahua, March 23, 1865.

In the copy annexed to your note No. 31, of February 6 of this year, the citizen President of the republic has seen the protest which you communicated under the same date to the honorable Secretary of State of the United States, with reference to the report that the French government had resolved to order its agent, Maximilian, to sign a pretended cession of a large part of the territory of the Mexican republic.

The President approves your conduct, although in this matter the republic has already protested from the beginning, by many of its legitimate organs, and of all its constituted authorities, against all the acts and consequences of foreign invasion.

Neither the republic nor its government can ever be holden for the debts of the French agent Maximilian, whose only title to authority is that lent to him by the presence of the armed forces of France, and who could not sustain himself in Mexico for a single day without the support of foreign bayonets.

The Mexican people, represented in the national congress, has solemnly declared its intention not to cede any part of the territory, whether large or small, to any nation. For this reason, in the laws enacted by congress, which conferred the most ample powers upon the government, even that of concluding treaties with foreign powers, the restriction was inserted that, in any treaty, so concluded, the integrity of the national territory should be respected.

If Maximilian, in obedience to the orders of Napoleon, has signed or should hereafter sign a pretended cession of a portion of the territory, this should not be surprising, for, in order to do so, he must have set aside every consideration for the rights and will of the Mexican people, all respect for the national honor, and even for the sentiment of personal dignity, from the moment when, through of assumed authority, he determined to play in Mexico the part of the submissive agent of the French government.

I renew to you, sir, my very distinguished consideration.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, Washington, D. C.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON, *May* 10, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 12th of June, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: There has come into my hands a memorandum which contains some considerations on the question about Mexico, treated from the point of view of the laws of nations in what regards the United States. Without expressing at present any opinion respecting it, much less asking it from the government of the United States, I confine myself to sending to you a copy of said memorandum.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

(Memorandum.)

"Whatever were the causes which led to the war between France and Mexico, when it occurred it assumed the character of a war between two sovereign and independent nations. In *such* a war the United States had no right to interfere, for, in accordance with established principles of international law, the federal government was in duty bound to observe a strict neutrality.

"But after the occupation of the city of Mexico by the French their real policy and intentions were unmasked. New tactics were at once adopted which changed the entire aspect of affairs.

"Former grievances were lost sight off, claims for indemnities and spoliations ceased to be the order of the day. Assisted by a few leading and influential Mexicans, France set to work to remodel the political status of the country, and succeeded in organizing an imperial party, representing the minority, in opposition to the republican party, representing the majority. Hostilities ensued between the two, and *civil war* was inaugurated. In his last annual message to Congress, President Lincoln, alluding to the situation of affairs in Mexico, took this view in declaring that *civil war* was still raging in that country.

"This change of policy on the part of France changed the position of the United States in reference to the Mexican question. The war assumed a new form, and, from one waged between two nations, degenerated into a struggle for supremacy between two parties. If the French considered themselves justified in maintaining by force of arms one of these parties, the United States had undoubtedly the right to give their support to the other. International law no longer compelled them to observe a neutrality.

"What was the result of this state of things? Simply that the imperial party, supported by French bayonets, and countenanced by other European governments who suffered the newly proclaimed sovereign of Mexico to contract loans and enlist soldiers in their midst, obtained the ascendency over an adversary who was fighting and still continues to fight alone, unaided even with the moral support of the United States.

"The United States have always proclaimed themselves to be the protectors of their sister republics on the American continent. What hopes can the latter entertain of their future security when they see a great republic, of which they are the feeble imitators, assisting with indifference to the spectacle of a handful of foreign soldiers successfully progressing, on her very borders, in the work of erecting a government framed and fashioned on the European plan? What will be their reflections when they discover that the United States have nothing but words to offer to friends steadfast in their attachment from motives both of interest and sympathy?

"If, through the instrumentality of the United States, a republic should be reared and fostered on the frontiers of France or of Russia, would these nations be indifferent to the event and accept the situation? Unquestionably not. For similar and more cogent reasons the United States cannot suffer the establishment, on the confines of their territory, of a monarchy created and maintained by foreign arms.

"The United States have no more co-operated in safe-guarding and perpetuating republican institutions in Mexico than the diminutive States of Central America, who have thought it sufficient to protest against this interference and encroachment on the part of European powers. But what may seem a matter of satisfaction to the pride of those States cannot be regarded in that light by so great and formidable a nation as the United States. The question at issue cannot remain in suspense; the United States must pursue one course or another—either to interfere actively in behalf of republican principles and against the French occupation in Mexico, or to recognize Maximilian and concede for ever to European nations the right of an armed intervention in the domestic concerns of the republics on the American continent. Let the United States make this sacrifice, for they will then at least be spared, in the eyes of the world, the ridicule and mortification of not possessing the requisite energy to handle and settle a question of paramount interest to themselves and in which the right is incontestably on their side."

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 25th of June, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Among the documents relating to Mexican affairs which I have neglected to transmit to your department, and which deserves the particular attention of the government of the United States, is a treaty, signed at Miramar the 10th of April, 1864, between the Emperor of the French and the ex-archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, who assumed on that day the usurped title of emperor of Mexico.

In this treaty, of which I inclose you a copy in English, an alliance is agreed upon between the said ex-archduke of Austria and the Emperor of the French.

I also enclose you a French copy, with English translation, of the address of Mr. Montholon, French minister near the said ex-archduke, when he was received by the latter on the 15th of June, 1864, and the usurper's reply.

I embrace this occasion of renewing to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

TREATY.

The government of the Emperor of the French and that of the Emperor of Mexico, animated with an equal desire to secure the re-establishment of order in Mexico, and to consolidate the new empire, have resolved to regulate by a convention the conditions of the stay of the French troops in that country, and have named their plenipotentiaries to that effect, viz:

The Emperor of the French, M. Charles Herbet, minister plenipotentiary of the first class, councillor of state, director of the ministry of foreign affairs, grand officer of the Legion of Honor, &c.; and the Emperor of Mexico, M. Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, his minister of state without portfolio, grand officer of the distinguished order of Our Lady of Guadalupe, &c.; who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1. The French troops at present in Mexico shall be reduced as soon as possible to a corps of 20,000 men, including the foreign legion. This corps, in order to safeguard the interests which led to the intervention, shall remain temporarily in Mexico on the conditions laid down by the following articles:

ARTICLE 2. The French troops shall evacuate Mexico in proportion as the Emperor of Mexico shall be able to organize the troops necessary to replace them.

ARTICLE 3. The foreign legion in the service of France, composed of 8,000 men, shall, nevertheless, remain in Mexico six years after all the other French troops shall have been recalled in conformity with article 2. From that moment the said legion shall pass into the service and pay of the Mexican government, which reserves to itself the right of abridging the duration of the employment of the foreign legion in Mexico.

ARTICLE 4. The points of the territory to be occupied by the French troops, as well as the military expeditions of the said troops, if there be any, shall be determined in common accord, directly between the Emperor of Mexico and the commandant-in-chief of the French corps.

ARTICLE 5. On all the points where the garrison shall not be exclusively composed of Mexican troops, the military command shall devolve on the French commander. In case of expeditions combined of French and Mexican troops, the superior direction of those troops shall also belong to the French commander.

ARTICLE 6. The French commanders shall not interfere with any branch of the Mexican administration.

ARTICLE 7. So long as the requirements of the French corps d'armé shall necessitate a two-monthly service of transports between France and Vera Cruz, the expense of the said service, fixed at the sum of 400,000 francs per voyage, (going and returning,) shall be paid by Mexico.

ARTICLE 8. The naval stations which France maintains in the West Indies and in the Pacific Ocean shall often send vessels to show the French flag in the ports of Mexico.

ARTICLE 9. The expenses of the French expedition to Mexico, to be paid by the Mexican government, are fixed at the sum of 270,000,000 francs for the whole duration of the expedition down to the 1st of July, 1864. That sum shall bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum. From the 1st of July all the expense of the Mexican army shall be at the charge of Mexico.

ARTICLE 10. The indemnity to be paid to France by the Mexican government for the pay and maintenance of the troops of the corps d'armé after the 1st of July, 1864, remains fixed at the sum of 1,000 francs a year for each man.

ARTICLE 11. The Mexican government shall hand over to the French government the sum of 66,000,000 francs in bonds of the loan at the rate of issue, viz: 54,000,000 francs, to be deducted from the debt mentioned in article 9, and 12,000,000 francs as an instalment of the indemnities due to Frenchmen in virtue of article 14 of the present convention.

ARTICLE 12. For the payment of the surplus of the war expenses, and for acquitting the charges in articles 7, 10, and 14, the Mexican government engages to pay annually to France the sum of 25,000,000 francs in specie. That sum shall be imputed, 1st, to the sums due in virtue of articles 7 and 10; 2d, to the amount, interest and principal, of the sum fixed in article 9; 3d, to the indemnities which shall remain due to French subjects in virtue of article 14 and following.

ARTICLE 13. The Mexican government shall pay, on the last day of every month, into the hands of the paymaster general of the army, what shall be due for covering the expenses of the French troops remaining in Mexico, in conformity with article 10.

ARTICLE 14. The Mexican government engages to indemnify French subjects for the wrongs they have unduly suffered, and which were the original cause of the expedition.

ARTICLE 15. A mixed commission, composed of three Frenchmen and three Mexicans, appointed by their respective governments, shall meet at Mexico within three months, to examine and determine these claims.

ARTICLE 16. A commission of revision, composed of two Frenchmen and two Mexicans, appointed by the same manner, sitting at Paris, shall proceed to the definitive liquidation of the claims already admitted by the commission designated in the preceding article, and shall decide on those which may have been reserved for its decision.

ARTICLE 17. The French government shall set at liberty all the Mexican prisoners of war as soon as the Emperor of Mexico shall have entered his States.

ARTICLE 18. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged as early as possible.

Done at the castle of Miramar, this 10th day of April, 1864.

HERBET.
JOAQUIN VELASQUEZ DE LEON.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

M. Montholon's speech.

SIRE: I have the honor to present to your Majesty the letters which accredit me to your Majesty in the quality of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, my august sovereign.

It is with the most lively sentiments of gratitude towards Providence that the first among the representatives of foreign powers, I approach the throne of your imperial Majesty—that throne which has been raised amid the acclamations of an entire people, the assurance of a new future of power and of prosperity.

The work of restoration to which your Majesty has devoted yourself is one of those which could only have been undertaken by a great soul, animated by a spirit of abnegation and the desire to do good, and attracted even by the very difficulties that it presents. France, penetrated by the grandeur of the task and the immense advantages it will yield to the whole world, will follow with the most ardent solicitude the noble efforts of your Majesty, and will be always prepared to second them.

Already, sire, the Mexican nation experiences all the value of the generous thought which has guided your Majesties to these shores, and each day will be more and more appreciated all the extent of the benefits you have conferred upon them in responding to their appeal.

The noble companion whom God has placed at your side, sire, in view of the destinies reserved to you, will contribute, by her grace, by her virtues, by the high qualities of her mind and heart, to render unalterable the attachment of the Mexican people for your august persons.

Happy in having been selected by my sovereign to be his interpreter near your imperial Majesty, my mission will be fulfilled according to the wishes of the Emperor and to the promptings of my own heart, if I shall be able to merit the confidence of your Majesty, and to contribute to render more and more intimate the fraternal relations of friendship which should exist between France and Mexico.

Established, both the one and the other, upon the basis of national suffrage, united for the future by the community of ideas, as well as by the reciprocal interest of commercial and industrial relations, the two empires will be drawn together by natural ties in the constant accord of a frank and loyal policy.

Be pleased, sire, to permit me to lay at the foot of the throne of your Majesties the sincere desires of the representative of France for the prosperity of your reign and the future grandeur of the Mexican nation.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

Maximilian's answer.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: It is with sincere satisfaction that I receive from your hands the letters of credence by which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has accredited you near my person.

I am happy to see in you the representative of a sovereign who has done so much for the future of Mexico, and towards whom, as you have remarked, this country manifests sentiments of the most sincere gratitude.

I do not hesitate to believe that the bonds of friendship and the fraternal relations which unite France to Mexico will find in you a faithful interpreter; and, on my part, I will see with pleasure these ties drawn closer and closer between the two empires and the two peoples.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

(El Iris, Tampico, June 9, 1864.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Imperial Palace, Mexico, May 19, 1864.

The regency of the empire has pleased to order the solemn publication of the act forwarded from Miramar by the Mexican commission charged to offer the votes of the Mexicans and the crown of the empire to his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, which says verbatim as follows:

At the palace of Miramar, near Trieste, on the tenth day of the month of April, 1864, being present in the reception room, his Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduke Maximilian of Austria and his august spouse, her Imperial and Royal Highness the Archduchess Carlota, accompanied by the Princess of Metternich, Countess Zichy, Lady of Honor to her Majesty the Empress of Austria, with the functions of Chief Lady of the Bedchamber of the Archduchess; the Countess Paula Kollatues, Canoness of the Chapter of Noble Ladies of Savoy; the Marchioness of Maria de Villa, Countess Zichy; his excellency M. Herbet, minister plenipotentiary of the first class of his Majesty the Emperor of the French on mission from the Department for Foreign Affairs; his excellency Count O'Sullivan de Grasse, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of the Belginas near the court of Vienna; M. Hypolite Morier, captain in the line of the French navy, and in command of the frigate Themis; and his excellency the Count Hadik de Tutak, actual privy councillor, Gentleman of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, preceded by the grandmaster of the ceremonies Marquis José Cerio, Gentleman of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, and Gentleman on service of their Imperial Highnesses who also were present at the audience; the president and other members present of the deputation charged to offer the vote of the Mexicans adopting monarchical institutions and inviting his Imperial and Royal Highness and his successors to occupy the throne, to wit: the most excellent D. José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada, Knight Grand Cross of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III, formerly minister for foreign affairs, and minister plenipotentiary of Mexico to various sovereigns of Europe; the most excellent Don Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, Commander of the imperial order of Guadalupe, former minister of finance in Mexico and formerly minister plenipotentiary to the United States; Don Ignacio Aguilar, Commander of the order of Guadalupe, formerly minister of government and judge of the supreme court of the nation, and Don Adrian Woll, general of division, Commander of the orders of Guadeloupe and the Legion of Honor, and M. de José Hidalgo, Commander with the decoration of the American order of Isabel the Catholic, of the Pontificate of Pio IX, and of that of Jerusalem, Grand Officer of that of Guadalupe, and Knight of that of San Silvestre; D. Antonio Escandon, Commander in the order of Isabel the Catholic, Knight of the order of St. Gregory, and of José Maria de Landa, Knight of the order of St. Gregory; and there were also introduced the Mexican gentlemen D. Francisco de Paula, Arrangoiz and Berzabel, Commander with the decoration of the royal American order of Isabella the Catholic, and of the Pontificate of St. Gregory, and Knight of that of Guadalupe of Mexico, formerly minister of the treasury; D. Tomas Murphy, Commander of the imperial and royal order of Francis Joseph of Austria, and formerly minister of Mexico to England; Colonel Don Francisco Facio, formerly chargé d'affaires at London, and consul-general at the Hanseatic Cities; D. Andrea Negrete, formerly chargé d'affaires at Belgium and now chargé d'affaires and consul-general at the Hanseatic Cities; D. Isidore Diaz, formerly minister of justice and of government; D. Pedro Escandon, Knight of the Legion of Honor, and formerly secretary of legation; Colonel D. José Annero Ruiz, Commander of the order of Isabella the Catholic, and Knight of that of Guadalupe, now consul at Marseilles; Doctor of Presbytery D. Ignacio Montes de Oca; Doctor D. Pablo Martinez del Rio, Knight of the order of Guadalupe; D. Fernando Gutierrez de Estrada, Knight of the order of St. Gregory; D. Ignacio Amor; D. Pedro Ontiveros, commanding battalion; D. Joaquin Manuel Rodriguez, commanding battalion. His excellency the president addressed to his Highness the Archduke the following allocution:

"Sir, the Mexican deputation has the happiness again to find itself in your august presence, and experiences unutterable gladness on reflecting on the motives which conduct it hither. In effect, sir, the good fortune falls on us to inform you, in the name of the regency of the empire, that the vote of the notables—by which you have been designated for the crown of Mexico—ratified this day by the enthusiastic adhesion of an immense majority of the country, of the municipal authorities, of the corporate bodies, consecrating that unanimous proclamation, has come to be, as well by its moral importance as by its numerical value, a truly national vote.

"By this glorious title, and sustained by the promises of the third of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, which have caused such well founded hopes to spring up in the country, we now present ourselves to solicit from your Imperial Highness the full and definitive acceptance of the Mexican throne, which will become a bond of union and a source of prosperity to that people, subjected for so many years to very rude and terrible trials. So great have they been, that it would infallibly have succumbed beneath the burden of its calamities, without the aid of any one of the great empires of Europe, without the eminent qualities and admirable self-negation of your Imperial Highness, and lastly without the freedom of action which you are indebted for to the noble sentiments of your august brother, worthy head, by a thousand titles, of the illustrious house of Austria. Honor and gratitude to these two princes. Honor and gratitude also to the glorious nation which, at the call of its sovereign, has not hesitated to pour out its blood for our political redemption, thus creating between the one continent and the other a new fraternity in history, when until now this history has only shown to us in Europeans nothing but conquerors. Honor and gratitude to that emperor, great and generous, who, making a French interest of all the interests of the world, has in a few years, in despite of passing obstacles, had the glory and the fortune to raise the flag of France, always feared, but always sympathetic, on the confines of the distant empire of China, and on the remote frontiers of the far-off empire of Mexico. Honor and gratitude to such people and to such princes, is the cry of every true Mexican. By conquering the love of the people, you, sir, have learned the difficult art of governing them. Therefore it is, that after so many struggles, our country, which experiences an imperious necessity for union, will one day owe to you the inappreciable blessing of having conciliated the hearts of the Mexicans, whom public calamities and the blind waywardness of passion had divided and separated, but which only awaited your beneficent influence, and the exercise of your paternal authority, to show themselves animated by the same identical sentiments.

"A princess, who by her graciousness alone, no less than by her virtues and her high intelligence, is already queen, will without doubt understand, from the elevation of the throne, to draw together all minds into perfect union for the general improvement of the country. To see these benefits realized, Mexico with filial confidence places in your hands the sovereign and constituent power which must rule its future destinies, and assure its glorious hereafter, promising to you in this solemn moment of alliance a love with limit and happiness unchangeable.

"It is promised to you, sir, because, catholic and monarchic, through an uninterrupted tradition of ages, it finds in your imperial highness an offshoot worthy of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and the Empress Maria Theresa, the symbol and the personification of those two great principles, bases of its primitive existence, and under whose protection, with institutions and appliances that the current of time has made necessary in the government of society, may some day be placed in the high position you are called to occupy among the nations; *in hoc signo vinces.*

"These two great principles, catholicism and monarchy, introduced into Mexico by the noble and knightly people who discovered it, eradicating the errors and dissipating the gloom of idolatry, to these principles which trained us for civilization we shall owe this time also our safety; revived as they have been by our independence, and, as they are now, by the smiling hopes bound up with the nascent empire. On this day, which would not be a day of happiness if it were not also a day of justice, our thoughts involuntarily turn to the historic times, and to the series of glorious monarchs, among whom excel in splendor the illustrious ancestors of your Imperial Highness. Nations as well as individuals should, in their hours of joy, salute with affectionate thankfulness the ancestors who no longer exist; and it is for us, sir, a glory we are ambitious of, to cause this just gratitude to shine forth at the very moment when our unhoped for good fortune equally attracts to us the astonished regards of the world. In opening to you, sir, our wishes and our hopes, we do not say, we cannot say, that the undertaking is easy; the founding an empire never was so—never will be.

"The only thing we will assure you of is that the difficulties of to-day will to-morrow be your glory; and we will even add, that, in the work undertaken, the hand of God is manifesty revealed. When, with the progress of time, our hopes are satisfied and our predictions are verified, when Mexico appears prosperous and regenerate, then reflecting that Europe sent to save us its brave battalions to the peaks of Anahuac and the shores of the Pacific, at a time when Europe itself was filled with apprehensions and danger, neither Mexico nor Europe, nor the world, nor that other world which will survive us, and which is called history, will doubt that our safety, procured contrary to all human probability, was not the work of Providence, and your Imperial Highness the instrument selected by it for its consummation. But not through thought of the hazarded fortunes of our country would it be possible for us to forget, sir, that in this hour of our rejoicing, the saddest gloom prevails in other places. We well understand, and our sympathies respond to the sense, that the Austrian land, and chiefly Trieste, your favored residence, will be inconsolable in your absence, but will be consoled by the recollection of your beneficence, and the splendid reflex of your glory.

"After having had the inappreciable fortune to hear from the lips of your Imperial Highness the words of hope that your definitive acceptance will become a reality, deign, sir, to grant us this distinguished and ineffable good fortune to be the first Mexicans who reverently greet you in the name of the country as the sovereign of Mexico, the arbiter of its destinies, and the trustee of its future; the whole Mexican nation which waits with unspeakable impatience to possess you, will receive you on its privileged soil with a unanimous shout of welcome and of love. But for a soul like yours, sir, this brilliant spectacle, which would be a recompense to others, will only serve to inspire you with new spirit, and strengthen your confidence.

"The reward will come at a later day, and will be providential, like the undertaking achieved. There will be no reward more enviable than that your Highness will receive by coming boldly and respected to Mexico at no distant day; and in truth you could not experience a purer joy than to have founded on the volcanic soil of the Montezumas a powerful empire that will in a short time combine for its splendor and your glory the fruitful influence of that native genius with which Heaven has gifted our American land, with all of the perfection which the justly valued European organization can offer.

"The last conviction, sir, that with us crowns such happy presages, is that Mexico, that sends its acclamations to you from beyond the seas, and the whole world that gazes on you, will not long wait to learn that your Imperial Highness has not in vain had before your eyes, from your infancy, on the triumphal arch placed in front of the palace of your ancestors that inscription well worthy of them, and which takes by surprise the admiration of the traveller: 'Justitia regnorum fundamentum'—Justice the foundation of empire."

His Highness deigned to reply in these terms:

"GENTLEMEN: A deliberate examination of the acts of adhesion which you have come to present to me gives me confidence that the voice of the notables of Mexico, which brought you a short time since to Miramar, has been ratified by an immense majority of your countrymen, and that I can consider myself from this time by good right as the chosen one of the Mexican people. Thus is accomplished the first condition set forth in my reply of 3d of October last. I also indicated another to you at that time, to wit, that relating to the securing the guarantees necessary, that the nascent empire should be able calmly to devote itself to the noble task of establishing on a solid basis its independence and well-being. We count to-day on those securities—thanks to the magnanimity of the Emperor of the French, who, in the course of the negotiations which have had place on this subject, has shown himself to be constantly animated by a spirit of loyalty and good-will, the record of which I shall always treasure in my memory.

"On the other hand, the august head of my family has consented to my taking possession of the throne which has been offered to me.

"Now, then, I can fulfil the conditional promise which I made you six months since, to declare here, as I do solemnly declare, that with the aid of the Almighty I accept at the hands of the Mexican nation the crown which it offers to me. Mexico, according to the traditions of that new continent, full of strength and of a hereafter, has exercised the right it has thus to give to itself a government in conformity with its wishes and its wants, and has staked its hopes on an offshoot of that House of Hapsburg which, three centuries ago, established on its soil a Christian kingdom. I appreciate at its full value such a demonstration of confidence, and shall take care to respond to it. I accept the constitutional power with which the nation, whose organ you are, has seen fit to invest me; but I will only hold it for the time requisite to create regular order in Mexico, and to establish wisely liberal institutions; so that, as I announced to you in my address on the 3d October, I shall hasten to establish monarchy upon the authority of constitutional laws as soon as the pacification of the country may be completely effected.

"The strength of a power is, in my opinion, much better assured by the permanence than by the uncertainty of its limits; and I aspire to place in the exercise of my government those who, without detriment to its prestige, may guarantee its stability. We will prove, as I hope, that liberty well understood is perfectly reconcilable with the empire of order. I shall comprehend how to respect the first, and to cause the second to be respected. I shall exhibit no less vigor in ever maintaining the flag of independence, that symbol of future greatness and prosperity.

"Great is the undertaking confided to me; but I have no doubt of carrying it through, trusting in Divine aid and the co-operation of all good Mexicans. I will conclude, gentlemen, by assuring you anew that my government will never forget the gratitude it owes to the illustrious and friendly monarch whose aid has made the regeneration of our beautiful country possible.

"In fine, gentlemen, I announce to you, that before setting off for my new home, I shall only remain long enough to go to the Holy City to receive from the venerable Pontiff the benediction so precious to every sovereign, but doubly important to me, who have been called to found a new empire."

The president replied, saying:

"Possessed by feelings that cannot be exceeded, and penetrated with delight ineffable, we receive, sir, the solemn YES which your Majesty has just uttered. This full and absolute acceptance, so ardently desired, and looked for with panting expectations, is the happy prelude, and must be, with God's help, the sure pledge of the salvation of Mexico, of its new birth, and of its future greatness. On the same day our sons will raise to Heaven offers of thanksgiving for this truly prodigious redemption. There remains to us one duty, sir, to fulfil—the duty of laying at your feet the love of the Mexicans, their gratitude, and the homage of their fidelity."

These last words spoken, the mitred abbot of Miramar and Lacroma, Monsieur George R.c.c., with mitre and crook, assisted by Friar Tomas Gomez, of the order of Franciscans, and Doctor D. Ignacio Montes de Oca, presented themselves to witness the oath which the emperor spontaneously took in these words:

"I, Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, swear to God on the Holy Evangels to promote by all means in my power the welfare and prosperity of the nation, to defend its independence, and maintain the integrity of its territory."

Their majesties were three times saluted with cheers: "Long live the emperor! long live the empress!" given by his excellency Señor Gutierrez de Estrada, and repeated with enthusiasm by the assemblage. They then retired to await the hour set for the Te Deum, which was solemnly chaunted in the chapel in presence of their majesties, the deputation and suite, at which act the emperor also wore the insignia of Grand Master of the Mexican order of Guadalupe. Meantime, at the moment the emperor took the oath, the imperial Mexican standard was hoisted on the tower of the castle, and the frigate Bellona, of the imperial and royal Austrian navy, gave a salute of twenty-one guns, which was repeated by the castle at Trieste, and by the French frigate Themis.

Thus closed the solemn act by which the Archduke of Austria, proclaimed emperor of Mexico by the free and spontaneous choice of that people, became invested with the sovereignty which he will transmit to his illustrious descendants, or to princes called to rule by the law of succession, which his Majesty may deign to sanction.

To perpetuate the memory of this great event, this act is extended by order of his excellency the president of the deputation, in duplicate, and signed by him and other members of the same deputation before mentioned, and authenticated by me as secretary, and will be transmitted to the department of foreign affairs and to the archives of the imperial house.

J. M. GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA,
President.

JOAQUIN VELASQUEZ DE LEON,
IGNACIO AGUILAR,
ADRIAN WOLL,
JOSÉ HIDALGO,
ANTONIO ESCANDON,
J. M. DE LANDA,
ANGEL YGLESIAS Y DOMINGUEZ,
Secretaries.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 28*th June*, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the grief to communicate to you that on the 19th instant died, at New York, General Don Manuel Doblado, of the Mexican army, who rendered distinguished services to his country, fought against the French in the war which the Emperor Napoleon is now making against us, and finally came temporarily to this country on leave from his government. On the 22d instant his obsequies took place in that city, on which occasion the addresses were made of which I send you a version in English.

I have the honor to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

OBITUARY.—THE MEXICAN GENERAL AND STATESMAN D. MANUEL DOBLADO.

General D. Manuel Doblado, one of Mexico's most renowned and distinguished generals and statesmen, died yesterday afternoon at a quarter to four, at his late residence in this city, No. 39 East Fifteenth street, aged fifty-three years.

General Doblado was born in the town of San Pedro Piedra Gorda, in the State of Guanajuato, in the year 1812. At an early age he gave such proof of his ability and future distinction that he was selected by the common council of his town and appointed to college under their own supervision and expense.

As early as 1836 General Dobaldo gave indications of diplomacy and forethought.

General Doblado, even before being admitted to the bar, was elected as secretary to a departmental convention of the State of Guanajuato.

Belonging always to the liberal party, D. Manuel Doblado has served his country faithfully in the capacity of governor of the State of Guanajuato, secretary, and subsequently judge of the supreme court, and in many other positions of trust and importance.

His ability as a statesman was well known to the French, as was proven by the following fact: Marshal Bazaine wrote to him, inviting him to join the empire in its scheme of intervention in Mexican affairs. General Doblado asked an interview with the French general, at the same time informing his government of the proposition which had been made him. But General Bazaine declined the interview, his reason being (as is shown by an intercepted letter from him to Napoleon) that he "preferred fighting to discussing with General Doblado."

General Doblado removed some time ago to this city, where he was still serving his government at the time of his death. He will be deeply mourned by all his republican countrymen, for in him they have lost their right hand.

It has not been decided when his funeral will take place, as Señor Romero, the Mexican minister, has been telegraphed to at Washington, and he will take charge of his remains on his arrival here.

NEW YORK, *June* 19, 1865.

To the Editor of the Herald:

I am sorry to inform you that Major General Manuel Doblado, of the Mexican army, late minister of foreign affairs of the Mexican republic and governor of the State of Guanajuato, died to-day at his residence, No. 39 East Fifteenth street, at a quarter to four p. m., after a severe and protracted illness. A special notice shall be given as to the time and place of the funeral. Please make known this sad event through your well-credited newspaper, and oblige your most obedient servant.

J. N. NAVARRO, *Mexican Consul General.*

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Proceedings of the New York Mexican Club on the occasion of the death of General Doblado.

The Mexican Club, established in this city, as soon as it received information of the death of General Doblado, assembled and adopted the following resolutions:

The Mexican Club, of New York, in view of the death of General Manuel Doblado, and to render honor to his memory, has passed the following resolutions:

1. The club will assist at the funeral in a body, and with its president at its head.
2. The members of the club will wear black crape on their left arms, in sign of grief, for the space of nine days.
3. An orator will be appointed by a majority of votes to pronounce a discourse on lowering the body into the grave, where it is to remain, subject to the rights

of the family, until the national territory is free from its foreign invaders and it can be removed thereto and interred with the honors corresponding to the services rendered by him to the national cause.

4. The bier is to be covered with the national banner.

5th and finally. It is ordered that the resolutions adopted by the club to honor the memory of General Doblado, as also the discourse to be pronounced at his funeral, be published, and the whole communicated to the wife of the deceased.

CIPRIANO ROBERT, *Secretary*.

NEW YORK, *June* 20, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

OFFICE OF THE CONSUL GENERAL
FROM MEXICO TO THE UNITED STATES,
New York City, June 21, 1865.

The undersigned, consul general from Mexico to the United States, has the honor to inform the friends of the late General Don Manuel Doblado, of the Mexican army, that M. Romero, Mexican minister at Washington, having arrived in town this morning, and fixed to-morrow, 22d instant, as the day on which the funeral of the late general will take place, they are respectfully invited to attend to-morrow at four o'clock p. m., from the late residence of the deceased, No. 39 East Fifteenth street, from which the funeral cortege will proceed to St. Francis Xavier's Catholic church, Sixteenth street, where suitable service will be held previous to depositing the remains in the Second street cemetery.

JUAN N. NAVARRO.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

[From the New York World, June 24, 1865.]

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES OF GENERAL MANUEL DOBLADO.—IMPRESSIVE CEREMONIES AT THE CHURCH OF THE JESUITS.—HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

The funeral of General D. Manuel Doblado, who departed this life, at his residence in this city, last Monday, after suffering a long and protracted illness, took place yesterday afternoon at the church of St. Francis Xavier, of which he was a communicant, in Sixteenth street, was attended by a large number of his friends, among whom were the Mexican minister, Romero, consul general of the Mexican republic in this city, Don Juan N. Navarro, Major Generals Mejia and Berriozabal, Governor José Juan Paz, Colonel Flores, Colonel Allen, of Mexican emigration fame, and other distinguished personages. General Doblado, at the time of his decease, had reached his fifty-third year, and was a native of San Pedro, Piedra Gorda, a town in the department of Guanajuato, of which province he was afterwards governor. He graduated with distinction at the college in his native town, and gave proofs of future distinction. Before Doblado had reached his twenty-fifth year he took an energetic part in the discussion waged between the citizens of Texas and the parent government in regard to the proposed separation of that province, whose people were already agitating for separate independence or annexation with the United States, General Doblado favoring and advocating the popular side of the question. Having studied law, he was admitted to the Mexican bar, in which profession he distinguished himself. He filled with honor to himself and the Mexican nation, successively, the positions of secretary to and judge of the supreme court and governor of the province of Guanajuato. At the time of the invasion of Mexico by the French and allied powers he was sent by President Juarez to treat with General Bazaine, but the interview was declined by that officer on the ground that he had rather fight than discuss the question with Doblado, who had won great reputation as a diplomatist. He was afterwards appointed minister of foreign relations by Juarez, and signed the convention of La Soledad, which was broken by the French. On the breaking out of hostilities with the invaders he received the rank of major general, and commanded a division of infantry with skill and varied success during the desperate fighting in the department of Tamaulipas.

The ceremonies at the church.

At four and a half o'clock the cortege arrived at the church, and the procession formed and entered the church, the following gentlemen acting as pall-bearers:

Sexton of the church.

Major General G. Ortega.	Coffin.	Minister Romero.
Major General Berriozabal.		Don Francisco Venegas.
Major General Mejia.		Consul General Navarro.
Governor José J. Baraz.		Colonel Flores.
Don Pedro Santacilia.		Don Francisco Zano.

The remains were met at the portal of the church by the acolytes and incense bearers, and the Reverend Father De Duynes, who sprinkled the coffin with holy water. The remains were then borne into the central aisle of the church and placed upon a catafalque surrounded by candelabra. The choir, under the direction of Mr. Hartmann, the organist, consisting of the following performers: Mr. Farley, tenor; Mr. Draper, baritone; soprano, Mad. Arome, and contralto, Mad. Vetter, executed the following selections: the "Dies Iræ," by Rossi; the "Libra" or "Gregorian Chant," from Palestrina; and Beethoven's "March Funebræ." The officiating clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Pignon, assisted by the Reverend Father De Luynes, and the acolytes chanted the solemn offices of the Catholic church for the dead, the responses being given by the choir. The body of the church was filled by the friends and relatives, the majority of whom were, like the deceased, exiled from their native land by the government of Maximilian. The coffin, a handsome rosewood one, was draped with the Mexican republican colors of red, green, and white, in the centre of which was embroidered the many-taloned eagle grasping a snake in its beak. The altar-cloth was sable-hued, and the candelabra festooned with black, and upon the altar the large painting of the ascension of the great apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, and his dusky-skinned, loving disciples watching his miraculous ascent with rapt gaze and countenance full of pious resignation, indicated to the mourners the nothingness of the life here below and the glorious triumph waiting those who had been weighed in the balance and found prepared in the world beyond the skies. After the conclusion of the services the remains were transferred to the hearse and taken to the Marble cemetery in Second street.

The scene at the grave.

On the arrival af the remains at the cemetry in Second street they were carried from the hearse and placed in front of the newly-opened vault, preparatory to the concluding service. The perishable clay of many of our oldest and best known citizens, such as the Barstows, Grays, Taylors, Robertses, Pennimans, Bogarduses, Ogdens, Oothouts, and others equally famous in the commercial history of the Empire city, is here deposited, and here they will remain until the last trump sounds the note for their deliverance from earthly bondage. Previous to placing the body in the vault a highly eloquent address was delivered by Consul-General Navarro, eulogizing the past character of the deceased, his gallantry in the field, and the administrative and diplomatic ability as well as the great patriotism displayed by General Doblado during the course of his long and serviceable public career. As soon as he had concluded Señor Villalobos stepped forward to the coffin, and, in a broken voice, delivered an impassioned appeal, in the Spanish language, on the unswerving fidelity of the deceased to the cause of republicanism in his native land. Taking the Mexican flag from the coffin, he held it aloft in a reverent manner, and, turning to the spectators, he exclaimed, "For this Doblado fought, suffered, and died, and to that cause I dedicate my life, my hopes, and my energy." The body of exiles were greatly moved at the earnest enthusiasm of the speaker, and testified their approbation in their countenances in a marked and unmistakable manner. Señor Villalobos then stepped back into the ranks of the mourners, and he was succeeded by the Mexican minister at Washington, Señor Romero, who spoke in a similar strain, commendatory of the character and life of the deceased. The body was then enclosed in a wooden shell and lowered into the receiving vault, where it will remain until the day, however distant, when it can be safely transported to its final resting-place in the town of San Pedro, the birth-place of General Manuel Doblado. Until that time his epitaph will remain unwritten and tomb without inscription.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

Dr. Navarro's Speech.

GENTLEMEN: Only a few days ago we met in these solemn grounds to accompany to its last resting-place one of our best friends and most eminent fellow-countrymen. The tears which his deeply-felt loss caused us to shed are not yet dry, when the finger of inexorable fate points again to another grave which we again water with our tears, to another victim whose sacrifice, on these solemn moments, is a fresh wound given to our unfortunate country. When we see, gentlemen, that Mexico, bleeding and suffering, pressed down by misfortune, but not disheartened; when we see her struggling to expel from her soil the insolent invaders who pretend to rule her; when we see her calling together her sons for her defence, gentlemen, it is very painful to see one of her loyal and brave sons fall—a man who, full of faith and enthusiasm, had already struggled for her sake, and who was already buckling on his armor again for a new strife. Deeply do the people feel the loss of great historians, distinguished savants, or fortunate warriors; but the loss to our republic of one of those brave men who never despaired of their country's salvation—one of those privileged minds who always see clear and distinct in the future the solemn hour of liberation and triumph, will be greater indeed. In dying, Doblado has vacated a great position on the files of the defenders of national independence. It makes our grief the more poignant to think, when throwing down a handful of earth on his remains, and when bidding a last farewell to the exiled one who was partaking with us of misfortune's pittance, that the father had the sorrow of not feeling, when in his last agonies, the tender lips and loving arms of the partner of his life and the caress of his dear children. It is true that friendship closed quietly his eyes; but who can replace the last duties of a wife or the children, who are part of our souls—of those beings whom we love more than ourselves, and of those who only can make agreeable even death itself? But in the midst of our grief we have the consoling thought that he died in defence of the Mexican flag, and shrouded in that glorious banner which has been torn but never conquered by foreign shot and shell, and which will continue to wave over the fields of Mexico while a single Mexican remains alive. The sincere patriotism and superior intellect of Doblado particularly shone on two of the greatest events in the history of the Mexican republic—viz: the reform revolution, and the struggle against the foreign invaders, who, taking advantage of the weakness of our young country, and of the civil war raging in the United States, attacked us for the purpose of wresting our institutions and our independence from us. Whether in the cabinet or on the field of battle, he was always to be found on the side of that party which, under different forms and with various motives, has struggled in our country for almost half a century to burst the chains of ignorance and fanaticism with which our citizens have been bound—a party which, although violently aspersed by all the enemies of liberty, has received a most glorious vindication from the invaders themselves, who could not but admire and respect the great work which he accomplished. By his sagacious diplomacy he brought to light, during the treaty of La Soledad, a record of infamy against the invaders which neither their victories nor the argumentation of their salaried press can ever blot out. Like a true Mexican, he desired, above all things, the independence of his country, not dreaming that it was destined to be swayed by the rod of a royal filibuster and his janissaries, who mangle the language of Cervantes, and cannot make themselves understood by the people whom they attempt to civilize with their executioners and courts-martial, and claim to be their protectors while they are devastating their fields, burning their villages, and slaughtering them by thousands. As a true friend, his heart was filled with bitterness on seeing that some of the men whom he had honored with his friendship were so blind or so infamous as to give aid to the invaders, upon the pretext of serving the holy cause of liberty and reform. He well knew that that monarchy which exists only in some newspapers and in diplomatic foreign correspondence was but a house of cards, ready to tumble down on the least breeze, amidst the laugh and ridicule which has always attended it from its birth up to the present time. He well knew that monarchs cannot grow and propagate in that world discovered by Columbus and immortalized by Washington; that the Spanish-American republics (as has said one of the earth's wisest and most illustrious men, Baron Von Humboldt) are too powerful to allow the introduction of a foreign yoke among them.

Sr. Navarro concluded as follows: "Peace to his ashes. When the aurora of our national independence shall shine, let them be mingled with those of our ancestors, and let them be watered by the tears of those who love them more, and let them repose under our bright skies and under the shade of our beautiful trees."

After this address Señor Joaquin Villalobos, in a short impromptu address, full of eloquence and fire, exhorted the Mexicans to swear to die for their country, and concluded with these words:

"There are men who are exalted by dying. Thou art the man (speaking of Doblado) who from this place will give us an example which we will faithfully follow. I do swear over thy grave, and in the name of the Mexican youth, that I will never abandon the holy cause of my country, and that I will prefer to die in a strange land than lower the Mexican flag to the foreign invader."

After an eloquent address by Minister Romero the remains were deposited in the vault destined as its temporary resting-place until the favorable opportunity offers of removal to its native country.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

Finally, Señor Matias Romero, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Mexico, in order to conclude this sad solemnity, pronounced the following discourse:

Fortune, gentlemen, which has recently shown itself so adverse to our country, bringing upon it evils innumerable, has not overlooked those Mexicans whom the calamities of the republic have driven to a foreign country.

As if the misfortunes of our native country were not sufficient to overwhelm us with sorrow, we have our own private afflictions, and within the period of half a year we have seen disappear from among us, first a tender offspring of the illustrious citizen who presides over the destinies of our country, an event which brought bitter grief to a distinguished family, and profound sorrow to us all. A little while after, another of our fellow-citizens, who preferred exile to living among the enemies of our country, was, in the prime of his life, the victim of a horrible accident, which left to his disconsolate widow and his young son not even the hope of recognizing his remains, whenever they may be able to be transferred to his own land. The first sad impression of this unfortunate occurrence had not yet passed away, when our estimable fellow-citizen who discharged the functions of consul of the republic at Philadelphia was taken away from us, to the no less sorrow of us and of his family. Almost at the same time a venerable old man, a warrior of our independence, full of virtue and merit, left his worthy family desolate, and us bowed down with the most profound sorrow.

The victim whose obsequies we come to celebrate now, was a person so meritorious, a citizen so distinguished, a soldier so worthy, a statesman so eminent' a patriot so deserving, and a father of a family so loving, that his loss is not that of a relative, or of a friend, or of a compatriot, or even of a great leader, but a positive loss to our country, a veritable national calamity.

As a citizen, he knew how to comply with his duties to his country. Without military education, and perhaps without any vocation, he took up arms to defend the outraged rights and the independence of the soil that gave him birth, and frequently exposed his life in that sacred conflict.

As a soldier, we have seen him organizing considerable armies, establishing order and discipline among them, and combatting gloriously, first in the war of reform, and more recently in that of independence.

As a statesman, his history registers deeds that would do honor to the most noted public men of Europe. The treaties made at Guadalajara, in October of 1860, with Don Severo Castillo, when the distinguished general, who is now present, attacked that place, and the preliminaries of La Soledad, concluded with General Prim, in March, 1862, to which proper allusion has already been made, by which he dissolved the triple alliance against Mexico, and brought merited censure on the power that is now waging war against us, are acts which the republic will remember with pride, and future generations will know better how to appreciate than we do. The remarkable prosperity of the State of Guanajuato during the administration of the deceased; the happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants; the development of all its elements of wealth at a time at which a bloody civil war and a disastrous foreign conflict paralyzed all other quarters, stopped up all the fountains of wealth and reduced many of our States to prostration and poverty, are likewise features that still further honor the memory of the illustrious deceased.

As a patriot, we have seen him, scarcely a year ago, sustaining our government at a period of terrible trial, and gallantly and with a boldness almost unexampled conducting to the fight the remnant which he had saved of the forces of Guanajuato, in order to attack at Matahuela the enemy double in the number of their forces to his own, and stationed within supporting distance of still larger forces. We have likewise seen him energetically resisting all the attempts of the French to win him over to their cause; a resistance which General Bazaine himself witnesses in an official communication addressed to his government, and intercepted by our troops; a resistance which he manifested in the last moments of his life to the proposals made to him on his death-bed, three days before he breathed his last, and when it might have been feared that his judgment began to be weakened.

As a philosopher, we have seen him display a profound knowledge of the secrets of the human heart, tranquillity in life, resignation in death, as he considered the latter as the inevitable consequence of life, and expressed, a little before the termination of his day, the indifference with which it came to him here, or anywhere else, outside of his native country.

When we see for the last time the lifeless remains of so illustrious a citizen, we cannot do less than lament that his bosom should have been spared by the balls of a hundred battles, that he should at last come to die in a foreign land, the victim of an unknown disease. His end, however, was very similar to that of the warrior who dies in his camp after a glorious battle, already foreseeing the consequences of his victory; he found himself at that moment unfortunately deprived of those cares that only a family can give, and can have no substitute, attended by his aids, regretted and mourned by his companions in arms and his fellow-citizens.

The demonstrations that we make here in the fulfilment of our duties as Mexicans and as friends, besides being gratefully received by our country, which will regard with pleasure the testimonies of affection and respect which we render to the departed, will contribute in some measure to console his afflicted family, whose grief at so great a loss will know no bounds.

In the conduct and the patriotism of this man we have another noble example to imitate, which will not be lost in its effect on the fate of the republic. Fortunately for him and for his country, his name will not be interred, nor will his spirit, with the mortal remains which we come to deposit here.

[Enclosure No. 7.]

The ceremony being concluded, the coffin was lowered into the tomb and the funeral cortege separated, after presenting their expressions of respect and regard to Señor Romero, who had presided over the mourning.

We regret that we have no general list of the distinguished persons who paid their tribute of esteem to the memory of Señor Doblado, by accompanying his mortal remains to their last resting place. We have, therefore, to limit ourselves to the mention of the names of a few of whose presence on the occasion we have information.

The Mexican minister presided as chief mourner, accompanied by Señor Francisco Venegas as representative of the family of the deceased. Their associates were General Gonzales Ortega, General Berriozabal, General Mejia, Señor Francisco Zarco, Señor Juan José Baz, and Señor J. N. Navarro, consul general of Mexico.

Among the persons that formed the funeral cortege were Messrs. John W. Hammersly, William E. Dodge, jr., Señor B. Bruzual, minister plenipotentiary from Venezuela; Señor F. Rivas, secretary of the Venezuelan legation; Señor A. Dovale, attaché of the same; Señor F. Sanchez, consul of Venezuela; Señor M. Toledo, of Cuba; Señor M. Henriquez, of Curaçoa; M. Paolo, editor of El Continental, and many distinguished citizens of New York.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 21st of July, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a translation into English of the discussion which took place in the legislative body of France on the 8th of June last, in relation to the affairs of Mexico, and of extracts of the disposal of that discussion which terminated on the 9th thereof. The said translation has been faithfully made from the official record of the proceedings of that assembly, published in the numbers 160 and 161 of the Moniteur Universel, of Paris, corresponding to the 9th and 10th days of June aforementioned, pages 766, 767, 768 and 776.

The Mexicans who defend the independence of their country against the colossal power of France, and who at the end of four years of an unequal contest maintain with the same undaunted courage and decision that holy cause, when neither misfortunes nor disasters, nor treason can avail to intimidate them or to cause them to deviate by a single step from the path which they believe it to be their duty to follow, and through which they have already made themselves worthy of the respect of the world, now find themselves assailed by their enemies with the most opprobrious epithets, but which reflect dishonor upon those who so unjustly seek to tarnish the character of those whom they cannot conquer in a good fight. These Mexicans have now the satisfaction of seeing their conduct defended and vindicated by the independent orators themselves of the French assembly, and in the presence itself of the despot who does his utmost to bring discredit upon such noble patriots. Furthermore, this discussion contains other points of much importance, which I do not doubt will excite the serious attention of the government of the United States.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[From Le Moniteur Universal, No. 160, June 9, 1865, page 766, volume —.]

Discussion in the French legislative body.

SESSION OF THURSDAY, *June* 8, 1865.

M. Schneider, vice-president, in the chair.

The session was opened at half past 3 o'clock. The minutes of the session of the preceding day were read by Count Le Pelletier d'Aunay, one of the secretaries.

* * * * * * * *

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. The Chamber stopped yesterday in the vote on bill F, annexed to article 7, at the sections relative to the ministry of war and of the general government of Algeria. I resume the reading of the bill:

EXPENSES OF THE MINISTRY OF WAR.

"Section 1, (division second)—Central administration, quartermaster's department, 12,500 francs." (Adopted.)

"Section 2, (division second)—General staff, police force, 1,357,000 francs." (Adopted.)

"Section 3, (division second)—Pay and maintenance of the troops, 33,718,801 francs."

M. Jules Favre is entitled to the floor.

M. JULES FAVRE. Gentlemen, in proposing to you to insert in the deficiency budget of 1865 a sum of thirty-five millions in round numbers to cover an excess of expenditures in the war budget, the government and your committee impose on us the duty of examining the particular items of these expenses, and you know the most important one, and that to which all the others may be referred is that relative to the Mexican expedition.

It may be said that this year, in accordance with the mechanism of our financial system, this expedition exerts a double influence on it—passively in reference to the expense, actively in reference to the receipts; and these two particulars, by an inexorable decree of fate, are so indissolubly bound together that one governs the other; that, in order to recover a sum of twenty-five millions a year, which is carried to the credit side of the budget, it is at present indispensable to enter on the debit side a sum which, in the deficiency bill for 1865, exceeds thirty millions.

Such is, moreover, the calculation and the process to which we have been condemned from the very beginning of this Mexican expedition.

That expedition was undertaken for the recovery of an indemnity, of a debt, fixed at a sum less than a million; and if we estimate at the very highest figure the contingent debts claimed by the persons interested, they fluctuated between five and twelve millions. We have already devoted more than four hundred millions to this expedition, and as an indemnity for this outlay we have only a certificate of indebtedness from the Mexican government. It is therefore our duty to examine closely what our condition is, and what should be the extent and the duration of our sacrifices.

I am well aware that I am here to meet with an objection that has been made to me several times, and which, at one of our recent sessions, was very precisely stated in the speech of the honorable minister of state. "These criticisms," said he, "are inopportune; they are contrary to prudence and even to patriotism. Our soldiers are now at work; France has accepted the conception and the execution of a great work beyond the Atlantic; and yet this is the very moment which is selected to examine and criticise the motives of that work; and so, at the time when the great interests of all dictate a concurrence of effort for its stable consummation, it is by such attacks enfeebled and ruined in advance."

Gentlemen, if such an objection as this could condemn us to silence, we might as well renounce forever the little share of power that has been left to us by the constitution. [Murmurs of disapprobation from several benches. Applause around the speaker.]

The initiative belongs not to us; especially in matters' appertaining to our foreign relations we are called upon to consider resolutions already taken; and if we have not the right to examine them when they are submitted to us, we may as well abdicate our power entirely. [Renewal of similar demonstrations.]

That such is not your intention, gentlemen, I am fully convinced. Undoubtedly the spirit of abuse and passion is culpable; but that which is no less so, and which may be more dangerous, is the spirit of systematic illusion, an undiscriminating and predetermined confidence. The spirit of abuse and passion awakens the distrust of the government and places it on the defensive. On the contrary, the spirit of illusion, the spirit of systematic and predetermined confidence, encourages every species of rashness and folly; it is capable of precipitating rash undertakings from which it is impossible to withdraw.

It is therefore a very serious obligation upon us to examine the situation in which we are placed, whilst we strive, in truth, to avoid both those rocks, and for the decision of facts have recourse to a careful investigation of the truth, with the independence that appertains to this great assembly.

Well, you remember that when there was first question of this Mexican expedition, we entreated the government to be pleased to restrict it to the redress of the grievances of which our countrymen had to complain, and to abstain carefully from any interference with the internal affairs of the country. Then the language of the government was very different from that which we heard in one of your recent meetings. You may remember with what disdain they treated our anticipations; and when we spoke of a prospective Emperor, to whose zealousness an appeal had already been made, how they treated all such ideas as chimeras, and how they loudly disavowed them; and when it was desirable to obtain the adhesion of the Chamber, and it was sought to specify the nature, the character, and the purpose of the expedition, they did not depart far from the system which we ourselves have always counselled to those in power.

They said, in fact, that it was for the redress of the grievances of our countrymen that we went to Mexico; only if the nation manifested a desire for a political change, we were to give them our assistance and we were to consult them; but it was from themselves and not from us that should emanate the final expression of will that was to decide as to their future government. Then the government very loudly proclaimed that it did not intend to allow itself any intermeddling in this regard; that it was a Mexican and not a foreign power that it intended to inaugurate. And on this point, here are the words uttered by the honorable minister of state, M. Billault, not on the occasion of the first debate between us, but the second, at the time of the debate on the budget in the month of June, 1862:

"When the French flag, an event which I hope will soon happen, floats over the walls of Mexico, we will not depart from this generous and protective policy; all, whether reactionists or liberals, violent or moderate, shall be equally admitted to participate in this general expression of the public will; there shall be liberty for all beneath the flag of France, and it will not be the first time, as you know, that it shall have thus sheltered under its tutelary folds the just manifestation of national desires.

"All will be allowed full and entire liberty of choice, and then if the tyranny of Juarez suits them—yes, if it suits them—well, they will say so!"

These, gentlemen, are the words that were received with almost unanimous approbation by the Chamber; these are the declarations that induced the resolution of the majority.

Now, I ask you, What have they in common with the lofty conceptions presented to you, at one of your recent meetings, by the minister of state? Ah! gentlemen, like yourselves, I am always touched by his talent; I am full of admiration for his eloquence; I am not astonished at the applause with which you receive his words; and if I have any regret, it is that I cannot join in it. Only let me be permitted to say to him, with all the deference which I entertain for him, that I find this eloquence often dangerous; that it inflames more than it enlightens; that it throws more brilliancy than light on the questions on which it is exercised; and, in my opinion, the minister of state, in treating of this Mexican question, has allowed himself to be carried too far by the dangerous seductions of oratory.

In any case, I assert that this grand idea of a regeneration of the Mexican nation, of the foundation of an empire which is to be, beyond the sea, the fruit of the power and protection of France, is the mere result of chance, of events; and that it has been developed by facts entirely unforeseen by those now advancing it. For this dilemma stands: either, as I am unwilling to believe, the truth has not been told to the Chamber, designs have been concealed from it before which it would have recoiled; or else these designs are merely the results of an afterthought. This great enterprise which it is now sought to glorify before you is only an idea that has been thrown into the scale of events by facts not sufficiently considered beforehand. All the difficulties, all the dangers, all the political inconveniences that such an idea might produce, were not taken into consideration; those who now entertain that idea gave themselves up to it as to a sort of necessity which it was impossible to foresee, and which became the pivot of the operations into which they were dragged, after having engaged in an expedition from which they should have refrained from the very beginning.

Thus, what I assert is, that this idea of the regeneration of the Mexican nation which is now presented to us as one of the reasons for the continuance of our occupation, and the achievement of which alone can permit our flag to be withdrawn in an honorable manner, did not exist at the commencement. We went to Mexico to avenge our countrymen; we went to Mexico to interrogate the

Mexican nation, and we solemnly declared to it that we would listen to its reply, and that we would conform ourselves to it.

Now the tone is somewhat changed. Hopes of a more lofty, but at the same time of a more deceptive character, are held up before your dazzled eyes; and, in order not to be led astray by them, we must examine them closely; we must not let ourselves be seduced by glittering words; we must not rely merely on the deductions of eloquence; we must consult facts, and facts alone. [Manifestations of approbation around the speaker.]

Now, gentlemen, permit me to say that, if the transcendent talents and eloquence of the minister of state have oftentimes carried away the votes of the Chamber, they have not entirely mastered the prejudices of the committee; for the committee, even in view of these brilliant prospects held out, has given utterance to words of much wisdom—words, unfortunately, very useless, for they are incessantly repeated, and they are only a vain sound that moves the air; and I do not see, gentlemen, that the advice given to the government with so much deference is followed any more this year than in preceding ones.

Here is what the committee says: "In the course of these thoughts with which it has been deeply inspired, the committee could not refrain from directing its attention to the Mexican expedition. Less onerous since the return of our troops has commenced, the sacrifices which it has occasioned are, it is true, compensated by reimbursements; but political considerations combine with financial reasons to cause us to desire that the completion of the work of pacification and the definitive establishment of the Mexican army, which is in a good state of organization, should hasten the moment when the last soldiers of the expeditionary *corps* shall return to France."

And a little further on the same thought is again expressed, and it is peculiarly eloquent, in view of the two numbers with which it is connected—41,342,470 francs on one side, claimed as the amount yet due for the expenses of our army, and 9,000,000 that are taken from the treasury of France to pay the Mexican army; certainly a very unpleasant innovation, and one which ought to be restricted within the narrowest limits.

So the committee adds, after having stated these facts: "We had in Mexico, at the beginning of last year, an army of 34,000 men; by the return home of various regiments its strength has been reduced to 28,000 men. It will be still further diminished from this time till the end of 1865 by the return to France of other regiments, which will embark at Vera Cruz as soon as the expiration of the sickly season will allow them to march towards the warm country without exposing the lives of our soldiers. Your committee on the budget cannot but repeat here the wish that the definitive organization of the Mexican army should contribute to facilitate this movement and hasten the moment at which the last detachments of our army are to return to their country."

Such, gentlemen, are the wishes that have been expressed by your committee, and I have the right to say—no one can contradict me—that herein the committee has spoken the sentiment of the whole country. Yes, it ardently desires that the last of our soldiers in Mexico should, as soon as possible, set foot on the soil of his native land, and that as soon as possible, also, we should disengage ourselves from this heavy and perhaps terrible responsibility that weighs upon us, as long as our flag floats over a foreign land.

The committee lays down the period of the reorganization of the Mexican army as the fitting time for the withdrawal of the French forces.

We will soon have to ask ourselves, whether in a political point of view, not indeed permitting ourselves to be guided by mere theories, but seeking a solution from official documents, from those emanating from the government itself, from its despatches and its declarations, this is indeed the only condition that can allow the French army to withdraw and abandon Mexico.

But I will make this observation to the Chamber—that the language of the committee, which, in my opinion, is the sentiment of the whole country, is but the repetition of that used by all the committees before it that have examined our financial condition.

They have not failed to hold out the same warning to the government; they have not ceased to repeat to it, with all the energy which could be inspired into them by their ardent desire to maintain, as representatives of the majority, a good understanding with the government, whilst assuring it of their entire support, that it was necessary to put the earliest possible end to this Mexican expedition.

This is, also, what was said by our honorable colleague, M. Gouin, so well informed in such affairs, when, in his report, under date of December 25, 1863, he gave utterance to those words, which I cannot sufficiently urge the government to ponder, for they contain the secret of maintaining a true equilibrium in all budgets:

"We insist, on the contrary, with all our strength, that the government should confine itself within the ordinary resources of our budgets, and not enter upon a system of extraordinary expenses that may have the most serious consequences in the future. Let us learn, moreover, to resist the seductions of glory; let us enjoy that which we have acquired, and with which we can honorably desire a peace of which the nations have so much need. Let us have peace, and our finances will improve; we can then employ larger sums in our public works, which will prove an abundant source of wealth and prosperity for our people."

And none of you, gentlemen, have forgotten the remarkable report of our colleague, M. Larrabure, who not only repeated the wish expressed by the honorable M. Gouin, but also caused the government to adopt the declaration that had been made by him, that he hoped that by the end of 1864 our army should have quitted Mexico.

"At this moment," said the honorable M. Larrabure, "the Emperor's government declares that it has no engagements with any one, either to leave a body of French troops in Mexico, or to guarantee any loan whatever; it declares that it has no reason to think that it may be necessary to increase the number of the French troops now actually in Mexico; that any movements that may take place until their final withdrawal, will be only for the purpose of replacing the sick and those entitled to discharge. Under present circumstances, as far as it can foresee, the government hopes that the end of 1864 will mark the term of the expedition."

And as the Chamber had participated somewhat in the feelings of the people in regard to an expedition that conducted our brave soldiers to the north of Mexico, the government deemed that it could give the committee the formal assurance that the expedition to San Luis Potosi should be the last.

"As to the expedition to San Luis Potosi in particular," said the report, "it has been judged necessary in order to occupy the most important parts of Mexico. The country comprised between San Luis and the city of Mexico includes some important centres of population. Their occupation became useful solely in order to hasten the consummation of the work undertaken—the reparation of our grievances and the enabling Mexico freely to choose a new government. Being masters of the country as far as San Luis de Potosi, we can see these projects realized with more rapidity and success. The army will stop there."

Such, gentlemen, was the assurance of the government to the committee; such the engagement made by it; and the committee added these significant words, which I recommend to your kindly consideration, and from which I shall soon be entitled to draw their legitimate conclusions:

"The army will stop there; the method of universal suffrage, naturally set in motion in accordance with the usages or the institutions of the country, will be invoked for the selection of the system of government that may be best suited to it; whatever shall be its decision, France will respect it."

Thus, more than two years passed away; unforeseen obstacles presented themselves; the courage of our soldiers triumphed over everything, and the flag of France floated in triumph over the city of Mexico.

The government engages not to continue, for the advantage of a cause which cannot be that of France, an expedition that would conduct our armies into vast provinces where they would be exposed to fatigues, privations, and dangers, which they are not bound to undergo when it is not the cause of the nation that impels them.

This was the first declaration of the government. There has been a second one, which is no less important in a political point of view. It is that there would be no sort of pressure exerted on the Mexican nation. Not only will it be consulted, but it is indicated also how that will be done. It will be in the most liberal manner. Each and every individual is to concur in the erection of this vast national edifice from which only anarchy and evil passions will be excluded. Universal suffrage alone can have this secret and potency. If our troops have gone to Mexico to accomplish a stern duty, at least, after having stricken with the sword, they will give consolation by the introduction of civilization and its benefits, and universal suffrage will be the consequence of their descent on the Mexican territory. [Cries of good! good! around the speaker.]

This is what was said in the report, and I have bound myself to it. I will keep my word—I will cite only official documents—here is what was promised in the month of January, 1864.

And when, just now, I told you that the language used in 1865, and which comes from your committee, is only the echo of all these anterior declarations, and that it is in complete accordance with those of the various committees and of the government, you see that I was in the right.

But I ask you, my colleagues, of what use are all these declarations if they remain sterile? Why these promises if they are violated? Why these counsels given to the government if it takes no account of them? Has the army stopped at San Luis de Potosi? Not only you know that it has proceeded even to Durango and Monterey, but also—this is certain—a part of our troops have ventured, we know not why, into the deserts of Sonora, where there is nought but privations for our heroic soldiers, where they are condemned to transport their cannon on the backs of men, where they have to struggle against all the difficulties and all the unhealthiness of the climate.

Such is the language of the government and such its course of action. Can we continue? Is it wise to content ourselves with mere words like these? Is it well that a great assembly like yours, and the committees which are its expression, should continue this kind of misunderstanding between us and the government, while we say, "The expedition must be terminated," and the government says, "I wish to terminate it," and yet, in reality, continues and extends it?

Well, it must be said, the state of the case was defined with very great precision at our last meeting, with so much precision, indeed, that it is impossible now to take refuge behind the slightest equivocation.

In fact, gentlemen, when M. Theirs spoke upon this question, with his wonderful sagacity, he understood perfectly well that on that day when France took the Archduke Maxmilian by the hand, placed him beneath the protection of her flag, and accompanied him with the aid of her armies to enthrone him in the city of Mexico, she espoused his cause and bound herself irrevocably to it.

And then, gentlemen, he put some very precise questions to the government, to which replies were given, and these questions and these replies it behooves you now to recall to mind. Here is what the honorable M. Theirs said in the session of January 26, 1864:

"I believe that when you shall have encouraged the government to persist in its purposes, which will depend on the tone which you may adopt, it will be very unseasonable and inappropriate for you afterwards to refuse it troops, sailors, and millions of money, in order to sustain to the end that which you are now about to undertake; for, reflect well on it, hitherto you have not committed yourselves as an affair of honor, but on the day that the prince sails with your support, with your guarantee, you must sustain him at all hazards, whatever comes of it."

And our illustrious and venerable colleague, M. Berryer, insisting on these simple truths, added also, "Can the government assure France that it has resolved soon to quit Mexico? Or are we, on the contrary, to be told that it will prescribe as a preliminary, conformably to the instructions given to General Bazaine, the establishment of the monarchy of the Archduke Maximilian in Mexico?"

And behold, gentlemen, in what terms the honorable minister of state replied:

"The honorable M. Theirs has said to you, 'We wish to withdraw honorably from Mexico.' Yes, we wish to withdraw honorably. The Chamber has favorably received both of these declarations. In fact, these two declarations are the sentiment of the majority and the sentiment of the government."

You received these expressions, gentlemen, with marks of approbation.

"But the government does not deem it honorable to withdraw from it by negotiating with Juarez. The government does not consider it proper to treat with General Almonte, who represents no legally constituted authority. It can only negotiate with a government sprung from universal suffrage. When a contract shall have been made between the Mexican nation and the Archduke Maximilian, if he is elected, the French government, by negotiating with that sovereign, will not have thereby contracted a permanent and indefinite agreement for the maintenance of an empire in Mexico."

All this, gentlemen, is perfectly clear. The wish of the government is apparent to you. It does not wish to negotiate with Juarez, who is an enemy; it does not wish to negotiate with Almonte, who is the representative of a provisional government. It is necessary that it should meet the Mexican nation face to face, in the person of the chief, not who has been imposed upon it, but whom it has freely chosen through the medium of universal suffrage. And when this popular consecration shall have intervened to establish Maximilian on his throne, France will negotiate with him and will withdraw honorably.

This is, gentlemen, what was said by the government, and it was impossible, allow me to observe, for it to hold any other language. Precedents all pointed in that direction; the Emperor himself had already written:

"It is against my interests, against my origin, against my principles, to impose any government whatever on the Mexican people; let them select in full liberty the form that suits them best."

And M. Billault added, in the session of February 7, 1863:

"We appeal to the Mexican people. If its vote declares even for the government of Juarez, so be it: let its vote be allowed to take effect!"

And, under date of January 27, 1864, the minister of state gave utterance to words which do not much differ from them:

"The system of universal suffrage will soon perform its functions. If the Mexican nation adopts the republican form, we will respect its vote. If it prefers to establish a monarchy, we will likewise respect it. Now that seven-eighths of the Mexican people have been freed from the yoke of Juarez and from his exactions, universal suffrage will soon pronounce, and then the work of France will approach its completion."

Such words, it must be stated, are only the consequence of the original convention that united three powers to march against Mexico; for they had all mutually obliged themselves—they are the terms of article 2 of the treaty of October 31, 1861—"not to exert in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature calculated to injure the rights of the Mexican nation to choose the form of its government."

This, then, is perfectly well settled, and I do not believe it to be possible to deny that what the government has wished, what it yet recently wished according to its language last year, was to bring the Mexican nation freely to manifest its wishes by means of universal suffrage. It did not wish to impose on it any species whatever of form of government.

Only it has happened—and assuredly, in the career of a statesman, such a good fortune is very rare—it has happened that the scheme which we had announced, and which, although it was denied, had been long beforehand prepared by diplomacy, namely, the advancement of the Archduke Maximilian, was what proved most agreeable to the Mexican nation. In one of our late meetings you heard the extremely interesting developments presented to you by one of our honorable colleagues just returned from Mexico. He had therein superior advantages to us. He told us seriously that the Archduke Maximilian must succeed, because he had blue eyes and golden hair. [Laughter on various benches.]

Yes, yes, this was one of the elements of success for him—this is what would cause him to be received with acclamation by the Mexican nation; and you will see that the Mexican nation did not even need to see him—his good qualities were foreshadowed to them; for, even before he had yet left Miramar, the announcement of his arrival had produced such an effect that a general enthusiasm was created in his favor. So we are told by the *Moniteur* of July 24, in which we read: "We call the attention of our readers to the correspondence from Mexico———."

And, in fact, in the session of January 26, the honorable vice-president of the council of state, M. Chaix d'Est Ange, entered into an enumeration of the adherents of the empire, and assuredly, gentlemen, nothing was more gratifying. He said:

"We have now five and a half millions of inhabitants out of seven millions adhering to us, yea, obeying our laws. There are not two millions outside of our circle of action, and on these, I believe, even the most ancient and best-established governments of the country have never been able to lay their hands: even the Spanish government was unable to control them."

Thus, gentlemen, more than five millions out of seven millions adhered to the scheme proposed by France. The Archduke Maximilian had only to touch the soil of Mexico, triumphal arches were already prepared, and our honorable colleague has told us that from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico it was but one long pageant; that at Vera Cruz they received him under a shower of flowers—always, it is true, excepting from these demonstrations the 1,500,000 Mexicans whom the honorable commissioner on the part of the government qualified as recalcitrant, incorrigible, and factious individuals What is undeniable, at least, is, that they were men who defended their country and who desired no foreign domination. [Murmurs of disapprobation.]

This state of affairs is similarly set forth in the *exposé* of the condition of the empire which has been distributed among us.

Here, gentlemen, mention is made of the eagerness with which Maximilian was received. At page 174, towards the end, I read as follows:

"The results obtained in 1862 and 1863 by our expeditionary corps in Mexico, have, in 1864, received a solemn consecration. Under the protection of the flag of France, a regular government has been founded in that country, heretofore for more than fifty years delivered up to anarchy and intestine dissensions. In the beginning of the month of June the Emperor Maximilian took possession of the throne, and sustained by our army, he inaugurates in all security an era of peace and prosperity for his new country."

And a little further on we find similar words of congratulation and confidence, and then we asked ourselves, on occasion of the address: "Since the Mexican emperor is established, since Maximilian is the messiah announced by all past times, since he is really the man both for the Indians and Spaniards who receive him with acclamations, since he meets on his passage only the *bouquets* of the *señoritas*, let our soldiers return. What have they to do in Mexico? They are not needed; let them return. They would only mar by their presence the gaiety of such a universal holiday; they would only be an obstacle in the way of that entire unanimity of feeling that exists between the prince and the nation."

But between these words and the truth there is, unfortunately, gentlemen, a world of difference.

They have spoken to us of some Mexicans who were unwilling to take part with the new government; these they are occupied in pacifying. How is this pacification effected? Hear what we learn from the news published in the papers, and in reference to which the Moniteur has been vainly called upon for explanations. It has continued to keep silence; I regret it, gentlemen; for if these announcements are true, they are a stain upon the pages of the history of France. [Murmurs of disapprobation from several benches.]

Listen, gentlemen; here is what I read in a telegraphic despatch published by a Paris paper of the date of April 19, 1865, announcing that the pacification of Mexico is more and more complete, and that General Castagny has burned a city.

Do you know what San Sebastian is? It is a city of 4,000 souls; it has been given to the flames, and yet the Moniteur is silent.

I do not insist that such an announcement should be contradicted; only, until it is contradicted it stands; unfortunately, I have reason to consider it correct; and what induces me to believe that I am not mistaken is the proclamation issued by the same commander on entering one of the cities of Mexico, whereby he announced what fate was reserved for those who would not submit to his laws.

Listen, gentlemen, and ask yourselves, after having heard these words, whether mine are too severe:

"Mexicans! I have come, in the name of the Emperor Maximilian, into the State of Sinaloa, to establish peace therein, to protect property, and to deliver you from the malefactors who oppress you under the mask of liberty."

Several voices: That is all right.

M. JULES FAVRE. How! protect property by burning a city of 4,000 inhabitants; to lay waste while declaring himself protector. [Interruptions and murmurs of disapprobation.]

A MEMBER. You have made no mention of the brigandage that has authorized such reprisals.

M. ROUHER, Minister of State. You are defending Romero, a robber and an assassin. [Confused manifestations.]

M. GARNIER PAGÈS. How! whole cities burned? It is only dens of thieves and brigands that have been destroyed.

THE MINISTER OF STATE. Be pleased to respect the French flag.

M. EUGENE PELLETAN. Burn a whole city! That is what they do in Poland.

M. GARNIER PAGÈS, in the midst of great confusion, utters some words that did not reach the reporters.

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. Assuredly, you cannot be well acquainted with the facts, to be so positive in your assertions. I request you to be pleased to permit M. Jules Favre to continue his speech.

M. JULES FAVRE. I proceed:

"Efforts have been made to distort the purpose of our intervention; many of you have been drawn into a false path, and they have allowed themselves to be blinded in regard to the veritable interests of their country."

It is we who have undertaken to teach the Mexicans what are the real interests of their country, and we have promised to consult them. [Disapprobation.]

That is not all: "The hour of justice has come." Listen to this, gentlemen, and I proceed to ask you whether there are two codes of morals—one for the use of the party that triumphs, and the other prohibited to the vanquished.

Listen to this: "The hour of justice has come. A rigorous sentence is being executed at this very moment against the district of Concordia." The sentence is the burnt city; and see how they reply to those who resist; the refuge of women and children, private property, everything is devastated, everything is destroyed. Mexico is enlightened by fire, and it is by the light of this fire that the proclamation which I read to you has been drawn up.

Listen: "The hour of justice has come. A rigorous sentence is being executed at this very moment against the district of Concordia Let this example exert a salutary influence on your minds. Appreciate our course of action: to some protection, to others the chastisement which they deserve. You can choose between these two alternatives."

Several voices: Very well; that is all right.

M. **Jules Favre.** Listen;-that is not all: "We are disposed to act with the greatest kindness towards those who honestly rally around the elect of the Mexican nation."

Numerous voices: Very good! very good!

M. **Jules Favre.** "But we are resolved to act with all necessary rigor against those who obstinately persist in sustaining the wretches who, usurping the glorious title of soldiers, dishonor the Mexican nation by their crimes."

The same voices: That is very well said.

M. **Jules Favre.** We understand this language; you have only to open history; you will find there that the vanquished have been always calumniated. Words of a similar import were uttered against the vanquished of 1814 and 1815. [Loud manifestations of dissent and murmurs of disapprobation on a great number of benches.]

Permit me to speak, gentlemen; it is not only a right that I exercise; it is a duty that I perform. [Renewed disapprobation.]

His Excellency M. **Rouher**, Minister of State. You injure the French army, the army of your country.

Numerous voices: Yes, yes; it is intolerable.

M. **Jules Favre.** That is what I ought to say, and that is what I say.

The Chairman M. **Schneider.** I pray you not to compare the French, overpowered by numbers in 1814, with men whom I do not wish to characterize and whom the French army has encountered in Mexico.

Numerous voices: Good! good!

M. **Le Marquis De Piré.** The brave men of 1815 had shed their blood for the defence of the country, and you have never shed anything but ink. [Confusion and noise.]

M. **Jules Favre.** I ask you, gentlemen, how such words can be reconciled with those that emanated from the Emperor, with those that have been uttered by the ministers in this hall, wherein it was declared that the Mexican nation was to be consulted, and that the Archduke Maximilian was to be of no account without its vote. Now it is declared that there are two camps in Mexico—the camp of the Mexicans who accept the empire, and these are protected.

Several voices: That is a duty.

M. **Jules Favre.** And the camp of the Mexicans who protest against the empire, and these are pillaged and shot down. [Confused manifestations of disapprobation.]

That is not all, gentlemen; these acts have been committed contrary to the law of nations, contrary to the laws of war, which require that neutrals should be respected; that private property should not wantonly and without cause be destroyed; that the sacking of cities should not be made a means of coercion in order to intimidate the minds of a people and inspire a salutary terror to insure the success of a pretender. Such are the principles laid down by all moralists and all who have written on the law of nations. [Discordant manifestations.]

THE CHAIRMAN M. SCHNEIDER. M. Jules Favre, allow me one observation. I am an ardent partisan of liberty of speech, and I believe I have given proofs of it. The Chamber is no less anxious for it than I am, and it proves it at this moment; for, although it has already heard the Mexican question discussed several times, it is still willing to lend its attention. Yet, in the interest of your cause———

M. JULES FAVRE. It is not my cause; it is that of the law of nations.

THE CHAIRMAN M. SCHNEIDER. I entreat you not to exaggerate anything, and to confine yourself to the use of such expressions as may not excite the legitimate sensibilities of the assembly. [Good! good!]

M. JULES FAVRE. In reply to the observation of the chairman, I thank the Chamber for having been pleased to hear me patiently. [Loud manifestations of disapprobation.]

Some voices: No, no—not very patiently.

M. DE GUILLONTET. The Chamber hears you with indignation.

M. JULES FAVRE. I address myself to the majority, and not to a few interrupters.

I have called the attention of the Chamber to some new facts—to facts which seriously compromise the policy of France, to facts that may compromise the future—and it is very important that the government should give precise explanations in this regard.

Now, gentlemen, I call your attention to another class of facts no less important. I refer to events that have excited, and very naturally, too, a strong degree of irritation in all minds in Mexico, and have given rise to hostile passions. Who can doubt it? That irritation, those passions, have found vent in certain writings. If those writings were culpable, why not bring them before the courts of justice? There is no better course. But that France, under the protection of its flag, should shelter a military council before which journalists are brought, and that in the name of the Emperor, who has proclaimed liberty and universal suffrage, these journalists should be delivered into the hands of the Archduke Maximilian—this is something that appears inconceivable to me, something that seems a great political fault. In this way we compromise—and here I avail myself of the expression just employed by the chairman—we compromise the cause that we wish to defend.

Yet, gentlemen, such things have come to pass in Mexico. Journalists have been brought before a council of war, and in the name of the Emperor and by French justice have been condemned to various punishments.

M. DE GUILLONTET. That is all very proper, for they were criminals.

M. JULES FAVRE. Is it by such means as this that you think you can bring about that pacification for which every one is anxious?

Gentlemen, a frank explanation is requisite here. You have been continually told of the possibility of withdrawing our troops, now at the end of 1864, now again at the end of 1865, and the minister of state, self-deluded, though, I am convinced, in good faith, told us, on the 23d of January, 1864, that it would be sufficient for our troops to remain a few months more in Mexico in order to consolidate the throne of the Archduke Maximilian and to give a proper impetus to the regeneration of that country.

It makes but little difference, gentlemen; and, as for me, I would very willingly consent that our troops should remain there not only some months, but even a year, provided that, at the end of that year, the promise of their return should be no longer an empty word. But if the programme of the minister of state is to be accomplished, do not delude yourselves: one year will not be enough; it will require ten years yet to establish firmly the throne of the Emperor Maximilian: it will be necessary to sacrifice for that purpose 40,000 men a year, and 400 or 500 millions of money.

This is what I consider to be a truth now firmly established, and I ask your permission to prove it to you in a few words.

This regeneration of Mexico will bring complications of every kind in its train. Do you not believe it? Does not the present suffice to indicate what is to transpire in future? And if we were disposed to look over history, would we not find there eminent men, more eminent by far than those of the present day, men of genius even, who were led astray by ideas of this character?

What, in fact, happened to the first Emperor, to Napoleon? He, also, had an idea of regenerating a people. He then held forth to Spain such assurances as it would be well now to recall; for they teach a lesson, that princes who govern without any opposition before them—and, unfortunately for himself, Napoleon found none—princes who govern without any sort of control, may ruin their country while ruining themselves. In a proclamation which he issued to the Spaniards at the time that his troops were setting out for the peninsula, he said: "Your monarchy is old; my mission is to rejuvenate it."

I am distrustful of all self-imposed missions; and, for my part, I believe that it is the part of Providence to effect that there should be no more providential men, but nations governing themselves, and with power to direct their own destinies.

"I wish," added Napoleon, "that your latest posterity should preserve the memory of my name and say, 'He is the regenerator of our country!' "

Now that, thanks to God, she has been enabled to heal the severe wounds which we inflicted upon her, Spain has returned to us. But during the first years after our invasion, a violent hatred reigned in the heart of that nation towards those who had wished to protect and rejuvenate it.

And as to the mighty man who had conceived such projects, you know whither they conducted him! You have only to consult the deliberations of the senate, and you will see that his deposition was pronounced on the 14th of April, 1814, by the great legislative body of the state, which thus expressed its motives for the measure:

"Considering that Napoleon Bonaparte has undertaken a series of wars in violation of art. 50 of the constitution of the 22 Frimaire, year 8, which provides that declarations of war must be proposed, discussed, and promulgated like laws; * * * considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary censorship of the police," &c., &c.

Such, gentlemen, is the answer of nations when they are unfortunate. [Tumultuous interruption.]

M. LE MARQUIS DE PIRÉ. The reply of France, in her misfortunes, has invariably been to turn republicanism out of doors. [Noise.]

THE CHAIRMAN M. SCHNEIDER. In his retrospective review, the honorable M. Jules Favre has told you that there was no opposition under the first empire; there is certainly one under the second empire. [Laughter and applause.]

M. GLAIS-BIZOIN. That is not its fault.

M. EMILE OLLIVIER. Mr. Chairman, be pleased to permit freedom of discussion.

M. JULES FAVRE. What I wish to show is, that it is necessary, indispensable, that the position, which hitherto has been equivocal, should cease to be so; it is that it is necessary and indispensable that we should know what we have to do, and what the sacrifices are to which we are exposed. If the Chamber adopts the idea expressed by the minister of state; if, indeed, it wishes to establish the new Mexican government and the throne of the Archduke Maximilian on a firm basis, the majority is sovereign, and we will bow before it, while retaining our own opinion; but it must not be imagined that the achievement of such an undertaking can permit the return of our troops next year.

This is the delusion which I oppose, if in reality it exists, and I request your kindly attention for a few moments while I strive to combat it.

I am well aware of the truth of what was just said by our honorable chairman: the most of the points involved in this question have been already discussed. I shall call your attention only to such as are of present moment. Within these limits, gentlemen, I intend to confine myself, while investigating the events that have transpired since last year.

After a thorough study of all the facts in the case, political, military, and financial, it is impossible for any one seriously to believe that the government of Maximilian can exist without our army. With our army, I acknowledge, his throne would rest on an agreement; it would last as long as our assistance would be extended to it; but if you withdraw this assistance from it, it is evident that it will be overthrown. If, therefore, you wish to establish it firmly, our army must remain in Mexico. The Chamber should understand this thoroughly.

You remember what I said to you just now, namely, that the French government had obligated itself to consult the Mexican nation; that it had declared that its work would be finished as soon as universal suffrage should have pronounced, first, on this first question: "Is it a monarchy or a republic that is to be established in Mexico?" These are the words of the minister of state, not mine. Secondly, and on the supposition that a monarchy would be preferred, on this second question: "Will the monarch be the Archduke Maximilian?"

Now, gentlemen, not only did the minister of state use this language—and he spoke to you with the preciseness which he usually exercises in his words, of the necessity of a formal contract between the Mexican nation and the sovereign, a contract without which the new government would be ephemeral, founded on force and not on right—but also, the Archduke Maximilian himself entered into a similar engagement; and you remember the speech which he delivered to the Mexican deputation that came to bring to him the deliberations ot the notables of Mexico. He said:

"I must, however, acknowledge, being herein fully of accord with the Emperor of the French, whose glorious initiative has rendered possible the regeneration of Mexico, that the monarchy of that country cannot be established on solid and legitimate foundations unless the entire nation, by a free manifestation of its will, confirms the wishes of the capital. On the result of the vote of the assembly of the country I must, therefore, in the first instance, make the acceptance of the offered throne depend."

And you remember also, gentlemen—you cannot certainly have forgotten it—that such were the instructions given by the minister of foreign affairs to Marshal Bazaine. I do not quote them in full to you; that would be an indiscretion. I content myself with reminding you that the minister had fully foreseen the distinction that was to be established between the deliberation of the notables and universal suffrage: "However," said he, "we can consider the votes of the assembly of the city of Mexico only as a preliminary indication of the disposition of the country."

And the minister enters, with minute care, into the details of the vote to which the whole Mexican nation should be invited, and without which the power of Maximilian could have no legitimate foundation.

Here, gentlemen, is what has been said by France, since it is from the Emperor's own mouth that these words have come. This is what has been repeated by his ministers in their diplomatic despatches. This is what has been asserted here in your presence. This is the condition of the agreement that has been made between the majority and the government. The Chamber has not been willing that the country should suffer violence, that the treasure and the blood of France should be employed in imposing on Mexico a government which it did not wish; a foolish and culpable enterprise if it were thus conducted; legitimate, on the contrary, if it were accepted by the unanimous will of the nation.

Now, I ask what has been done in this regard since 1864? If we choose to rely upon the passages which I have had the honor to quote to you a moment ago, it would seem that Maximilian had only to collect the votes. He was expected by a unanimous people, 5,500,000 Mexicans! The commissioner, on the part of the government, has counted them, and he is perfectly sure of the correctness of his calculations; 5,500,000 Mexicans were there, ready to place their votes in the urn! We demanded nothing further; no more did Maximilian, probably!

What has been done with these 5,500,000 Mexicans? What political acts are there to which we can refer? For we are not called upon to inquire either into the resources of Mexico or into the number of its population. These are vague and confused questions, which it is easy to envelop in a pleasant mirage, to suit personal prejudices, but which must be set wholly aside. Let us look at facts.

What has Maximilian done? He was sincerely anxious, I am convinced, to inaugurate an era of prosperity in the country in which he was received. and for this purpose he had need of power. Nothing is possible without this vigorous instrument in a generous hand. But in order that this power should be useful, it was necessary that it should be well rooted in the heart of the nation. He has not dared to look in that direction, and the only act which we know of his is an act of good pleasure—a statute which, indeed, I have not now to examine, but which sufficiently testifies that there is yet between him and the nation some obstacle which prevents him from hearing its voice and consulting it. Nothing, therefore, has been done.

I have set before you the words uttered by the organs of the government, to the effect that the nation was to be consulted. If the nation desired to be republican, we would consent that it should be republican. They went even farther, and said, "If the nation wishes to have Juarez, we will take Juarez." You have changed your ideas, then; you have changed your principles?

HIS EXCELLENCY M. ROUHER, minister of state. Not at all.

M. JULES FAVRE. You have not changed your ideas?

THE MINISTER OF STATE. You have lost your memory. There have been two votes.

M. JULES FAVRE. You have not changed your ideas! I accept very willingly your declarations. I have said that I was convinced beforehand that the intentions were good, and when I just a while ago intimated, because—I say it once again—it is my duty, that the conceptions had been changeable, that they had changed with events, I said that the government had thereby undergone the fatal law of necessity imposed upon it.

Now, the government told us—look, now, gentlemen, and judge of its policy and its prudence, I entreat you—the government told us that if the Mexican nation was consulted, and if it accepted republicanism, the government would submit. And then what would it have to do? To assist Maximilian in packing up his baggage and crown. Gentlemen, do you understand such a policy? They proceed to consult the country in regard to a form of government, and they begin by proclaiming one and declaring that all those who act against that government will be pursued as malefactors! This is the way in which they wish to consult universal suffrage. Assuredly, this is not in earnest; and in any case I have a right to say that, in a political point of view, nothing has yet been done; and as you have, with justice, attached all your hopes of the expedition to universal suffrage, and as, on account of circumstances which I have not to examine, it has not been possible to consult universal suffrage, you are still in a provisional state. You have not advanced one step; or, rather, if we may rely on your own official documents, you have recoiled, you have lost ground. For the enthusiasm of the people portended to us an easy election. The report sent to the minister of foreign affairs had this character. Otherwise, the minister of foreign affairs is a person of too grave a character to write to General Bazaine in phrases as inconceivable as this: "You have only to call the people together and take their vote." The minister must have received information that the vote was easy, and he must have believed it

Now, at the present time, a vote is no longer possible. I say it is no longer possible, since it has not been taken. Otherwise, render an account to us of this delay in the accomplishment of your duty. Who prevents you from consulting universal suffrage, from causing the return of our troops ?

Here is an important fact: Maximilian, very naturally, seeks to collect adherents around him. With whom did he arrive in Mexico ? With the most powerful; with those who could insure success to his enterprise. I refer to our soldiers; for, whatever be the severity of certain chiefs, there is in the temperament of the French soldier, in his devotion, in his generosity, in his heroism, something that gains the hearts of the people.

This result was certain, especially in Mexico; and if we had not compromised all these advantages, the question would not be as melancholy as it now is. But besides the French soldiers, there were auxiliaries who certainly did not participate in their sentiments. I refer—I wish to make use of a word that may offend no one—my honorable colleagues are fully persuaded that such cannot be my intention—[manifestations of disapprobation]—

A voice: Not so! [Exclamations.]

M. JULES FAVRE. He who says "Not so" assuredly says what the assembly is not willing to adopt as its own sentiment. It does not appertain to me to qualify it as it deserves; but I can say that if I had uttered it I should be profoundly sorry for it. [Signs of approbation.]

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. I regret equally with you that the word should have been uttered. [Good! good!] Just a while ago I entreated M. Jules Favre to be more moderate, for the sake of his own cause. I also request the Chamber to listen to the speaker with more calmness.

M. EMILE OLLIVIER. It is not the cause of M. Jules Favre; it is a question that appertains to the world in general.

M. JULES FAVRE. I would wish, I repeat, to make use of a word that would offend no one. It is certain that the party which accompanied Maximilian was the clerical party, the party that had opposed Juarez and the establishment of civil institutions, the party that had resisted the sale of the goods of the clergy. This is the party that constituted the escort of Maximilian. In it, gentlemen, he has found his most numerous and his firmest adherents.

I have no intention to entertain you with all the details of the quarrels that have taken place between him and that party. You know many of them, and I omit them. I proceed straight to the facts of most importance, which elucidate the condition of affairs.

Before his departure for Mexico, as all the world knows, Maximilian made a journey to Rome. No one has any right to qualify the motives of this journey; yet, when a person has charge of souls, when he is a prince, a prince presumptive, a prince that desires to be elected, everything becomes of importance in these various steps that are taken. It is plain enough that the newspapers have interpreted this one of Maximilian, and have seen in it a certain proof of an accordance between him and the views of the court of Rome.

Now, gentlemen, it is no secret to any one that the views of the court of Rome are diametrically opposed to the resolutions taken by the Mexican government in reference to the clergy; and, consequently, you will not be astonished that, in accounting for the journey of Maximilian to Rome, one of the best-informed journals in this country—I mean the Constitutionnel—should have said:

"Their Imperial Majesties have gone to pay a solemn visit to the Holy Father, in order to implore the benediction of the august chief of the church, and to place their future efforts under the ægis of his paternal intercession and of his powerful spiritual authority."

The conference between Maximilian and Pius IX appears to have been quite long. At its conclusion, the new sovereign had another one with Cardinal Antonelli:

"The next day, April 20, their Imperial Majesties assisted at the pontifical mass in the Sixtine chapel at half past seven o'clock in the morning. After the gospel, Pius IX encouraged them in a long sermon to accomplish the designs of Providence, and represented to them their mission to Mexico as part of the grand scheme of Christian propagandism."

This visit must necessarily have excited attention. I desire to make no comments on it. It gave to the Emperor Maximilian a certain kind of connexion with a well-known policy. The world was of opinion that it did not contribute naturally to weaken his relations with those who had been his first partisans.

Yet, what happened? In Mexico, the Emperor Maximilian recognized the impossibility of governing by means of that party. He recognized, rightly or wrongly, I venture no judgment here, that that party was the most unpopular of all; that it compromised everything which he desired to effect; that it was impossible to abstain from proclaiming, what is contrary to the doctrines of the court of Rome, liberty of religious worship, toleration, and, to a certain extent, freedom of thought, and especially from giving his adhesion to the measures taken by President Juarez, whom our troops had expelled, relative to the alienation of the goods of the clergy; so that it has happened—no novelty, it is true, in history—that the successor, called in to do a very different thing, has been obliged to do what was done by his predecessor.

But what you can very easily conceive is that such a resolution was very ill received at the court of Rome; and it is well to point out to you, from the latest documents, what the actual condition of affairs is on this point, and consequently to what embarrassments and to what dangers the new empire and France—for France is inseparably bound up with it—find themselves at present exposed.

Here, gentlemen, is the manner in which the Holy Father expressed himself in this regard, in a letter addressed to Maximilian, under date of October 18, 1864:

"Heretofore, and on more than one occasion, we have made complaints on this point, in public and solemn acts, protesting against the iniquitous law called that of reform, which overturned the most inviolable rights of the church and outraged the authority of its pastors; against the usurpation of ecclesiastical property and the plunder of the patrimony of the church; against the unjust suppression of the religious orders; against the false maxims which directly attacked the holiness of the Catholic religion; finally, against many other outrages committed not only against sacred persons, but also against the pastoral ministry and the discipline of the church."

And the Pope added: "Let no one obtain permission to teach and publish false maxims, subversive of morality; let instruction, public as well as private, be directed and superintended by the ecclesiastical authority; and finally, let the chains be broken that have hitherto retained the church dependent on the arbitrary control of the civil government."

See, gentlemen, how the negotiation terminated which took place between the government of Rome and the Emperor Maximilian. The latter did not choose to accept the conditions sought to be imposed upon him; he broke through them resolutely, it must be acknowledged. I shall not set before you the letter which he wrote to his minister; you know what wrath it aroused in the camp of those who suddenly became his adversaries. I am not at all disturbed thereat; I merely state the fact. I refer only to official documents. We first find a protest not very long delayed. The letter is of the date of December 27, 1864; the protest of the nuncio is of the same day. I shall not set it before you; I shall only say that if I qualified it as strong I should scarcely do it justice. But what was its echo at the court of Rome? We find it in a despatch from Cardinal Antonelli, which we may find exceedingly useful to consult. Here is what the cardinal says:

"The letter which his Majesty Maximilian I, emperor of Mexico, addressed, under date of December 27, ultimo, to Mr. Escudero, minister of grace and justice, and which was published the same day in the official journal of the empire, has caused the most painful surprise to all Catholic hearts, and has been a source of chagrin and regret to the Holy Father.

"Subsequent communications from the apostolic nuncio, and the note itself, which your excellency has been pleased to address, on the 8th of February last, to the cardinal secretary of state undersigned, have not been in the slightest degree calculated to diminish the serious apprehensions which the aforesaid act has produced in reference to the grave dangers to which the Catholic church is exposed in the empire of Mexico. The cardinal undersigned, in virtue of the orders of his Holiness, sees himself, therefore, obliged to call the serious attention of your excellency to an event so deplorable, and he hopes that the legitimate complaints and just remonstrances of the holy Apostolic see will be favorably received by the new monarch."

Cardinal Antonelli concludes with these significant words:

"The Holy Father cannot admit that his Majesty, raised in a Catholic family always so well disposed towards the church, can ever fail to recognize his own true interests and the real purpose of the mission which God has confided to him. He hopes, on the contrary, that his Majesty will abandon the course marked out in his letter to the Minister Escudero, and will thus spare the Holy See the necessity of taking proper measures to set right in the eyes of the world the responsibility of the august chief of the church, measures of which the last certainly would not be the recall of the pontifical representative in Mexico, in order that he may not remain there a powerless spectator of the spoliation of the church, and of the violation of its most sacred rights."

What is this despatch, gentlemen, if it be not a complete rupture, certainly according to the views of the court of Rome, but a rupture that shows that the Archduke Maximilian can no longer rely for support on the party that called him to the throne? And as he cannot look for support to the liberals, you see in what a precarious condition he finds himself; and this explains perfectly why he has abandoned the idea of consulting universal suffrage.

At all events we must acknowledge that the situation has been completely changed since 1864. That the re-establishment of the Union in the North American States is not without danger to the French government and the Mexican government, no one can fail to recognize. That the condition of things should be developed in a manner least disastrous, thanks to the wisdom of both governments, I should be gratified; I hope it may be so. But you will admit with me that there is a certain degree of discouragement in the minds of the partisans of Maximilian, and a certain degree of elation in those of his adversaries; no one can fail to recognize the fact. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the American government has not recognized the empire of Mexico; and in a despatch recently published, and which bears the date of February 25, 1865, Mr. Seward, addressing himself to the representative of Juarez, acknowledges the receipt of his despatches and expresses his desire for the welfare and success of the Mexican republic.

Thus all that we said, all that we announced to you from the month of February or March, 1862, when we entreated you not to engage in an expedition which would compromise our relations with our best allies—relations which permit us to preserve, on the sea at least, the peace of the world—all has been realized. That the government of the United States should not violate its treaties, I am anxious; but that a crowd of adventurers should not cross the frontiers, is something that I cannot, without difficulty, imagine.

Now, all these dangers, all these complications, all these compromises, explain how nothing can be effected in Mexico unless by force and a military establishment, and yet our military establishment is less solid and more precarious than it was last year.

On this point also I refer only to official documents. We have complained, and we yet complain, (I ask pardon of the minister of state,) that we have not had any kind of official statement whatever in reference to this most important question that so justly engrosses the attention of the country. The Moniteur has never published any official reports; only its editors have taken up the pen in unofficial statements.

In one of our former meetings the honorable minister told us that there were no other documents. I believe him; but in that case he is the least informed minister in the world, for we know what the Moniteur can do; we know what it did do on the occasion of a celebrated speech recently delivered, and which will leave a deep trace in history. The Moniteur related only that the orator had made the circuit of the monument which he inaugurated, without saying one word of that which was most interesting to the reader. [Divers interruptions. Laughter and approbation around the speaker.]

Several members: The Moniteur did well.

M. JULES FAVRE. Now, relatively to Mexico, I ask myself how it is that the Chamber has received no communication of any official despatch whatever, and how it is that all that we have been told has come to us from the pens of the too skilful editors of the Moniteur. It is probable that the committee on the budget, which has the rare good fortune of receiving the intimate confidence of the government, which confidence it is utterly impossible for us to know, has been able to get a glimpse of the despatches. As to us, who are outside barbarians, who are reduced to the condition of the minister of state—that is, to have to study the state of our affairs in the Moniteur, and to be debarred from the knowledge of state documents—we who are, notwithstanding, the elect of the people, and who should debate on the affairs of the country, at least we will be allowed the right of consulting the Moniteur.

Well, I take up the last number that makes any mention of the affairs of Mexico. I do not find in it the report of Marshal Bazaine, a report which, notwithstanding, is the property of the Chamber, and which is refused to it; but I find in its stead some sort of a statement made by the official editors. Here is what I read in the Moniteur of May 15; the reports bear the date of April 28 and May 1:

"In the State of Tamaulipas, General Cortinas has fallen away from the imperial cause, with 750 men under his command."

Thus it is, gentlemen, that we form the Mexican army in order that it may pass over to the enemy. This is a Penelope's task assuredly that we are accomplishing, but with this difference, that Penelope was not killed by the fabric she wove [Laughter.]

I resume. "In the State of Tamaulipas General Cortinas has fallen away from the imperial cause with 750 men under his command. General Mejia, who occupies Matamoras, has concentrated at that point the troops stationed in the surrounding districts. Foreigners, resident there, have spontaneously armed themselves in order to assist the garrison, which was to have been re-enforced on the 1st of May by the arrival of the third battalion of the foreign regiment, under the orders of the commandant, De Brian.

"The offensive movement undertaken by Negrete, from west to east, has induced the marshal commanding-in-chief to form two columns destined to cover the attacked territory. The one was to occupy Parras, fifty leagues west of

Durango, over against the desert of Mapimi; the other, starting from San Luis, was to march upon Monterey, capital of New Leon, situated at an equal distance from Parras and Matamoras.

"If, contrary to all expectation, General Mejia, who commands in this latter city, should be obliged to yield to superior forces, he was to fall back upon Victoria, the capital city of the State of Tamaulipas, in such a manner as to cover the country in his rear, and to maintain his communications with Tampico, which was to become his base of operations.

"Finally, Marshal Bazaine announces his intention of proceeding in person to San Luis, where he is concentrating his reserves in order to be in a position to direct operations himself. Without mistaking the importance of the events that have transpired in the north, the marshal commanding-in-chief regards them only as among those incidents of war that can no more deceive his vigilance than shake his faith in success."

What success? That of battles? We have no doubt as to that; we are very sure that the French will succeed, oncondition, however, that they be not overtasked; and if it be the desire that they should succeed we must resign ourselves to all the expenses, for without further expenses their situation in Mexico will become impossible to maintain.

You see now, all that has been said in regard to pacification is a mistake: we have been mistaken; we have been mistaken in good faith, I am willing to grant; we were entirely too credulous of success; we were told that all hearts flew to welcome Maximilian, yet here we see that the enemy assumes the offensive. I do not wish to remind you of any particular facts that have transpired; yet some weeks ago Marshal Bazaine besieged a city in person; in it he found a garrison of 8,000 men, and captured many hundreds of cannon. Now the enemy has assumed the offensive. Matamoras is threatened; General Mejia takes precautions for a retreat; Marshal Bazaine does not despair; neither do we despair; but we have arrived at a point where we are to ask ourselves whether, in a war so extensive, we should not take a great step at once, make war as it should be made, or abandon Mexico entirely—that is, according as the interests of France are or are not engaged in this affair. If they are engaged in it, be assured that by all, without any distinction of party, they will be sustained. But if, on the contrary, it is for foreign interests that we act, if it is for a foreign crown, if it is for the accomplishment of an impossible enterprise, if it is a phantom that we pursue, if the work to which the blood and the treasure of France are devoted is a work foreign to France, we will not continue it any further, and we will demand to have it abandoned.

Such is the conclusion at which we arrive from a consideration of the military occurrences. And as a final and controlling idea, permit me to examine with you in a few words one of the most characteristic features in a question of this nature, and one of the most instructive. I refer to the financial aspect of the affair. The condition of the finances will teach us, and teach us beyond a possibility of doubt, the value of this Mexican business; for herein we are not dealing with contingencies. In the discussion of this point I do not wish to leave anything to uncertainty; I am going to state facts precisely as they are, in order that the discussion may be useful, and we may all of us be able, as we desire the welfare of our country, to arrive at conclusions favorable to it.

In order to estimate the worth of a private individual we have only to investigate what his credit is. If you desire to learn the worth of such and such a merchant, apply to those who have business transactions with him. If he pays badly, if he seeks to raise funds at the pawnbroker's, if he requests the signature of his wife or of his family, you may be sure that this merchant is on the point of bankruptcy.

Now, Mexico has engaged in financial affairs and adventures without precedent, and I blush to see France assisting in them; to see that it is with the stamp of France, with the aid and under cover of her administration and of her public treasure, that those unexampled financial operations have been executed which I have to lay before the court. [Merriment.]

You are a court of justice, gentlemen, in this affair; I am authorized, therefore, to use this word without offence to you.

A member: We recognize the lawyer in that.

M. **JULES FAVRE.** Yes, gentlemen, I am a lawyer, and I feel proud of it, for I have always exercised my profession conscientiously. [Cries of good ! good ! around the speaker.]

There are among us men of more or less lively imagination. I do not take offence at interruptions ; I have a good right to be indulgent in regard to them. But when I am told that I have been a lawyer, I cast my eyes on the government benches and find there three illustrious confrères——

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF STATE. We are proud of it.

M. **JULES FAVRE.** ——of whom some have been either my friends or my comrades, and I can only feel honored at the interruption. [Laughter. Cries of Good ! good !]

I said that we should know what the credit of Mexico is. On this point I ask my honorable colleague, M. Corta, permission not to accompany him on the peregrination, so interesting otherwise, and listened to with so much pleasure by the Chamber, which he undertook through Mexico. I am convinced that all his researches have been conscientious ; that he has given them to us such as he himself conceives them to be ; his intention has been to enlighten the Chamber. Only in place of this marvellous romance, which seems a page detached from some political Arabian Nights written by some complacent historian anxious for a loan, [laughter,] I ask your permission to substitute the naked truth, namely, the loan itself; and we will proceed to see, from the conditions under which it is negotiated, what the worth is of the borrower.

Every one knows that Mexico borrowed last year a sum of two hundred millions of francs. No one knows it better than the minister of state, unless it be the minister of finance, who has in his portfolio fifty-four millions of this Mexican paper, which he would be very willing to convert into money ; and at our last meeting you heard an honorable member of the government say, "But if we wished to realize, what would we lose ? Ten millions ! Ten millions at this time is a matter of no consequence to the government ! Thus we can get out of the difficulty ! "

Several members: Who said that ?

M. **JULES FAVRE.** I, for my part, say that, if you look at the state of the market, it would not be ten millions, it would be more than twenty millions that you would lose, or rather the paper could not be disposed of at any price.

HIS EXCELLENCY M. ROUHER, minister of state. Will you please state the name of the speaker, the government member, who used that language ?

A member: Is it not M. De Vintry ? [Tumult and confusion.]

M. **LE MARQUIS DE PIRÉ**, in the midst of the confusion, utters some words which it is impossible to understand.

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. Please do not interrupt, M. de Piré, or I shall be obliged to call you to order. It is not the first time that you have interrupted with vehemence; I pray you not to renew the attempt. [Good ! good !]

M. **JULES FAVRE.** At all events, the interruption of the minister of state would imply that the paper cannot be disposed of at any price, which is precisely my opinion. [Laughter and manifestations of approbation around the speaker.]

This being understood, after the two hundred millions had been borrowed by Mexico, Mexico very soon found itself completely short, and has been under the necessity of recurring again to credit ; under what conditions ? It must be stated, gentlemen, here once more, and I say it with extreme regret, it is with the assistance of the French government that the loan has been contracted and sent out—" subscription to 500,000 bonds of 500 francs each, authorized by his excellency the minister of finances."

What is the loan that is effected under the form of bonds? for it is not a consolidated loan that has been made by the Mexican government. It consists of bonds that are to be redeemed in fifty years and by annual instalments.

What is the amount of the loan? It is 500,000 bonds of 500 francs each; the calculation is very simple; that is 250 millions. The sum of 250 millions is therefore to be returned to the lender in the course of fifty years. But the bonds are issued only at the rate of 340 francs, and consequently Mexico, which is under the necessity of paying 250 millions, will only receive 170 millions.

M. **Berryer**. The bonds are for 310 francs, and not for 340.

M. **Jules Favre**. I was just going to state that. On the 170 millions there is a commission. The notes, which are issued for 340 francs, are sold for only 310 francs. And truly I wonder at the minister of state who thought to overwhelm us when he told us in a speech recently delivered, "You speak of the contingency of a loan! The loan is already effected; the capitalists have been already found to take it."

Permit me, Mr. Minister! Capitalists! You mean those who get the 17 millions premium. We know too well that they have no money, and that they appeal to the public for it. They offer the bonds to the public, and we are to see with what allurements they seek to entice the people to take them, what immoral conditions have presided over this loan, and how afflicting they are, if not to our finances, at least to the morality which ought to direct the resolutions of a government.

The Mexican government is under the necessity of paying 250 millions; it will receive only 170 millions. It pays 17 millions premium to its agents, which reduces the real sum to 153 millions. 153 millions! I do not believe, gentlemen, that such a sum will ever go into the coffers of the Mexican government.

In order to obtain it, under conditions so unfavorable, and of such a nature that if an individual allowed himself to enter into them he would immediately be taken in charge by the courts, do you know what the Mexican government does? Do you know what the French government does, which authorizes it, patronizes it, takes it by the hand in order to introduce it to the financial market, as it has taken Maximilian by the hand in order to conduct him to the throne of Mexico?

Here are the conditions proposed to lenders. The bonds are to the amount of 340 francs, and they are to be redeemed in 50 years at the nominal rate of 500 francs, principal; that is to say, 5 millions a year, with an annual interest of 30 francs, which, on a principal of 340 francs, makes 9½ per cent., nearly.

But this is not all. In order to obtain money that might otherwise never be forthcoming, so great is the confidence, so fully convinced are people of the solidity of the enterprise it is not enough that 340 francs, or rather 310 francs, should produce an interest of 30 francs; that is, at the rate of 9½ per cent.—an appeal is made to what has been proscribed by our legislation; a revolt has been raised against it, and a deplorable and scandalous example given of laws trampled under foot, avaricious passions inflamed, most detestable passions that agitate the lowest classes of society, in order to bring into the coffers of the Mexican government the money that never would have found its way thither naturally. Here is what they have pressed into the service of the loan—a lottery. And then under what conditions?

The bonds shall entitle to chances in a lottery of 3 millions a year, of 1,500,000 francs every six months, divided in the following manner: There will be two semi-annual drawings. The first ticket drawn entitles the holder to 500,000 francs.

Thus the most obscure passer-by, the lowest citizen, the humblest and poorest, is called to give his 340 francs, and these 340 francs may produce him 500,000 francs! Who will resist this contagion, this seduction, this immoral perdition, this monstrosity, which is not only condemned by law, but by all honest hearts, and which is sufficient to demoralize the country? Who can resist it? [Sensation; "bravos" around the speaker.]

But there is not only a chance of 500,000 francs; there are other chances. The two following numbers are each 100,000 francs; the four following, 50,000; and then several other premiums.

I have referred to the morality of the affair; I have a right to speak of it thus in reference to the law, for there is one—there is none for the ministers; they set it aside whenever it impedes their schemes; they apply it to their fellow-citizens; they put them in prison, if it is necessary. [Manifestations of disapprobation.] As to themselves, they are above everything. [Tumultuous interruption.]

Here is the law of which I speak. The date of its enactment is May 21, 1836. By this law lotteries are prohibited, for it says expressly: "Lotteries of all kinds are prohibited."

And in the commentary which is given of this law, by a man whom we all venerate as much as we love, and who is seated on the government benches, the honorable M. Duvergier, who has been a lawyer, who has been our leader, and whose name is inscribed at the head of the bar—I am only too happy to render him this homage without grudging it, although he is a counsellor of state——— [Laughter and tumult.]

Well, here is what he says in his commentary: "When the epoch fixed at January 1, 1836, arrived, the royal lottery ceased to exist; but all the prohibitions issued against private and foreign lotteries have been maintained. It is evident that, in suppressing the lottery organized by the government, and which offered guarantees that no private enterprise could present, the legislator did not intend to permit the latter. Otherwise, it would be very absurd for the government to sacrifice an important branch of public revenue for the interest of public morality, and at the same time to leave a number of private enterprises to speculate———"

To speculate on what? It is not I that speak, it is the government—"on the credulity and cupidity of the lower classes."

Here is your lever; here is the instrument to which you have had recourse in order to obtain money, and you could not get any otherwise. Here is what was necessary for your enterprise, for the enterprise of the Mexican government is your enterprise. Here is what you have developed among the people. This is the detestable feverishness which the law condemns! [Confusion.]

And do you know what the Mexican government will have to refund? I do not speak here on suppositions; I have the figures before me.

Besides the obligations imposed on it by the loan, it will have to pay 3,000,000 a year. Whence it follows that, by adding 150,000,000 for premiums to the 250,000,000 at which the Mexican government is to pay off its bonds redeemable at par, we have thus a sum of 400,000,000 set down to the side of its indebtedness, in the face of a problematical credit of 153,000,000.

The scheme is wise—it is perfect; and the capitalists to whom appeal is made are treated by the borrower with so much distrust—so much fear is entertained of not obtaining their money, that after having granted them these conditional premiums they tell them: "When you shall have received back your 340 francs, or, rather, when you shall have received 500 francs, that is, when you shall have obtained 250,000,000 for the 170,000,000 that you advance, you shall also have refunded to you your entire capital!"

And they commence by raising in advance on the capital of the Mexican government a sum of 17,000,000 of francs, which is deposited in the treasury of

France, the interest of which will be added to the principal, thus producing in fifty years a sum of 170,000,000. [Tumultuous demonstrations of various kinds among the members.]

So that in reality the Mexican government will only obtain a sum of 133,000,000. Such in reality is the sum that it will have in its hands, and yet it will be obliged to pay out 400,000,000. Where do you think it will obtain that amount?

Any man on the brink of ruin willingly exchanges some paper, to which he attaches his signature, for certain pieces of gold. [Confusion.] That is an operation as base as it is immoral. Now that is the very thing that is done; that is what you make the Mexican government do by causing it to borrow 133,000,000 against 400,000,000, which it will have to refund. It is impossible that such an operation should succeed. [Long-continued and noisy demonstrations of dissent.]

And yet you will be the persons who will have patronized it in the stock market It will be in vain for you to say that you have not associated yourselves to it by giving it your guarantee; French capitalists will confront you by reminding you of the words uttered by you; 'they will tell you that on the very eve of the loan you pronounced here the eulogy of Mexico; that you have boasted of its resources; and then it will be your responsibility, and not that of the ephemeral name of Maximilian, that they will call up! [Disapprobation. Applause around the speaker.]

I have repeated the thing too often to be obliged to remind you of it once more. If the Chamber thinks that the interest of France is linked to the establishment of a great empire in Mexico, let it say so; but let it not delude itself with any of these declarations, which are mere mockeries: that our soldiers are returning to France, that they are on the point of setting out on their return.

If it is desirable that such an establishment should be prosperous and efficacious, in place of recalling our soldiers, let our fleets encircle Vera Cruz with new lines in order to carry re-enforcements thither; but let France be fully aware of what she does.

Already, gentlemen, there has been much money spent. If I wished to count it up, I should certainly exceed the sum of 400,000,000—400,000,000 that would now be so useful to France, when we are asked for an appropriation for our public works that would improve the national patrimony, when the employés of our institutions are not paid. [Enough of this! Enough of this!]

For my part, gentlemen, to establish at the distance of 2,000 leagues from my country an Austrian Rome, minus the glory, minus the grandeur of the idea, minus the prestige of historical recollections, I consider an act of folly in which I wish to have no part. And it is in the name of violated law and justice, in the name of the interests of France compromised thereby—of her patrimony spent in it, in the name of the generous blood of her children that has been shed to water that country, where we have constantly heard mention made of hopes, where we have found only deceptions, that I loudly and explicitly condemn such folly. [Divers manifestations in the chamber. Applause from some benches.]

(Continuation of discussion in the French legislative body.—Speech of M. Chaix d'Est-Ange, in reply to M. Jules Favre.)

M. LE BARON DE BEAUVERGER. One word only, gentlemen. M. Jules Favre has said that he did not wish to offend any one here. I am willing to admit it. But it is impossible that M. Jules Favre should imagine that he offends no one when he compares our soldiers of 1814 to the Mexican brigands, when he compares our generals to incendiaries——

(The interruptions and confused vociferations prevented the rest of the speaker's words from reaching us.)

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. M. De Beauverger, you are very wrong in assuming to speak without being authorized by the chairman.

Moreover, I have not awaited your observation to address one to M. Jules Favre, and it was one of those observations that have no need of being made a second time. [Good! good!]

M. Chaix D'Est-Ange is entitled to the floor.

M. LE COMTE D'ORNANO. But, Mr. Chairman, a deputy has always the right of making an observation. [Divers manifestations.]

M. CHAIX D'EST-ANGE, vice-president of the council of state. Gentlemen——

Several voices: Let us adjourn till to-morrow.

Other voices: No, no! speak!

M. CHAIX D'EST-ANGE, vice-president of the council of state. I am at the pleasure of the Chamber. [Cries of go on! speak!]

Gentlemen, on commencing his speech the honorable gentleman who has just addressed you remarked as to the little power left to this great assembly. I confess that I do not comprehend either the sense or the occasion of such an observation. I know no other limit to this power than that which has been assigned to it by the constitution itself. I know no other limit to your liberty than that which propriety and your patriotism at the same time assign to it. Is the right of questioning denied to you? Is the independence of your votes clogged by anything whatsoever? And how can the honorable gentleman, who has used the liberty of speech in all its extent, speak of the little power left to this great assembly? How can he call you outside barbarians? I do not understand it.

However it be, he has been willing to resume this Mexican question, and to indulge in very diffuse observations upon it, to which I ask your permission to reply.

And in the first place, let us speak, since we must continually do so, of the origin of this quarrel and of the motives that induced France to take up arms. (Cries of no! no! to-morrow!)

A member: It is six o'clock.

M. THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. If the Chamber is annoyed and restless at the lateness of the hour, and fearful of a long speech, it is mistaken. I will be as brief as possible. [Go on! speak!]

The case is not one, as the honorable gentleman stated, of a quarrel entered into for a sum less than five millions, and which has led us into enormous expenditures, in a development of force entirely unexpected. The quarrel is one that rests on a very different basis and has a very different origin. Every one knows it, and the government has repeated it often enough to leave no one in ignorance of the facts. Our countrymen had been the victims of vexations, robberies, spoliations, assassinations. Reparation was demanded; it was impossible to obtain it. Must we have kept silence? No. We insisted on our demands, and then, on the refusal of any kind of satisfaction whatever, we were compelled to lay down an ultimatum. Finally, we came to what the honorable M. Thiers called, I think, the great argument of politics—war. This is how and why the war commenced; because the honor of the nation was interested in it; because the safety of our countrymen was involved in it; because there was at the same time a reparation to be demanded for them on account of the material damage which they had sustained, and a reparation of honor which France was entitled to exact.

Has France had—I proceed rapidly, I do not wish at this hour to abuse the patience of the Chamber—has France had any intention, as has been asserted, of imposing a government upon Mexico? On this point there is a reply which bears no contradiction—the letter itself read to the Chamber by the honorable M. Jules Favre, the letter written by the Emperor to General Laurencez:

"It is against my interests, against my origin, and against my principles, to impose any government whatever on the Mexican people; let it choose with full liberty the form that suits it."

This is the letter that was written; it bears no contradiction, and it is evident that in declaring war, it was not sought to impose any government on Mexico, but to obtain the reparation to which we were entitled.

The same language, as the honorable M. Jules Favre can remember, was held in the tribune by M. Billault, speaking in the name of the government. He said—and I should be very far from contradicting his words—that entire freedom of voting should be allowed, that the Mexicans should be consulted as to the government that would suit them, and that their will should be rigorously respected and religiously executed. Was it the purpose to deceive the Chamber when such language was employed? Was it the intention really to impose a government on Mexico? On the contrary, has not every facility been afforded for the exercise of universal suffrage? Universal suffrage has been consulted, and has spoken with a unanimity almost complete.

Here, gentlemen, was the difficulty that was met with. The war must have been terminated by a treaty; a treaty must be made with some one. And Admiral Jurien, in a despatch which I find among the diplomatic documents, had excellent reason to raise the difficulty in the very outset of the proceedings, and to say: It is not treaties more or less advantageous that we need; we have already several with Juarez, but they have never been executed. We must be certain that the government which signs them should have power and will to maintain the execution of them. It is under these circumstances that the Mexican people were consulted, and were told: Choose through the medium of universal suffrage whatever government suits you; be it a republic or a monarchy, your will shall be respected and carried into effect. If it be a republic, you shall have a republic; if it be the government of Juarez that you select, well; we will accept Juarez and treat once more with him. If it be a monarchy, it will be accepted and proclaimed by us.

Monarchy! As for me, said the honorable M. Thiers last year, my reason is confounded when I reflect that the idea has been entertained of establishing a monarchy in Mexico! Why, then, has the honorable gentleman been so much astounded? Monarchical government existed for 300 years quietly in Mexico. There are yet some men living, who, born at the commencement of this century, can remember that they lived under the vice-royalty, and that they lived peaceably, with few taxes, and in perfect security; that the *conductas*, so called, that is, the trains that conveyed the products of the mines from Potosi to Vera Cruz to be shipped at the latter place, could proceed freely, without any obstacle, without any danger of attack; that the Spanish flag was raised over the wagons, and that flag was respected by every one.

Some of these men there were who lived in their infancy and in their youth under the monarchical form of government, and who, comparing it with the republican form, said: We cannot take a single step without being attacked in our interests, in our liberties of every kind. We live under an anarchical government which, in the common opinion of nations, is a disgrace to Mexico.

In such a state of things there was reason to think that they might be entitled to have the liberty of choosing between a republican form of government, which they had the right to adopt, and a monarchical form, to which they had assuredly the right of returning.

That it should, forsooth, be a source of regret in the estimation of certain persons that they should have abandoned this republican form, under which Mexico lived so miserably for twenty years, in order to return to the monarchical form, under which it had lived so happily for three hundred years, I understand very well; the partisans of monarchy, however, are entitled to have their opinions as well as those of republicanism. Now, the people have been consulted, they have been asked their opinion. What action has been taken, and how? The same measures have been adopted that are always adopted in such cases. First, an executive junta was named. This junta was charged with the selection of an assembly, in the hands of which the legislative power should be deposited. This junta adopted a monarchical form of government and proclaimed the archduke. Addresses were signed in great number, and from all quarters adhesions poured in. Then it was that the result of these adhesions being thus collected together were carried to Miramar. What answer did the Archduke Maximilian return? I cannot, said he, I cannot go to Mexico, except in virtue of universal suffrage which will call me thither. I require that universal suffrage should be consulted, and consulted in the best possible way; that lists should be opened; that the result of the votes should offer all desirable guarantees; and when all these precautions shall have been taken, if universal suffrage calls me, I will go to Mexico.

Thereupon universal suffrage was consulted. What was the result? Here it is. Out of a population of 7,500,000 or 8,000,000 of inhabitants which Mexico contains, if we allow the very highest estimate, and include therein the remotest tribes, those which have hitherto escaped all dependence, and which have never been under the control of the central government, there have been 5,500,000 consulted, and they have cast their votes almost unanimously.

These 5,500,000 adhesions were carried to the Archduke Maximilian, who thereupon believed himself the choice of universal suffrage freely expressed.

But he was wrong, say they, to believe himself so. Why? Because there was a population of 1,500,000 persons outside of this vote; 1,500,000 incorrigible recalcitrants, who wished to have nothing to do with this government!

But the honorable M. Jules Favre is mistaken. These 1,500,000 individuals are the inhabitants of Sonora, savage Indians who have never recognized any government, and whose opinion it was impossible to consult. Now, from the fact that these 1,500,000 individuals have not contributed their vote to the universal suffrage, to draw the conclusion that there are yet 1,500,000 individuals who protest against the monarchy, who desire to have nothing to do with it, and wish the expulsion of the Emperor Maximilian, is something that neither the Chamber nor any reasonable person will be willing to admit.

Therefore, when the honorable M. Jules Favre says that the Mexican people have been promised liberty and universal suffrage, and have not received them; that, consequently, the people should be consulted anew, I reply to him that universal suffrage is a great operation which cannot be repeated every year. When, after having consulted a people on the form of its government; when, after having asked it once, "What is your will? What form of government, a republic or a monarchy, suits you best?" it has with full freedom replied, "I wish a monarchy;" then when after having consulted it in order to know who it should be that should govern them—who it was that had their confidence—for one reason or other it has repeatedly replied, "Here is the person for whom I ask!" then the trial by universal suffrage has been made, and you cannot, two or three years afterwards, come and ask us to have it renewed. [Cries of good! good!]

The Emperor Maximilian has been consecrated by the will of the Mexican people. He is the choice of universal suffrage. It is an accomplished affair, and not one to be recommenced in this way from year to year. [Approbative laughter on several benches.]

M. Jules Favre has sought every possible means of attacking this rising government; he has taken it in its cradle, in the midst of difficulties of every kind and of every character that generally obstruct every new government, and especially a government succeeding an anarchy which had lasted for forty or fifty years; and then, magnifying these difficulties, he has sought to render its existence impossible and to prove to all that it was impossible. Has he succeeded?

He said, in the first place, that it had no credit. If we presumed to take the familiar comparisons that have been introduced into this debate by the honorable M. Jules Favre, that is to say, if we presumed to compare the credit of a merchant to the credit of a great state, we would ask you whether, whilst it would be repeated every morning that he was going to fail, whilst it would be continually stated in the greatest assembly in the world that he was unequal to his engagements, that he was on the point of bankruptcy, that he resorted to the pawnbroker's, it would not be necessary for this merchant to have the most firm credit in order to withstand such attacks? [Laughter.]

Now, such are the attacks to which the Mexican government has been subjected, a government which needed encouragement and sympathy; and they say that it has no credit!

No credit! In the first place, it is prompt and honorable with us. It carries out the treaty of Miramar with perfect exactness. It gives us securities; and how does it give them to us? It gives them to us at the market value, and we receive them at the same. I take up the last statement of the financial condition, and I find that the Mexican government was our debtor for all operations to the amount of 39,458,000 francs. It has paid us 38,838,000 francs. It owes us at present no more than 500,000 or 600,000 francs, a very small affair in a transaction of such a nature.

Meanwhile what is it doing in this new country—a country so long the sport of anarchy, where governments succeeded each other in some sort every day; where it was impossible to establish any system of taxation; where recourse was had only to the customs alone?

It makes loans, and it makes them under onerous conditions. Yes, that is true; but M. Juarez of whom you speak, M. Juarez who holds the country, who has armies, who has taken the field—I would like to know whether he could effect a loan at any rate at all, and whether he could obtain credit.

However it be, the Mexican government raises loans on conditions that make the honorable M. Jules Favre blush with shame, in the first place, because they are bad, onerous, ruinous; and secondly, because they are immoral and shameful.

Let us examine these different objections. They are ruinous! Pardon me. The nations that have the best credit have borrowed at rates that I do not care to specify, but with which the Chamber is well acquainted. It is an ordinary thing for a very regular country to borrow at 12 per cent. I might cite, for example, a loan that has, it must be said, the sympathies of the entire world, because it was contracted under sad circumstances. I refer to the federal loan. That great country, the United States, while it was divided, while it was delivered up to civil war, while it seemed that it must necessarily conquer or perish—that great country appealed to credit, which it had not previously known, and of which it seemed it would never have need, and it borrowed at rates more onerous, at rates much higher than the Mexican loan, rates which have been as high as 16$\frac{27}{100}$ per cent. if my investigations are correct. Now, who could blame that great country, so straitened and hard pressed in its resources, for having borrowed at onerous rates, in order to sustain a war for the purpose and in the name of the preservation of its Union?

But, say they, if States can subscribe for loans on conditions more or less onerous—more or less ruinous—according to their embarrassments, according to the struggles which they have to maintain, these conditions are honorable or dishonorable according to the good or bad use that is made of the borrowed money.

Now, the Mexican loan is, according to M. Jules Favre, a loan subscribed to under conditions that cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of my able and eloquent adversary.

M. GLAIS BIZOIN. Yes.

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER. What are these dishonorable conditions? They are premiums, chances, lottery—all those immoral things prohibited by the law of 1836.

Gentlemen, I do not approve of these conditions, if I may speak my personal sentiments on the subject; but it must be acknowledged at the same time that they have passed into customs, [protestations of dissent on certain benches,] into the customs of borrowers.

M. JULES FAVRE. You mean to say of emperors? [Laughter.]

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. It is no estimate that I make; it is a fact that I relate; if it be not true, let it be contradicted. For fifty years Austria has been effecting loans by the offer of premiums. Prussia has effected loans by means of premiums. The provisional government, without deeming it an offence against morality—I am sure it did not wish to commit any such offence—[laughter]—the provisional government authorized the city of Paris to borrow by means of premiums, and it borrows yet by means of premiums.

I would be glad, in this regard, if no authorization of this kind were ever given; but it must be acknowledged that when we consult precedents, we find that such authorizations have been given, and that such premiums, I shall not say, have passed into public customs, but at least that they have accompanied many loans contracted under better circumstances, and by governments with greater credit.

M. GLAIS BIZOIN. Without lotteries!

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. I beg your pardon: with lotteries, by means of lots, by means of premiums. Now, then, gentlemen, what are the resources that remain to the Mexican government in order to meet its engagements? Outside of loans has it any resources that it can present as a guarantee?

There is an assertion that has been made in some very authoritative works, and which, I believe, has been omitted by the honorable M. Thiers; it is, that under the ancient government, that is to say under the vice-royalty, there were revenues by which the state supported itself, not by regular imposts, nor by duties on importations, which did not then exist, but from coinage and taxes on coinage, and from particular monopolies.

The illustrious and learned M. Humboldt, who passed five years in those regions, who studied the laws of the country, its resources, its means of advancement, writes that this country thus raised a revenue of twenty millions of piastres; that is to say, from one hundred to one hundred and ten millions of francs.

Mexico lived with ten millions of piastres. The rest it sent away either to the mother country—that is, Spain—or to Cuba, for the construction of fortifications there.

Such was the condition of affairs. It was, therefore—and you may form an idea as to what one hundred or one hundred and ten millions were worth at that time—it was, therefore, a country which had abundant resources for its existence.

Well, what are its resources now? The riches of the country are immense; that every one knows. The fertility of the soil is great; its productions are important, and present an excellent guarantee.

As to the amount of bullion extracted from the mines, it increases now; but the business of mining was ruined under the governments of Juarez and his predecessors. The working of the mines became an impossibility, when troops of bandits fell upon the miners, and seized and carried away the result of their labors. It is easy to understand that, in consequence, nearly all the mines were abandoned. But, at present, the working of them has been resumed with extraordinary activity, with new and more perfect processes, and the product is greater than ever.

As to the revenue from the customs, I have the statement of them, and I ask your permission to give you the data of two ports.

The customs at Tampico, during the first four months of 1864, yielded 96,000 piastres; in the corresponding months of this year they have yielded 431,000—that is, they have more than quadrupled.

At Vera Cruz the revenue from customs was from 800,000 to 900,000 piastres; it is now 1,645,000 piastres, or nearly double the former amount.

I do not wish, gentlemen, especially at this late hour, when I know how irksome it is for you to listen to a speech, I do not wish to have you enter on these calculations, and to show you how great are the resources that Mexico possesses, and how much more it has in imposts, which it is now proceeding to establish—such imposts as exist in all civilized countries—such, for example, as the land tax, so just and so natural, which he that owns the ground should pay to the state that protects him.

Such are the resources of Mexico. And I should state that, at present, in spite of the prognostications of which it is the object, in spite of the evil auguries with which people seek to surround it, in spite of the threats that are directed against it, it assumes a new lease of life. What I have just said in a few words in reference to the revenue from customs sufficiently belies the fears that have been manifested, and proves that everywhere there is a total renewal of business. You see that by the increase of the custom-duties at Tampico and Vera Cruz commerce has received an important development.

The great line of railroad—that is, the line from Vera Cruz to Mexico—has been conceded to an Anglo-French company, that offers the most solid guarantees. This great line must be finished in five years; it will really be finished in three years.

There are, also, other lines of secondary importance capable of developing the resources of the country to a considerable extent, which, to the number of three, have been demanded and conceded already, and for the construction of which a capital has been subscribed of 4,500,000 piastres—that is, of 23,000,000 of francs.

Telegraphic lines are being constructed everywhere. In the notes which have been given to me in reference to the industrial development of the nation—that is to say, to the manifestation of the individual forces that attest the political life of a country—what do I see? Stage-coach enterprises, mines of coal, mines of petroleum, mines of gold, mines of silver; in a word, I see everywhere the development of all the resources of the country.

Now, gentlemen, we must come to the consideration of the desires of the Chamber, and see whether we can diminish the strength of our army in Mexico by causing the return of our soldiers to France as soon as possible. Be assured, gentlemen, that the government, in this regard, fully participates in your desire; that it is of the same mind with the learned authors of the reports laid before you, Messrs. Gouin, O'Quin, and Larrabure, and that it does all in its power to hasten the return of our troops to France. I have here a document, which, in this respect, can leave no doubt as to the intentions of the government.

Here are the sums of the numbers transmitted to the minister of war: The effective strength of our army on the 1st of January, 1864, amounted to 34,000 men; and on the 15th of January, 1865, it amounted to 28,000 men. As many as 8,000 men, therefore, have returned. And take notice that this is not all; for the order had been given for the return of a regiment now here—the second regiment of zouaves; but it was retained by Marshal Bazaine for the necessities of the siege of Oajaca, because he did not wish to strip other points. As soon, however, as the siege was finished, this regiment left Mexico; so that out of a total of 34,000 men, you see that more than a third has already returned to France.

This shows how the government yields to the just desire manifested by the legislative body to terminate this war as soon as it may be possible to terminate it.

In reference to this war, the honorable gentleman has given details, into which, especially at this moment, it is impossible for me to follow him, otherwise than by a protest. He has said: "I have received news, telegrams, and these telegrams inform me that a city has been burned; that Romero has been shot; that General Castagny has issued a proclamation—a proclamation," adds the speaker, "which I conceive myself required to read to you, for it is contrary to all military usages."

What, then, has General Castagny done? Whence comes it that he is denounced from this tribune? Whence comes it that for the benefit of those who are called the soldiers of Juarez, who are but miserable wretches, assassins, who disembowel women, who slay children, who commit nothing but pillages and conflagrations, whence comes it that for the benefit of such men an insult is offered to a brave French general, who nobly commands his men? [Cries of good! good!]

Whence comes it that amid the facilities of the tribune and far removed from the scene of events, in the impossibility of forming a correct judgment, on the faith of I know not what news, I know not what telegrams, a French general, present under his flag, in face of the enemy, is treated as a chief of bandits, a brigand, and a veritable vandal? It is against such imputations that we must protest. [Yes, yes! good, good!]

For the rest, gentlemen, there is nothing in the world more legitimate, more approvable, more honorable than this proclamation of General Castagny. Any soldier would have signed it.

How! He is there conducting his men against a ferocious enemy that flies before him; that always flies unless he be ten to one. He finds him committing atrocities and outrages, and yet you wish him to be treated as a soldier! How! Must we respect men who have committed such massacres; must we treat them as gallant men, as brave soldiers?

No; General Castagny has them shot, because he sees in them only wretches, bandits, all steeped in crime. [Good, good!] And here, gentlemen, General Castagny has certainly done his duty; he has acted as any one ought to act under such circumstances. [Yes, yes!] Not, indeed, as honor and the dignity of the flag demand when we fight with true soldiers, but as the security of men demands when they are opposed to a set of bandits. [Renewed manifestations of approbation. Cries of dissent from some benches.]

He merely sought to punish those who dishonored the name of soldier. Yes, I repeat it, his language was that of a soldier; his conduct that of a soldier; and it is for this that he must be treated as he has been here, in the midst of an assembly, all the words of which are repeated everywhere, repeated throughout the world.

I do not say that the general has any need of a vindication of his conduct, but the army which he commands needs a protest to be uttered in its name. [Good, good!]

M. JULES FAVRE. The honor of the French flag is involved in the burning and massacre of a city!

Numerous voices: Do not interrupt! do not interrupt!

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER. In the midst of this excitement I cannot hear what you say.

M. JULES FAVRE. It is because you do not wish to hear. [Cries of disapprobation.]

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER. No; I do not wish to hear. No, when I have the floor I do not allow any liberty of interruption. [Good!]

M. EUGENE PELLETAN. Has he or has he not burned a city?

Several members: Order! order!

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. You should not insist on such attacks upon a French general.

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER. I conclude in a few words. It has been sought to show the difficulties to be experienced by a new government. It is true such difficulties are experienced; but why come to its cradle to augment those difficulties, to raise up still more in its way, and to seek to render its task impossible; for, in brief, wars like this one which we have undertaken are not as the wars of other times, wars of devastation in which they carried murder everywhere. Here we have a war undertaken in the name of liberty, in order to restore that blessing to a people that has groaned for fifty years under an anarchy which all the world has pointed out to you; which President Buchanan, its neighbor, pointed out in his message, when he said that it was a disgrace to civilized countries to tolerate such a nation! Now, we are going to bestow civilization, liberty, order upon it, where disorder has hitherto reigned, as well as the most frightful slavery and the most complete anarchy. [That is true! Good! good!] It is, then, a noble enterprise. Why surround it with all those difficulties, all those evil auguries? Why seek to fetter this government in its progress? Why seek to cause its fall at every step which it takes?

Yes, we are aware it has difficulties with the court of Rome, but nations more ancient, more powerful, have them likewise.

There are there, face to face with each other, two powers charged with the care of souls. As has been said, the one is the minister of God upon earth, his most elevated servant; he answers in the name of religion. He is the minister of peace, of mildness, of reconciliation.

But by the side of this power which has charge of souls there is another which has charge of souls equally, and which says: "Here is a people that has been intrusted to me; in what ways must I conduct it?" In ways of progress, of civilization, of liberty.

Now, from this arise difficulties; that is very true; but such difficulties as the moderation of both powers will know how to smooth away.

The august chief of religion must persuade himself that the necessities of the times will no longer permit the world to remain in the ways in which it was two or three hundred years ago.

On the other hand, we must count upon the moderation of the sovereign who loves religion, who respects and venerates it, and who, before setting out for his new empire, and before placing his hand upon his new crown, wished in some sort to receive it from the hands of God, and went to ask it from the Holy Father. Between them everything will be arranged; there will be no possible difficulty; things will be established to the satisfaction of all; there is every reason to hope for such a consummation. [Sensation.]

There remains the last difficulty; this is the United States, with which we are incessantly threatened, or rather with which Mexico is incessantly threatened—the United States jealous, impatient, and only awaiting an occasion.

In this regard, permit me to finish with a few brief words.

As to the United States, frequent mention has been made of the Monroe doctrine, though God knows I care not much to enter upon the subject. Much talk has been expended on it without any great knowledge of its nature. The honorable gentleman spoke just now of a letter of Mr. Seward. I merely ask his permission to reply by reading these few lines only from the last message of Abraham Lincoln. It is in the nature of a last will and testament; it is not only an advice given to his own people, who have lost him by so frightful a misfortune, so horrible a crime, but it is also an advice given to the world in general, to whose admiration it is entitled.

Here is what he said in his message of the 4th of March, the last public document, I believe, which is known of his, speaking with a perfect humility in the midst even of his triumph:

"Without bitterness, without ill will towards any one, with charity towards all, and with firm confidence in the right, as far as God permits us to see it clearly, let us finish the work in which we have been engaged, in order thereafter to heal the wounds of the nation, to take care of the soldier who has fought our battles, of his widow and his orphans, and to do all that lies in our power to attain a just and durable peace among ourselves and with all nations."

As to me, I know no finer language than this I was struck with it, even before it had been consecrated by the sad end of Abraham Lincoln, and before I could have thought that it was his last will and testament and his last word in this world.

Now, this last word is a word of mercy, a word of moderation, of peace and of clemency. Let us hope, gentlemen, that it will be understood by those who obey him no more, but who preserve his memory.

The blood shed in battle for a just cause, for the liberty of a great people, may be blessed by the God of armies; but the blood shed after anger has passed, in an unjust cause, perhaps for the purpose of invading the rights of an inoffensive neighbor, has never yet fertilized the earth that received it, nor ever brought good fortune to the hand that shed it. We must hope, therefore, that the United States will repair their losses; that they will carry out the programme left to them by Lincoln; that they will take care of the widows and orphans who are in such great numbers among them; and that, after a war so bloody and yet so just, they will not hasten to engage in new quarrels, especially when their interests are opposed to any such complications. [Good! good!]

From all sides: Let us adjourn! Let us adjourn!

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. To-morrow at 2 o'clock the public session will be resumed.

I propose to add to the order of the day, after the discussion of the deficiency bill, the bill relative to the cancellation of the rents of the bureau of liquidation, and to place the discussion of this bill before that of the regular budget for 1866. This order of discussion is necessary, because the arrangement of the items in the regular budget supposes the adoption of the previous measure.

To-morrow, therefore, the order will be: Continuation of the discussion on the deficiency budget for 1865; discussion of the bill relative to liquidation; discussion of the budget for 1866; discussion of bills of local interest.

(The Chamber adjourned at half past 6 o'clock.)

[From Le Moniteur Universel, No. 161, June 10, 1865, page 776, vol. —.]

Debates in the French legislative body.

SESSION OF FRIDAY, *June* 9, 1865.

* * * * * * * * *

The discussion of the deficiency bill for 1865 was continued. The Mexican question was resumed and examined at some length by M. Ernest Picard, a member of the opposition, after which the minister of state, M. Rouher, addressed the Chamber on the same subject, in reply to M. Picard and to M. Jules Favre. The concluding portion of his speech, and a rejoinder from M. Jules Favre, are given as follows:

HIS EXCELLENCY M. ROUHER, minister of State. * * * *

In fact, the foolish hopes conceived by Cortinas, or by some few men who surrounded Juarez, have been dispelled; calm has succeeded agitation in the minds of men, and the authority of the American government has caused itself to be felt.

Enrolling offices were opened in New York and Washington; soldiers were invited thither to enlist under the flag of Juarez; large sums were offered as bounties to induce them to engage in the scheme.

The American government, adhering strictly and religiously to the duty of neutrality, closed these enrolling offices, in accordance with the law of April 20, 1818. And whilst this attempt was being essayed, a general, whose name had been freely mentioned in the papers in connexion with the scheme, and who was represented as intrusted with the duty of leading this army of filibusters to Mexico—General Rosecrans—in a speech delivered before the legislature at Boston, protested against the singular part which it had been sought to make him play, and said that he was not constituted or disposed by nature to be the leader of mercenary troops, and had no inclination to betake himself to Mexico to attack any government in that country; that the United States wished to respect the obligations of neutrality; that they would respect them with the greatest strictness and sincerity; and that the relations of friendship between France and the United States would not be, even in the slightest degree, compromised. [Good! good!]

While these declarations were being made at Washington and New York, they received a formal sanction and ratification here. The minister of the United States presented himself to our minister of foreign affairs, and said to him: "Undoubtedly we do not regard with any favorable eye the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico; undoubtedly we would prefer to see a republican form prevail in that country; but we respect the will of peoples and nations; we understand that Mexico, formerly for a long time governed by the monarchical form, desires to return to that state, and we are not going to make war on a mere question as to forms of government!"

Such have been the formal declarations made by the minister of the United States to the French government, and thereupon all those spasmodic efforts very soon have failed that were manifested in the States of New Leon and Tamaulipas, and which, I have no hesitancy in asserting, were a deplorable and melancholy consequence of an odious crime committed in the United States; a consequence which is destined very soon to disappear; and the partisans that have been collected will quickly be dispersed by the battalions directed against them by Marshal Bazaine. Such is the real condition of the Mexican empire. [Good! good!]

They have called up here in this assembly—I know not for what purpose—the question as to the property of the clergy in Mexico, and they have said to you: "The Emperor Maximilian is deserted; abandoned by the very party that bore him to power!" And then they have deemed it their duty to parade before you the Pope's letter and the declaration of Cardinal Antonelli.

I do not feel myself called upon to make any reply to such assertions. The Emperor Maximilian attained his power by the will of the Mexican nation. He has called upon the parties to allow him to constitute a moderate party to assist him in the direction of public affairs. He has not sought for men in this or that faction; he has not required certificates as to antecedents from such as, abjuring evil passions, desired to subserve the interests of order and of civilization; and at the very moment at which I now address you, this prince, who is accused of quartering himself in the conservative party, counts among his ministers three former ministers of Juarez himself: the minister of the interior, the minister of public works, and the minister president of the council of state!

The Emperor Maximilian, without ill-feeling, without any party connexions, without any of those tendencies or any of those rancors which civil war leaves after it in a country, has appealed to all intelligent and well-inclined men, and has said to them: "Come to me, for I represent the cause of order, of security, of progress, and of civilization." [Loud manifestations of approbation.]

Now, gentlemen, permit me to address a request to the members of the opposition. [Hear! hear!] Permit me to tell them that they cannot exercise too much prudence and discretion in weighing the language which they use within this hall while yielding to the dictates of their convictions, the sincerity of which I have no disposition whatever to call in question.

If they could know, as the government knows, the detestable abuse that is made of their words, of their criticisms, of their charges against the government, within that empire of Mexico and in the midst of those very rebels whom we have to fight, I am deeply convinced that their voices would not be so loud on this question, and that they would regret the language which they have already used.

Numerous voices: Good! good!

THE MINISTER OF STATE. You would not believe the strange communications that reach the government in this regard. I have here the description of a banquet held in the United States by the friends of Juarez. Do you wish me to read to you the list of toasts that were offered? [Yes, yes! read them! read them!]

"The Mexicans of the party of Juarez, residing in New York, celebrated the other evening the anniversary of the independence of Mexico, by a grand banquet at Delmonico's. Among those present were remarked Messrs. Romero, Doblado, Juan Baz, Colombiez, Alatorre, and other personages more or less distinguished for various reasons. After the banquet, M. Romero gave the signal for the speeches, which, as usual, abounded in big words and high-sounding phrases. They drank " *to the death of Maximilian, tyrant of Mexico; to the death of the Pope, tyrant of consciences; to the death of Napoleon III, tyrant of the whole world.*"

That is not all. They drank the health of the French deputies who oppose the tyranny of the Emperor! [Cries of indignation.]

Such are the sad abuses which wicked and fiery passions make of criticisms and oppositions even the most conscientious—such, I feel convinced, as these are.

But this is not yet all. Our soldiers, in the long and difficult marches to which their duty condemns them, often find documents traitorously scattered among them! Do you know their purport? "Juarez, to the soldiers of France." I ask your pardon; do not hasten to cry out with indignation, "Juarez and his friend Jules Favre."

Several voices: That is true!

M. ROUHER, minister of state. To the French soldiers, proposing to them to desert the flag of that tyrant called Napoleon III! [Manifestations of indignation.]

What matter our previous differences of opinion? What matters it that you have approved or disapproved the Mexican expedition? Let such discussions be henceforward discarded.

Our flag now floats over far distant shores. Let us then have the same sentiments of patriotism; let us all desire the triumph of that cause which we have promoted in those regions! Let us hasten by the unanimity of our wishes: let us hasten the moment when the French troops, not humbled—that they cannot be—but triumphant, and having completed their work, shall return amid the applauses of all France, to receive the crowns which their courage will have merited. [Good! good! bravo! bravo! Prolonged and redoubled applause.]

M. JULES FAVRE. Mr. President, I rise to a personal explanation.

THE PRESIDENT, M. SCHNEIDER. I cannot very well see what can constitute the occasion for a personal explanation.

Several voices: Let him speak.

THE PRESIDENT, M. SCHNEIDER. I decide, then, that M. Jules Favre asks the floor for a personal explanation and not for a speech. If there be question of a speech, M. Emile Ollivier is entitled.

M. EMILE OLLIVIER. Oh, Mr. President, let M. Jules Favre speak.

M. JULES FAVRE. It is not, you may be sure, and the Chamber may feel convinced of it, to the last fact cited by the minister of state that I wish to make allusion. But in the explanations which he has made to you, there is one which is calculated to impress upon you the belief that on the part of the speakers of the opposition to the government, in the announcement of a fact recognized as very serious by all the members of the assembly, there might have been something of a surprise; and as such an insinuation affects my character for fair and open dealing, I ask your permission to reply to it.

I said, and you remember it perfectly well, that a corps commander, whose name it is unnecessary to mention———

Several members: Why so? Mention it.

M. JULES FAVRE. I said that General Castagny, at the head of a body of French troops, had recourse to a measure contrary to the laws of war and to the law of nations. [Denials.]

The minister of state says, in reply to me, that as yet there is something untimely and imprudent involved in the assertion, that as long as our troops are upon hostile territory, while they are exposed to death, we have no right to examine their conduct, and that it is proper for us to guard our expressions so that there might be no possibility of their doing any harm. [That is so.]

I ask you, then, why you applaud the words of the minister? What does he do?

Various voices: His language is patriotic; he is a Frenchman!

M. JULES FAVRE. As to me, I can admit no such argument; it is unworthy of any man of sense. [Murmurs and cries of disapprobation.]

I respect and honor the courage of our soldiers who brave all dangers, but I esteem not the less the courage of the statesman who, on the government benches, comes to sanction by his words the principles which he proposes to your votes. Each in his sphere fulfils a duty, and I cannot believe that one can be considered superior to the other. [Various manifestations.]

Now, if I render him this justice, I claim a similar one from him in regard to the part which we perform here. I ask, gentlemen, whether there can be a sort of infallibility, of inviolability, decreed by the danger which a general runs that would permit him to place himself above all laws. [Interruption.]

If it be so, it is undeniable that it would not be himself only; it would be the fate of the men whom he happened to command that he would succeed in endangering. [Exclamations of indignation.]

As far as regards the fact which has provoked the discussion between the minister of state and us, nothing is more simple. That fact, gentlemen, is the burning of a city of four thousand souls. Before giving expression to it I took care to state that the fact had been announced a long time since that the Moniteur had been interrogated on the subject, and that the Moniteur had been silent.

Just a while ago, when the minister of state reproached me for not having asked him for explanations, he must have forgotten that from the 20th of April explanations had been asked by the press. [Exclamations of disapprobation.]

Here is what the Journal des Debats said in its issue of the 20th of April last. [Oh! oh!—confusion.]

I am only replying to the reproach of the minister, which would seem to intimate that I announced a fact hitherto unknown; whilst, on the contrary, that fact was a public one, and several papers had called on the Moniteur for information in reference to it. [Interruption.]

M. ERNEST PICARD. That is the very point in issue.

M. JULES FAVRE. Here is what the Journal des Debats says:

"This despatch has been published by several journals, among others by the Constitutionnel, but we do not find it in the Moniteur of this morning. It is significant in its necessary brevity, for the telegraph does not indulge in long discourses; but we hope soon to find in the official organ the details and the documents which the despatch could not give, and which should serve to present under their true light the rigorous measures adopted by General Castagny against San Sebastian and against the four Juarist chiefs in question. San Sebastian counts, or rather once counted, since that city no longer exists, a population of four thousand inhabitants. Whilst allowing the greatest possible latitude to the cruel necessities of war, it behooves us to know the reasons that induced General Castagny to destroy by fire a centre of population of that importance."

There, then, was the question very distinctly made: Does the minister of state think that it is conformable to the law of nations, not to pursue a few brigands, not to shoot down some wretches who had assassinated our soldiers. These no one has ever defended within this hall——[So! so!]

Your murmurs will not efface my words from the Moniteur; my words remain, and you cannot distort them.

Now, I assert that this fact was published in all the papers six weeks ago: A city of four thousand inhabitants, in which were peaceable and inoffensive inhabitants, women, children, and men of property, has been given to the flames. This act is contrary to the law of nations. We have said so; we say so yet. Such proceedings might bring deplorable retaliations upon our soldiers. I add that such violent proceedings, unless they are disavowed, compromise the honor of France to a most fatal extent. [Numerous cries of indignation. Cries of good! good! from some benches.]

THE CHAIRMAN, M. SCHNEIDER. I proceed now to put to the vote the third section of the article in reference to the war department, estimate marked F, and I announce in advance that there is a demand for the yeas and nays on the question.

"3d section. Pay and maintenance of the troops, 33,718,701 francs."

The demand for the yeas and nays is signed by Messrs. Hénon, Carnot, Ernest Picard, Viscount Lanjuinais, the Duke de Marmier, Bethmont, Magnin Jules Favre, Marie, Garnier Pagès.

A member: And Juarez! [Exclamations and laughter.]

A vote was then taken.

THE PRESIDENT, M. SCHNEIDER. The result of the vote is as follows:

Number voting	245
Absolute majority	123
For	232
Against	13

The legislative body has adopted the section.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 5, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 21st of July, 1865, transmitting to me, for the information of the government of the United States, a translation into English of the discussion which took place in the legislative body of France on the 8th of June, 1865, in relation to the affairs of Mexico, and of parts of the disposal of that discussion, which terminated on the 9th of the same month.

Thanking you for this interesting document, I have the honor to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 23*d of July*, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: In virtue of the recommendation which you were pleased to make to me at the interview which we had yesterday at the Department of State, to the effect that I should state to you in writing what I verbally had the honor to represent to you, I now proceed to make to you the following statement:

You know very well with how much anxiety the government of Mexico has been awaiting the termination of the civil war in the United States—since our fate being indentified to a certain extent with that of the Union, the success of the latter insured our own, whilst its overthrow would have made our situation more difficult. In fact, the French intervention in Mexico having been, as is already universally admitted, nothing else than a part of the conspiracy which was planned to subvert this government, and to break up this country, nothing is more natural than that the principal question in the United States when once decided in favor of republican institutions, the accessory one, which is being discussed in Mexico, should be decided in the same sense. The success, therefore, of the cause of the independence of Mexico is already beyond all doubt, even to the eyes of the most determined enemies of the republic, and it has now become only a question of time. The duty which the Mexican government has to shorten that time as much as may be possible causes me to address this communication to you.

We had believed that when once the civil war had terminated here, which from its magnitude and importance had absorbed the whole attention of the government of the United States, without permitting it to take the measures necessary to destroy those accessory to the rebellion which were developing themselves in foreign countries, the same government would have to pursue one of these two policies—either to take the steps it might deem proper in order that the French should withdraw themselves from Mexico, or to follow the same policy of neutrality observed up to this period, until peace is finally restored at home and the federal authority is established in the southern States, thus giving time to the Emperor of the French to the end that, reconsidering his measures, he may abandon an enterprise which is already without object, and which it is utterly impossible to realize, and which, should he persist in it, will involve him most certainly in future complications with the United States, which, when once at peace, will not be able to remain an indifferent spectator of the conquest by a European power of one of the principal regions of this continent in their immediate vicinity.

Upon the choice of these two policies I shall say nothing at this time, for I do not propose in this note to solicit from this government the adoption of the one or of the other. My object is solely to manifest that the time necessary having already elapsed to know which of them has been adopted. We have believed that it is the second; and in this belief, being unable to rely, for the time being, not even upon the moral support of the government to put an end to the war carried on against us by the Emperor of the French, we deem it our duty to inform the government of the United States of what we desire to do in this country in the fulfilment of our duties as Mexicans.

In the first place, I deem it my duty to represent to you that, although the patriotism of the Mexican people is a sufficient guarantee to insure us success over our invaders, and although we have in our country sufficient elements to defend our independence—which elements have enabled us to resist during four years the most persistent efforts of the first military nation of Europe, and will enable us to prolong the contest to the point of compelling our enemies to leave our country—our situation is such that the French might be enabled to remain some years more in Mexico if they persist in it, and our condition does not ameliorate.

It is known that the people of Mexico is without arms. As arms are not manufactured in the republic, we are compelled to use those which we may be enabled to import. The circumstance that some of our ports are occupied and others blockaded by the French, and, above all, the fact that this government had prohibited, to our prejudice, the exportation of arms from the United States, and that we could not obtain them in Europe, because almost all the governments of that continent are hostile to our cause, has caused the government of Mexico from the commencement of the war to find itself with a small quantity of muskets, and these in so bad a condition that it is really surprising how the resistance has been prolonged with implements so utterly worthless.

The principal, and almost exclusive, revenues of the Mexican government being derived from the yield of maritime custom-houses of the republic, and the most valuable of these being occupied or blockaded by the French, it follows that the government of the republic has found itself deprived of its revenues in times when it most required them to organize and sustain the armies which defend the independence of the country.

Our situation, therefore, is to sum up the following: with arms and means we can terminate in a few months the war which France is waging against us; and without these elements, we shall be obliged to limit ourselves to resisting the French, who will be enabled to remain in Mexico for an indefinite period, with great danger to the peace of this continent, until they find themselves compelled to quit that country through weariness, if not expelled by the force of arms.

You will understand, Mr. Secretary, that it is the duty of the Mexican government to shorten the war, and to do all that is incumbent upon it to procure the necessary elements to attain that result. The identity of interests existing respecting this point between the United States and Mexico, and, above all, the great sympathy which, with unparalleled unanimity, the people of the United States have manifested, even in the most unfortunate days of the Union, for the cause of the independence of Mexico, have led the Mexican government to believe that, by rendering this sympathy effective, these elements might be derived from it which are required to terminate immediately a war which otherwise might last for years, and all this without compromitting in any manner the government of the United States, and without causing it to deviate, by a single hair's breadth, from the duties incumbent upon it as a neutral power. Although in the realization of this idea we propose to ourselves to treat with the citizens of this country as individuals without in any manner compromitting their government, and although what we think of doing is entirely lawful and compatible with the attitude occupied by the United States as a power neutral towards France, we deem it proper to submit our plans to the government of the United States as a proof of our good faith, of our deference to this government, and with the view of receiving assurances, if this be possible, that no embarrassment will be placed in our way in the execution thereof since a painful experience has taught us the necessity of taking this step. Reserving, therefore, the consideration of other matters when circumstances shall require it, our wishes are limited for the present to the two following points:

1st. To negotiate a loan to the government of Mexico in this market by disposing of bonds which shall contain the guarantees which we consider sufficient to induce speculators to purchase them, and which may make them acceptable to the people of this country. It is indubitable that the duties of a neutral power do not impose upon the United States that of preventing us from realizing our bonds, since this does not constitute the intervention of this government in our behalf. The market is as much open to us as to our enemies. If the French desire to negotiate a loan here upon the same bases as we—that is, as a private speculation, with which the government has nothing to do—evidently there would be no right to deny it the same. This same right is the one which we wish to exercise now. Our deference towards the government of the United States has reached the point that, notwithstanding we have had a pressing necessity for the funds which such a loan could have furnished us, and that there was a time which seemed most propitious for its realization, we preferred to await until the loan to the United States, which the house of Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co., of Philadelphia, is now selling, should be realized, in order not to appear to be acting in competition to the United States, and desirous of diverting the funds of its citizens to exterior objects whilst they were needed by their own government.

2d. To purchase arms and munitions of war, and to be enabled to export them to such places as may seem to us proper. After the order of the President of the 3d of May last, which rescinded the prohibition to export arms from the United States, and which has left in all their force the laws and traditions of this country respecting the commerce of belligerents in articles contraband of war, and, above all, after the precedent established by this government, of permitting the French officers, who arrived in November, 1862, to purchase the means of transportation for the invading army of Mexico, who purchased and exported the articles they needed to wage war against my country, as your department communicated to me in the note which it addressed to me upon this subject under date of the 24th of November, aforesaid, it does appear that there cannot be the least cause that we should not be permitted now to do what the laws of this country declare in every respect lawful, and what this government has permitted to our enemies.

I do not doubt that the government of the United States will appreciate the sincerity of the motives which induce me to address it this note; and that it will favor me with a reply which will be entirely satisfactory to my government.

I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c., &c., &c.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 7, 1865.

SIR: Your note of the 23d ultimo, on the subject of the exportation of arms to, and the negotiation of a loan for, the Mexican republic, was duly received, and has been taken into consideration.

You are well aware that the government of the United States has official relations with the republican government in Mexico only, and heartily desires that that form of government may, by the unity, virtue, valor, and perseverance of the people in Mexico, be maintained in that country, as the United States earnestly desire that, in the same manner, it may be perpetuated in every other country in the American hemisphere where it has heretofore been established. Liberty and free institutions in any country are the rewards of the popular virtues I have named. They cannot be guaranteed by any one nation, however beneficent, to another, however well disposed to receive them.

I am not aware of any law or executive order which at present prohibits the exportation of arms, or of money, from the United States to Mexico, by either of the parties at war in that country, or by the individual citizens or subjects of the respective parties. Any proceedings for that purpose must, however, not be connected with proceedings which tend to infringe the impartial neutrality which this government has hitherto in every instance maintained. That neutrality is really the effect of existing municipal laws as well as of international law. It could, therefore, be deviated from by the executive government only when Congress should have directed it. To Congress alone belongs the constitutional power to declare war.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c., New York, N. Y.*

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.

[Circular.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 26, 1865.

Instances of irregularity having recently occurred, it is deemed advisable, with a view to prevent misunderstandings, to announce that the United States government will expect from the members of the diplomatic body an observance of the same rules and courtesies which are required from the diplomatic officers of the United States in foreign countries. Official business will be transacted through the head of this department. The President will, however, receive, on occasions of ceremony only, such diplomatic representatives as, pursuant to their grade, may have been accredited to him. Those representatives who may not have been accredited to the President will transact their business with the Secretary of State exclusively.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
By W. HUNTER,
Acting Secretary.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 28th of July, 1865.

MR. ACTING SECRETARY: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of the circular of the 26th instant, in which you inform me that the government of the United States expects the diplomatic corps to observe the same rules and regulations required of the diplomatic agents of the United States in other countries.

I profit by this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

WILLIAM HUNTER, Esq., *&c., &c., &c.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION,
New York, 12th of August, 1865.

M. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to transmit to him a printed copy, in English, of a treaty of alliance signed at Lima on the 23d of January last by seven of the American republics, which "desire to unite for the purpose of providing for their exterior security" against the aggressions of European powers.

M. Romero has also the honor to transmit to Mr. Seward a printed copy of another treaty, concluded on the same date and between the same contracting parties, with the object of completing the compact of alliance.

These two treaties constitute the principal result of the labors of the American Congress which recently met at Lima, the capital of Peru.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

In the name of God: The States of America which are hereinafter mentioned desiring to unite in order to provide for their exterior security, to strengthen their relations, to maintain peace among themselves, and to promote other common interests, have determined to secure these objects by means of international compacts, of which the present is the first and fundamental one.

To that effect they have conferred full powers, as follows: By Salvador, to Don Pedro Alcantara Herran; by Bolivia, to Don Juan de la Cruz Benavente; by the United States of Colombia, to Don Justo Arosemena; by Chile, to Don Manuel Montt; by Ecuador, to Don Vicente Piedrahita; by Peru, to Don José Gregorio Paz Soldan; and by the United States of Venezuela, to Don Antonio Leocadio Guzman.

And the plenipotentiaries having exchanged their powers, which they found sufficient and in due form, have agreed herein to the following stipulations:

ARTICLE 1. The high contracting parties unite and bind themselves to each other for the objects above expressed, and guarantee to each other mutually their independence, their sovereignty, and the integrity of their respective territories, binding themselves in the terms of the present treaty to defend each other against any aggression which may have for its object the depriving any one of them of any of the rights herein expressed, whether the aggression shall come from a foreign power, whether from any of those leagued by this compact, or from foreign forces which do not obey a recognized government.

ART. 2. The alliance herein stipulated will produce its effects when there shall be a violation ot the rights expressed in article 1, and especially in the cases of offences which shall consist—

First. In acts directed to deprive any one of the contracting nations of a part of its territory with the intention of appropriating its dominion or of ceding it to another power.

Second. In acts directed to annul or to alter the form of government, the political constitution, or the laws which any one of the contracting parties may give or may have given itself in the exercise of its sovereignty, or which may have for their object to change forcibly its internal system, or to impose upon it authorities in the like manner.

Third. In acts directed to compel any one of the high contracting parties to a protectorate, sale, or cession of territory, or to establish over it any superiority, right, or pre-eminence whatever, which may impair or offend the ample and complete exercise of its sovereignty and independence.

ART. 3. The allied parties shall decide, each one for itself, whether the offence which may have been given to any one of them is embraced among those enumerated in the foregoing articles.

ART. 4. The *casus fœderis* being declared, the contracting parties compromit themselves to immediately suspend their relations with the aggressive power, to give passports to its public ministers, to cancel the commissions of its consular agents, to prohibit the importation of its natural and manufactured products, and to close their ports to its vessels.

ART. 5. The same parties shall also appoint plenipotentiaries to conclude the arguments necessary to determine the contingents of the force, and of the land and naval supplies, or of any other kind which the allies must give to the nation which is attacked, the manner in which the forces must act, and the other auxiliary means be realized, and everything else which may be proper to the best success of the defence. The plenipotentiaries shall meet at the place designated by the appended party.

ART. 6. The high contracting parties bind themselves to furnish to the one which may be attacked the means of defence which each one of them may think itself able to dispose of, even though the stipulations to which the foregoing article refers should not have preceded, provided the case should, in their judgment, be an urgent one.

ART. 7. The *casus fœderis* having been declared, the party offended will not have authority to conclude conventions for peace or for the cessation of hostilities without including in them the allies who may have taken part in the war and should desire to accept them.

ART. 8. If (which may God avert) one of the contracting parties should offend the rights of another one of them, guaranteed by this alliance, the others will proceed in the same manner as though the offence had been committed by a foreign power.

ART. 9. The high contracting parties bind themselves not to concede to, nor to accept from, any nation or government a protectorate or pre-eminence which impairs their independence and sovereignty; and they likewise compromit themselves not to transfer to another nation or government any part of their territory. These stipulations do not hinder, however, those parties which are coterminous to make the cessions of territory which they may deem proper for the better demarcation of their boundaries or frontiers.

ART. 10. The high contracting parties bind themselves to appoint plenipotentiaries, who shall meet every three years, as nearly as possible, to adjust the conventions proper to strengthen and perfect the union established by the present treaty. A special provision of the present congress shall determine the day and the place at which the first assembly of the plenipotentiaries shall meet, which assembly shall likewise designate the following one, and thus thereafter until the expiration of the present treaty.

ART. 11. The high contracting parties will solicit, collectively or separately, that the other American states which have been invited to the present congress shall enter into this treaty; and from the moment the said states shall have made known their formal acceptance thereof, they shall have the rights and obligations which emanate from it.

ART. 12. This treaty shall continue in full force for the period of fifteen years, to be reckoned from the day of this date; and at the end of this period any one of the contracting parties shall have authority to terminate it on its part by announcing it to the others twelve months previously thereto.

ART. 13. The exchange of the ratifications shall take place in the city of Lima within the period of two years, or sooner, if it be possible.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, ministers plenipotentiary, sign the present and seal it with our respective seals, in Lima, this twenty-third day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

P. A. HERRAN.
JUAN DE LA CRUZ BENAVENTE.
MANUEL MONTT.
JUSTO AROSEMENA.
VICENTE PIEDRAHITA.
JOSÉ G. PAZ SOLDAN.
ANTONIO L. GUZMAN.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

In the name of God: The states of America which, agreeably to the treaty of union and alliance of this same date, have allied themselves for sundry objects, being represented by the plenipotentiaries who subscribed the said treaty, and having exchanged their respective powers, found to be in due form, to wit: Salvador, by Don Pedro Alcantara Herran; the United States of Venezuela, by Don Antonio Leocadio Guzman; the United States of Colombia, by Don Justo Arozemena; Bolivia, by Don Juan de la Cruz Benavente; Chile, by Don Manuel Montt; Ecuador, by Don Vicente Piedrahita; and Peru, by Don José Gregorio Paz Soldan, have agreed upon the following stipulations:

ARTICLE 1. The high contracting parties solemnly bind themselves not to commit hostilities against each other, even by way of compulsion, and never to resort to the use of arms as a means of settling their controversies, which may arise from acts not comprehended in the *casus fœderis* of the treaty of defensive alliance signed on this date. On the contrary, they will employ exclusively peaceful means to terminate all these controversies, submitting to the decision of an arbiter, without appeal therefrom, when they cannot settle them in any other manner. The controversies respecting boundaries are included in this stipulation.

ART. 2. When the parties interested cannot agree upon the appointment of the arbiter, this will be done by a special assembly of plenipotentiaries named by the contracting nations, and equal in number, at least, to the majority of said nations. The meeting shall be held in the territory of any one of the nations nearest to the interested ones which the one which first solicited said appointment may designate.

ART. 3. Whenever, when the selection of the arbiter may be solicited, as provided in the foregoing article, the assembly of plenipotentiaries shall have met, in the number previously determined, of which article 10 of treaty of union and alliance speaks, and signed on this date, it will belong to said assembly to make the said appointment.

ART. 4. If one of the contracting parties should refuse or avoid the appointment of the arbiter, the other may have recourse to the other governments of the allied states, which will take into consideration, each one for itself, the interpretation of the case, and will endeavor to induce the resistant party to comply with the stipulation contained in article 1.

ART. 5. When the parties interested shall not have previously determined upon the manner of proceeding, in order to discuss their rights, it will be the duty of the arbiter to determine the procedure.

ART 6. Each one of the contracting parties binds itself to prevent, by all the means which may be within its reach, the preparation or collection of materials of war in its territory, the enrolling or recruiting of persons, or the fitting out of vessels to operate hostilely against any one of the other powers which have subscribed and joined in this treaty. They also bind themselves to prevent the emigrants or political refugees from abusing their asylum by conspiring against the government of the country whence they came.

ART. 7. When the said emigrants or political refugees shall give just cause of complaint to the power whence they come, or to another bordering upon the one where they dwell, they shall be removed to a distance from the frontier sufficient to dispel every fear, whensoever the power thus threatened shall solicit the intervention of the latter with documentary proofs.

ART. 8. The high contracting parties bind themselves not to permit the transit of troops, of arms, and of implements of war across their territory, when destined to operate against any one of them.

ART. 9. The contracting parties in the same manner bind themselves not to permit the vessels or squadrons of nations which may be at war with any one of those subscribing to the present treaty to provide themselves in their ports with articles which are contraband of war; nor to permit the repairing of their vessels-of-war, nor even that they shall establish themselves in the said ports to prey upon the nation with which they may be in a state of war or of open hostility.

ART. 10. The high contracting parties will solicit, collectively or separately, of the other states who have been invited to the present congress, their adhesion to this treaty; and from the moment the said states shall have manifested to all of them their formal acceptance thereof, they shall have the rights and obligations which emanate therefrom.

ART. 11. This treaty shall continue in full force for the term of fifteen years from the day of the date hereof; and at the expiration of that period any one of the contracting parties will be authorized for itself to terminate it by giving notice thereof to the others twelve months beforehand.

ART. 12. The exchange of the ratifications of this treaty shall take place in the city of Lima within the period of two years, or sooner, if it be possible, and it will have its effects among the parties who shall do so as soon as they shall have executed the same.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, sign the present and seal it with our respective seals, in Lima, on this twenty-third day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

P. A. HERRAN.
ANTONIO L. GUZMAN.
JUAN DE LA CRUZ BENAVENTE.
MANUEL MONTT.
VICENTE PIEDRAHITA.
JOSÉ G. PAZ SOLDAN.
JUSTO AROZEMENA.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
New York, 14th of September, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you a copy of No. 95 of the "official newspaper of the government of the State of Tabasco," of the 20th July last, which came to my hands a short time since, in which you will see the congratulation which the governor of that State addressed on that same date of July to the consul of the United States at San Juan Bautista on the termination of the civil war in this country, manifesting at the same time his sorrow for the assassination of President Lincoln.

It is satisfactory to me to send you this communication as proof of the sympathies which the Mexican people have for the people of the United States; of the sorrow with which they heard of their misfortunes, and of the rejoicing with which they celebrate their victories, well understanding that circumstances had become so complicated that the fate of the two peoples might be considered as identified, and that events favoring the United States could not be less than favorable to the cause of Mexican nationality.

I avail of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the Boletin Oficial of Tobasco, vol. 1, No. 95, July 20th 1865.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY
GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF TABASCO,
San Juan Bautista, July 4, 1865.

MR. CONSUL: The kindred people of this continent, united in the lovely bonds of democracy, ought to share mutually in its joys and its sorrows. For this reason Mexico will ever deplore the unfortunate event of the 14th of April last, the death of the illustrious champion of liberty, in the city of Washington. For this reason will Mexico forget her past misfortunes, in the midst of her present trials, and congratulate the great and heroic people of the United States on this day of glorious memory.

Accept, then, Mr. consul, on this day—the anniversary of that auspicious day when your ancestors proclaimed their independence in the city of Philadelphia—my sincere congratulations, as a private individual, and as the representative of this State, of whose sympathies I believe myself, on this occasion, the most faithful interpreter.

Accept also, in the name of your government, the demonstrations of esteem and good will from the garrison of this place, who have kindred sentiments, and trust that Mexico in general, and Tabasco in particular, will be worthy members of the great democratic family that people the world of Columbus, in spite of the mean strategy now used to divide us.

I make vows to Providence for the happiness of the United States, and pray that the peace the great republic has just conquered at such a great sacrifice may last long, for the good of humanity.

You will please accept, on this account, the assurances of my personal esteem and consideration.

Republic and liberty! San Juan Bautista, 4th of July, 1865.

G. MENDEZ.

LEON ALEJO TORRE, *First Officer*.

B. N. SANDERS,
Consul of the United States at this port, present.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
San Juan Bautista, July 4, 1865.

SIR: As the accredited agent of my government at this capital, I give you my most sincere thanks for the eloquent and expressive homage offered in your communication of this morning to the memory of our deceased and patriot President, who fell beneath the hands of that most ignoble of criminals—an assassin; and at the same time, as a citizen of the United States, and in the name of that people, I give thanks to you, and through you to all the citizens of this State who may favor the democratic constitutional system, sincerely felicitating them on the anniversary of our national independence.

Let it be permitted to me to assure your excellency that with sentiments of the purest gratification and infinite satisfaction I will make known to the government at Washington that Mexico, forgetting on this day her misfortunes and calamities, sends her on the wings of the morning fresh proofs of her brotherly friendship, and reminds her once more, in the midst of her afflictions and calamities, of her eternal attachment to democratic principles.

It is very proper that two sister republics of the New World should rejoice on the happy termination of our giant war, as it must be admitted that if the integrity and unity of our republic had been destroyed, ten years would not elapse ere the new hemisphere would again fall under the domination of the Old World. This day, throughout all the circuit of the United States, the grandest spectacle ever witnessed by man is gazed on with admiration—a nation of thirty millions of inhabitants, who were yesterday at war among themselves, pardoning and forgetting the animosities engendered by civil war, this day reunite in their respective cities and districts unanimously cheering in solemn utterances, which will resound forever; and as the rainbow is a witness of harmony between earth and heaven, so will this day be held by all the people of the United States as a guarantee of peace between east and west, north and south, by all generations to come.

Let us then rejoice on the complete restoration of the Union, which, by affixing the seal of experience to the declarations of the wise men who eighty-nine years ago laid the foundation-stone of the great transatlantic republic, demonstrates to the universe that our system of government can sustain, and remain unhurt, assaults which would destroy the very foundation of any nation not based upon democratic principles. Let us rejoice, therefore, in the triumph of the indestructible Constitution in its pristine vigor, for it has opened a new era in the history of republican government, vindicating it against the bitter jeering of the monarchists of the Old World who idly hoped we would perish ignominiously in our civil war a short time ago raging with incomparable fury.

Let us thrice three times rejoice in the glorious proofs of the last years, because they, in union with the precious revolutionary memories of 1776, have added more splendor and fame to this day as one of those of jubilee for the defenders of liberty and of progress throughout the world; because another morning dawns advancing towards high noon.

May God protect and defend the republics of the New World.

Please to accept the expression of my most distinguished consideration and respect.

B. N. SANDERS.

C. GREGORIO MENDEZ,
Governor of the State of Tabasco, present.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Unofficial.]

WASHINGTON, *2d of October*, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: You have often asked me for a picture of President Juarez, to place it in your gallery of presidents and sovereigns. My inability to obtain a good one had prevented me from complying with your request as early as I would have wished. During my last stay in New York I succeeded in getting there a reasonably satisfactory portrait, that I hasten to send to you, begging of you to have the kindness of accepting it.

I am, my dear sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD *&c., &c., &c.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

[Unofficial.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 6, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 2d of October last, which, from the multiplicity of other pressing public engagements, has remained unanswered to this date, and for which I pray you to accept my apology.

With your note you were also pleased to accompany the likeness of President Juarez, which I had requested of you, and which I accept in the same spirit in which you are pleased to present it to me.

It will be a source of much gratification to me to place it in my gallery of presidents and sovereigns, there to remain as a mark of my appreciation for the enlightened, patriotic, and wise executive of the Mexican republic.

Thanking you for your very considerate and courteous attention, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c., &c., &c., *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 10th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you, for the information of the government of the United States, the documents translated into English, mentioned in the index annexed, relating to public events which have taken place in Mexico. They relate to divers events, places, and times, and their reading contributes to give an idea of what is passing in that republic at different periods.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c., &c., &c.

Index of the documents transmitted by the Mexican legation to the Department of State of the United States, and annexed to its note of October 10, 1865, *in relation to events which have occurred in Mexico.*

No. 1. Governor Ortega to the people of Puebla, February 18, 1864. Proclamation, calling upon the people of the State to defend the State.

No. 2. General Alvarez to the people of the State of Guerrero, May 4, 1864. Proclamation.—Arrival of the French squadron at Acapulco.—Blockade of that port. (See for this proclamation No. 7, military operations in the southern division.)

No. 3. General Vega to Lozada Ampudia and Parrodi, May 15 1864. Letters refusing to recognize the authority of Maximilian.

No. 4. General Lanberg to General Trias, and his reply, April 3, 1864. Letter inviting him to recognize the empire, and his reply in the negative.

No. 5. General Uraga to Messieurs Caserta and others, June 18, 1864. Letter declaring that he will always make war against France.

No. 6. The republican army to General Uraga, June 10, 1864. They tender him a vote of confidence and ask him to continue in command of the army as general-in-chief.

No. 7. General Riva Palacios to his army. Circular respecting the conduct of the French army, and ordering reprisals.

No. 8. General Cortina to the people of Matamoras, August 22, 1864. Proclamation.—Attack upon Matamoras by the French forces.

No. 9. General Doblado to the *Courier des Etats Unis*, October 8, 1864. Letter giving the lie to reports published by said journal.

No. 10. General Doblado to the *New York Herald*, October 18, 1864. Letters explaining his pretended return to Mexico.

No. 11. General Garcia to his subordinates, July 30, 1865. Circular.—Depredations committed by the French on the east coast

No. 12. The governor of Sonora to the people of that State, March 30, 1865. Proclamation.—Invasion of Sonora by the French, its enemies.

A true copy: F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of Legation.

WASHINGTON, *October* 10, 1865.

No. 1.

[Translation.]

The governor and military commander of the State of Puebla to its inhabitants:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am sent among you by order of the supreme constitutional government, whose hope, as well as my own, is that you will shake off the foreign yoke which oppresses and humiliates you.

It was thought expedient that he who at a period of trial and peril wielded to your satisfaction the destinies of your State, and who received on a subsequent occasion your spontaneous suffrages for the same exalted position, should be the bearer of the mandate of the nation. You recognized in a becoming manner, in the midst of the fermentation of violent passions, that law, reason and progress were the natural tendencies of humanity. He thus acquired a popular right to address you, and in virtue of that right I trust his words will have due weight; but more than this, he now addresses you in the name of truth, and leaves you to be the judges of his sincerity.

The two principles which were struggling for mutual destruction in the moral order of things came finally to establish their hostile camps on the soil of the country, and the partisans of progress and those of retrogression, each in defence of their opinions, appealed to arms to decide the contest. Various were the fortunes of war; but victory rested finally with the champions of reform. In their despair the vanquished sought refuge at the court of Napoleon, seeking assistance, and laying at the feet of the Emperor the land of their birth and the government of their country. They sought to avenge themselves and to obtain possession, by the aid of a foreign power, of the control of the government. The clergy hoped by the same means to gain possession of the confiscated church property and recover the prestige they had lost by the progress of reform.

This situation of Mexico, falsely represented to Napoleon, aroused his ambition, and the desire to gain in the territory of our country a compensation for those countries of Europe which he had failed to acquire from the neighboring States, and decided him to send an army of invasion, whose object was first concealed by the "convention of London," and subsequently by proclamations, in which his designs were veiled under the pretext of bringing about a moral reform and inaugurating a "humanitarian redemption" of the people of Mexico.

In this manner he opened a wide field to the hopes of the reaction party, of the clergy, and of a certain class of men disposed to receive with favor the unknown future, when it comes in the form of novelty and grandeur. Permit me, fellow-citizens, to make a comparison between the results of what is called intervention and its pompous promises.

The first act of the invading army was to break the engagements made solemnly in the "convention de la Soledad," "to retire to the post it occupied before the conclusion of that convention."

It lent its countenance to the *reactionestas* in inaugurating a provisional government in Orizaba, composed of partisans of that faction.

It admitted, but in a humiliating manner, the armed forces of this faction into its ranks, and keeps them there in the same humiliating subjection.

In the order of the day of the 17th May, after giving due praise to the garrison of Puebla, they obliged the staff and commissioned officers to march on foot as prisoners of war, and finally expatriated them.

On reaching the capital they caused two "juntas" to be formed, which by superior order declared that the country should constitute itself under the form of an empire, and that the emperor should be Maximilian, or such other as Napoleon should elect.

It established the pillory, to the disgrace of Mexico, of France, and of civilization.

It caused multitudes of Mexicans to be executed daily, under sentence of French court-martial.

It obliged the so-called "regency" of the empire to pass a decree declaring effective the laws of reform, and established a Protestant chapel, to wound more sensibly the interests of the clergy.

It kept the so-called regency in absolute "pupilage," and the participation of this "ally" is apparent in all the public acts of that body.

The clergy, wounded in its dearest interests, has withdrawn itself from the reactionists, of which it was the principal nucleus. It has attempted to divide the great liberal party by efforts to withdraw from it some of its most influential members. It cannot be denied that these are the most notable acts of the "army of invasion," which have placed it in the false position it occupies in the country it pretends to domineer over. It does not co-operate or sympathize with the tendencies of the principal factions or parties, and still less with those of the nation.

At short distances from the posts occupied by the French armies are found divisions of independent troops, or bands of guerillas; and such has become its impotency that it is unable to intimidate even the robbers who infest the vicinity of the garrison.

Persisting in their error, some men may continue to hope that in the course of time (an impossibility in the nature of things) the intervention will come to favor the national interests; but the address of the Emperor at the opening of the Chambers has destroyed the last and most distant hope of traitors. He has formally declared "that the sacrifices which France has made will be amply repaid," and "that the Mexican war, which was commenced to vindicate the honor of France, will end by insuring her interests." One must be deprived of common sense, and destitute of every noble and generous sentiment, to hope, after such a declaration of the French Emperor, that the intervention can ever be favorable to the true interests of Mexico, since the only object seems to be to secure the interests of France. On the other hand, when we examine the position of the "army of invasion," we at once perceive that it has no base in our country, for the reason that it favors no legitimate interests. Still less can it be said to have one in France, for the opposition which the Emperor has aroused by the war in Mexico has obliged him to declare his real intentions, as we have seen in that sentence just quoted. Least of all can there be found a base in the tendencies or interests of England, or Spain, or of the United States, for they are all in open opposition to the projects of the Emperor.

Notwithstanding the constant and cynical eagerness with which the imperialists seek to exaggerate the progress of intervention, with the intention of deceiving both France and the Emperor, and of asserting the intention of Maximilian to come to Mexico with the object of giving consistency to the imperial project, public opinion has pronounced its inexorable sentence against intervention and its agents, and this opinion will augment immensely the numbers of the defenders of independence. It will create new obstacles to the plans of Napoleon, and every hour as it passes is ringing the knell of the imperial cause. The sword has never vanquished public opinion—the sovereign of the world—as she vanquished the invaders in the mountains of Guadalupe and in the streets of Puebla; so shall she be victorious in a thousand battles. We will triumph to-day as we will triumph to-morrow, for the battle-field is now familiar to us, and we have learned, both morally and physically, how to endure the hardships of war, while we respect, amidst the thunder of arms and the din of battle, civil and individual rights. If every Mexican is bound to repel the stigma of treason, the noble sons of Puebla are doubly bound to do so from the gallant deeds of May 5 and April 25, which have raised within her territory lasting monuments to the glory of her citizens.

To arms, sons of Puebla! at the shout of Long live our constitution and independence! Long live the brave General Diaz, commander-in-chief of the line of the east! Let us march to battle. God, reason, and justice defend our noble course.

FERNANDO MARIA ORTEGA.

OAXACA, *February* 18, 1864.

(For enclosure No. 2 see No. 7, Mr. Clary's operations in the southern division.)

No. 3.

[Translation.]

Lozada to General Vega.

SAN BLAS, *March* 16, 1864.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have just received, by the favor of General Don Romulo D. de la Vega, the enclosed letter from his excellency General Don Juan M. Almonte, to be forwarded to you in the safest manner.

I request, as a particular favor, that the reply to this letter, as well as that to the one enclosed, may be forwarded as early as possible, so that the letter to General Almonte may reach its destination without delay.

I beseech you give a favorable reception to the proposition of co-operation with the plans of General Almonte, for in so doing you will render a signal service to the country, and a very great one to me personally; for, in that event, I shall be spared the painful duty of commencing operations against your department, where I would prefer acting the part of a friend rather than that of an enemy.

Your obedient servant,

MANUEL LOZADA.

Señor General Don PLACIDO VEGA.

General Vega's reply to Lozada.

SAN FRANCISCO, *Alta California, May* 15, 1864.

SIR: Your letter, dated Tepic, March 16, was received three days since, covering several others—one, as you inform me, from Señor Almonte, &c., &c.

I believe you have been fascinated by the influence of certain men, who, to gratify their mean and contemptible passions, have involved Mexico in all the horrors of a national war—have given their countenance to a monarchy imposed on us by foreigners—and that this illusion alone has made you believe in good faith that the only object of the intervention is the happiness and prosperity of our people, without attacking our nationality and independence. But acts speak louder than seductive language and flattering theories, and they are in flagrant contradiction to the hopes you have been led to entertain.

To demonstrate this, I will only touch on two points, the appreciation of which is within the comprehension of all. The first of these treats of our material, the second of our religious interests. The first is the convention agreed to between the French government and the "so-called" monarchical government of Mexico, by which it was stipulated that the latter shall pay to the former the monstrous sum of two hundred and seventy millions of francs, for expenses of administration to the month of July next, and from that time forward an annual allowance of one thousand francs for every French soldier. In addition to which, a further sum of twenty-five millions is made payable to France, with the understanding that that sum shall be an indemnity for twenty thousand French troops. Furthermore, and independent of the aforesaid sums, Mexico shall pay the expenses of the war, which will probably be made to amount to a fabulous sum, which is to be exacted from a government which will require many millions to keep up its magnificence and vain ostentation.

It is admitted, beyond doubt, that the basis of all monarchical institutions is the aggrandizement of the privileged classes, which constitute the nobility, and that this aggrandizement is at the cost of the masses—that is to say, by those who by their industry, by their obedience, by their poverty and their misery, constitute the people.

Can it be possible that you, a child of the people, identified with their griefs and their sufferings; that you, the natural protector of the indigenous races, the more worthy of interest, that their sufferings are the greater—can it be that you have ranged yourself on the side of their enemies to add to the number of their oppressors? Do not, I conjure you, not in my own, but in the name of this despoiled race, disappoint, through a fatal error, the hope they cherished in confiding their interests to your keeping.

* * * * * * * * *

The judgment of the people, freely expressed, is rarely erroneous where their most vital interests are in question. Consult them, and I am convinced you will see things in a very different aspect from what you have seen them up to the present time.

There is no time for indecision. Let us unite as good Mexicans, and we shall save our country and the native rule, which has everything at stake in this formidable crisis.

This conviction is so profoundly rooted in my heart that no human power can change it, and for it I am ready to sacrifice my repose, my fortune, and my life. What I am and what merit I may possess I owe to my country. My love for it is a religious devotion. I have firm confidence that all those who, from an error of judgment, but with honest intentions, have given their adhesion to the intervention, will promptly adjure their errors, and, placing themselves under the flag of their country, will pledge themselves to its protection.

It is true that some incidents of the war have been unfavorable to our arms, but I assure you that the national party has great power, particularly among the native classes of all the frontier states. We have the sympathy of all civilized nations, including a considerable majority of the French themselves, and our cause will triumph, for justice and reason are the pillars of strength.

Convince yourself of these truths, reflect on them without prejudice, and I doubt not you will adopt my ideas. When that shall be the case I shall be very happy to hear from you again.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

PLACIDO VEGA.

Don MANUEL LOZADA, *Tepic.*

To a similar letter from Don José de Casanova we have a spirited reply from General Vega:

General Vega's response.

Señor Don JOSÉ CASANOVA, *Mexico:*

SIR: By comparing the dates you will perceive that there has been a delay in the reception of the letter of February 27, to which I now reply.

* * * * * * * * *

Once for all, I assure you that not even the eloquence of Cicero would suffice to eradicate from my breast my love of my country and of republican principles.

I pass over unnoticed your observations which refer to the intervention, as defined, according to your appreciation of it, with, perhaps, the pious desire of controlling your own services, rather than in the hope of leading me to drink of the fountain of treason; but I find myself compelled to refute certain assertions without foundation, and dispel doubts which might rise to imputations and illusions, either real or avowed, in contradiction with my true sentiments and derogatory to my public character.

* * * * * * * * *

When you admit that you knew my sentiments, I am surprised that, in the present state of things, you should urge me to accept the monarchical system, which you know I abhor: and, more than this, have the audacity to accuse me of the intention of segregating a portion of the country, and placing it under the dominion of a foreign government.

I never made use of language which involved such a thought, nor gave occasion to suppose that there existed in my bosom such a wish. My public life sufficiently proves this assertion, for never for a moment have I deviated from the principle that death was preferable to the loss of our nationality and independence; and that when all hope of saving the one or preserving the other should fail, better become a member of any of the American republics than be the vassal of a despot of decrepit Europe

I doubt not that the constitutional governor of Zacatecas, General Gonzales Ortega, will be highly gratified at the contemptuous manner in which you speak of him, when aware that such language comes from an enemy of his country.

I conclude, assuring you that as well as I had the honor and satisfaction of being one of those who filled the ranks of the army corps that marched on Puebla, now, more than ever, I will anxiously fly to unite myself to the corps that will take the initiative against the city of Mexico.

Your obedient servant,

PLACIDO VEGA.

General Ampudia, another traitor to anything just, honest or liberal, next tried his hand at gaining over the noble Vega. Among other arguments in favor of the empire he used the following: "What a glorious prospective for our country, so worthy, from its favored position, to rank among the greatest nations of the earth! Let us ask ourselves frankly, with our hands to our hearts, could we entertain such flattering anticipations, governed as we have hitherto been by men without antecedents deserving of respect, without wisdom, experience or probity, in the never-ending changes of scandalous revolutions."

General Vega's reply to Ampudia.

SIR: It would be vain for me to conceal the just and profound indignation I felt on reading your letter of the 27th of February, at the picture you draw of yourself in the character of the new ideas you have adopted. The republican general, the champion of reform, converted into a panegyrist of monarchical institutions! *and what is still more surprising, into a base adulator of the prince whom foreign bayonets are attempting to impose on Mexico; the soldier of the people bartering his sword for the toga of a courtesan!*

I will not attempt to refute, seriously, the theory you develop on the expediency of establishing a monarchy, not only in Mexico, but over all the American continent—a question which has exhausted the minds of politicians and writers of the first order. It is easy to see that you have undertaken this task, so much above your capacity, for the purpose only of giving proofs of your zeal in the service of your new master, and lessening the distrust there must be felt towards *an antiquated democrat aspiring to the post of equerry at the new court.*

As to this, however, the monarchy of Maximilian is worthy of partisans and champions like yourself.

I reject with indignation the position and the power you offer me. My honor and my conscience, which have never been sold nor sacrificed, are above all the temptations which you can offer.

If I have derived satisfaction from the exercise of authority, it has only been from the reflection that this authority emanated from the popular voice, and implied an appreciation of my services on the part of my fellow-citizens, who have repaid with usury my devotion to the defence of their rights. *If you, on account of your advanced age and instability of your principles, have preferred comfort and repose, though on a dunghill, to the struggles, the sufferings and the privations consequent on the stubborn and prolonged contest which the great national party is determined to sustain against the foreign enemy, I, on the other hand, feel, in unison with my sense of dignity and the conviction of what is my duty, sufficient energy to combat these obstacles, and, if necessary, to lay down my life, provided I can carry to my grave a name unsullied by dishonor, and leave to my children a legacy untarnished by opprobrium.*

Should my language, at first sight, appear too virulent and depreciative, reflect that it has been provoked on your part by the flagrant insult implied in your contemptible proposition by which you attempt to dazzle me with treasonable offers of rank, office, and an elevated position.

Had there been any antecedents in my public life which could authorize your addressing me such dishonorable propositions, my reproaches would be less energetic; *but I pride myself that my past career is without blemish, and you were bound to respect it. It is evident that this is not the first occasion where you have shown a want of judgment.*

Your obedient servant,

PLACIDO VEGA.

This severe "settler" to Ampudia was not, it seems, sufficient to damp the imperial ardor of the miserable Parrodi, who was the next to send a friendly but very absurd invitation to General Vega to take side with Maximilian. We can only give the leading points of

General Vega's reply to Parrodi.

* * * * * * * *

But your criminal defection being confirmed by your own hand, I can only follow the inspirations of my own character and listen to the voice of duty *in striking your name from off the roll of men worthy of my esteem.* I deplore the error I have committed, in my estimation of you, in attributing to you civic virtues which you did not possess.

From this day forward I look upon you as a traitor and an enemy of my country.

Were there room for a belief that you had embraced in good faith the ideas which you now profess, there would be something worthy of respect in this change, but the language of your letter does not admit of that supposition.

* * * * * * * *

It belongs to history to qualify such conduct, and the judgment will be the more severe that the inconstancy of your conduct is the more flagrant.

As to myself, as a true lover of my country, and uncompromising on everything which may wound her dignity or be in opposition to her complete unity of action, *I shall struggle, without ceasing, in defence of our nationality, brutally and ignominiously attacked by France.*

Fortunately the elements to sustain the contest are every day becoming more considerable and more formidable, as also is the prestige of the constitutional government daily gaining ground, however much traitors may pretend to the contrary; but if instead of this being the case, the national cause were weakened and on the point of succumbing, I feel within myself sufficient firmness of purpose to prefer being involved in the wreck of our political liberty to accepting the yoke of a foreign domination. My language, I acknowledge, is harsh, but it is the expression of my honest sentiments, and I should feel that I had been wanting in my duty to myself as well as to my country were I to attempt to conceal or extenuate them by words which expressed them with less energy. Should you, recognizing the error you have momentarily fallen into, rally to the side of all true Mexicans, and fulfil the sacred duty every man owes to the country of his birth, I shall have great satisfaction in recognizing in you a man worthy of my highest esteem. Until this shall be the case, there can exist between us no other relation than such as may occur between persons destined to battle for principles diametrically opposed to each other.

Your obedient servant,

PLACIDO VEGA.

No. 4.

[Translation.]

General Langberg to General Trias.

MEXICO, *April* 3, 1864.

MY DISTINGUISHED FRIEND AND COMPANION: In our last interview at Toluca we spoke at length concerning the dissatisfaction which was caused by the conduct of the constitutional government. We now see that we were right in deploring it, because your antecedents and mine were far distant from such intrigues. You, my friend, are a man educated in Europe, consequently you profess more intelligent ideas distinct from the general run of our army, and I have made this among other observations to the present general-in-chief of the Franco-Mexican army. The idea of the intervention and the near approach of the installation of a constitutional monarchy in Mexico are now inevitable, my friend, and you, being a man who, during the American invasion, knew how to sacrifice your interests and risk your life for the country, ought to take care that she does not now lose her blood uselessly. Besides, you ought to know the liberal tendencies and the intelligence of the man selected to sit upon the throne of the Aztecs, aided, as he is, by a nation like France, civilized by instinct, so that you need fear nothing for the principles which you conserve in your heart, and which are demanded by the age in which we live. It is an absurd thing to believe, as some do, that the conservative party is that which is going to rule in Mexico. I, who am here on the principal theatre of occurrences, guarantee to you and to every one that the political thought and the dominant idea of the men who are now at the front of public affairs are not either the enthronement of the ancient and recalcitrant ideas of times long past, or the proverbial disorder and anarchy which have just been overthrown. The principles of a government, liberal and moderate at the same time, are what must triumph in Mexico, having at its foundation a young monarch who in his early years has drunk in the inspirations of our century, and who from conviction holds ideas of true progress and intelligence.

Concerning yourself, I have already spoken to General Bazaine, and given him some details of the high qualities which adorn you. He is a gentleman of frank and sincere ideas; he aspires to nothing more than to be the faithful echo of the voice of his government; he desires nothing more than to see Mexico regenerated, free and happy. The truth of his words may be seen after the slightest interview with him, and I cherish the hope and conviction that France, represented by such a man, can have no other intention than the noble and humanitarian one to which I have referred.

In virtue of all these circumstances, and in use of the right which our sincere friendship gives to me, I invite you with all the sincerity of my soul to follow my example, hoping to co-operate with your prestige and influence in this State in establishing the good institutions which are recognized by the cities of most importance of your country. Those chiefs and old friends who may desire to second them you may assure of a most satisfactory and honorable result. Although unwell, I shall within a few days leave for Sinaloa, with the object of impressing Generals Placido, Vega, and Pesquiera with the same ideas.

You can send your answer to Mazatlan, directed to Colonel Aleman, of that port, and perhaps it will not be difficult for us to have an interview with those gentlemen. I beg, my friend, that you will meditate well over the contents of this letter, and be persuaded of my good and friendly intentions, &c.

EMILIO LANGBERG.

General DON ANGEL TRIAS.

General Trias's Reply.

SIR: The antecedents of your public and private life, combined with your foreign origin, ought to influence me so far as not to cause me any surprise at the contents of your letter, dated in Mexico on the 3d of April last. It ought not certainly to be surprising to any one that a man who has looked upon politics as the means of gaining his living, and to whom, having no fixed principles, it is all the same whether he sides with the Guelphs or the Ghibellines, so long as it does not lessen his profits and that he gets the best position possible, should sell, as you have done, the sacred cause of national independence, and should prostrate himself at the feet of a clown in the form of a monarch to receive the price of his crime in a handful of gold or a glance of favor, which flatters his vanity and tickles his hopes of reward; nor should the dishonorable and assiduous energy with which you seem to have embraced the propagandism of the wretched band to which you belong surprise me in the least, because in your earnest solicitude there is an end sought for, a result, however infamous and degrading it may be. But that which truly ought to surprise and astonish is the stupidity evinced in your selection of persons among whom you would pretend to make proselytes; for if the former act shows a man deprived of all virtue, the latter reveals the absence of even common sense. When you did me the justice to remember that I have sacrificed my interests and perilled my life for my country when I believed her nationality threatened, you ought not to have brought to mind these evidences of my strict and bounden duty in order to deduce from them the consequence that I should now be a renegade to my principles, set aside my dignity, and stain my character with a most hateful defection. From those premises arises a deduction diametrically contrary to that which you pretend to establish. If I had at any time in my life given the slightest proof of weakness in my principles or of lukewarmness in my patriotism, the insolent liberty which you have seen fit to take in addressing me your poor invitation would in a certain sense have been justifiable; but to pretend that I should be a traitor because I have been a patriot, to desire that I should be converted into a dishonest man because I have always been honorable, and to invite me to sell my country because I love it—these are contradictions which only the head of a madman and fool can conceive. Not wishing to go into the particulars of your letter, I limit myself to saying to you, after what I have already stated, that I am the same man of 1846 and 1847, to whom selfish interests and life itself are as nothing compared to the liberty of my country.

Yours, &c.,

ANGEL TRIAS.

Mr. Emilio Langberg,
Mazatlan.

No. 5.

[Translation.]

June 18, 1864.

Dear Sirs: I am satisfied that in addressing me your suggestions for avoiding the effusion of more Mexican blood—the sacrifice being barren, as you say—or, what is the same thing, that I should adhere to the order of things which the Emperor of the French is seeking to establish in the republic by the force of his bayonets—you did not conceive the slightest hope that I could yield to so mean a suggestion, but that you have sought for an opportunity of sowing discord in the minds of those worthy Mexicans who are so heroically struggling for the independence of their country, giving circulation to false, suppositious, and absurd comments respecting the power and the elements of the national party, *and to the vilest of calumnies concerning myself.* Fortunately these attempts are rendered abortive by the good sense and the patriotism of the nation, which knows its rights and has the will and energy to fulfil its duties.

I write these lines not to give an answer to those whom I consider unworthy, but to denounce their disgraceful machinations, in view of the wise judgment of my fellow-citizens.

As regards myself, I owe to the confidence of my government and the brave men who share with me the glory of fighting for the most sacred of causes, and, above all, to my patriotic conscience, the most solemn and explicit declaration that *I will never put arms out of my hands until the day in which I shall see the peace of my country solidly and effectually secured.*

Touching the details contained in your letter would be to mix oneself with nauseating filth. *I have no desire to bespatter myself in it.*

Besides, gentlemen, you are those who believe least in what you say.

To a soldier of the republic, mutilated for the cause of liberty, and trained up from infancy in the doctrines of political independence, no other motto is necessary than this: *War unto death to France; war unto death against those who, treacherous to the holy cause of the country, recognize or protect the foreign invader, or to the farce-making monarch which it is sought to enthrone on our soil. I have accepted war, and my country and the world may see in this the guarantee of my pledges.*

JOSÉ L. URAGA.

Señores Don Juan J. Caserta, Don Jesus L. Portillo, Vicente Ortigosa, Antonio A. del Castillo, and Rafael Jimenez Castro.

No. 6.

[Translation.]

Some Franco-Mexican papers having circulated a report that General Uraga had given in his adhesion to the empire, after some preliminary business of the meeting, in which the general-in-chief showed the actual state of the army and the condition of those matters for which this meeting had been convened, the debate was terminated by the following resolutions being unanimously adopted:

1. The republican army, having to the present preserved and actually maintained the independence and integrity of its country, ratifies now the vote of confidence placed in its general-in-chief, citizen Lopez Uraga, so that he shall continue at its command and may direct its operations, and that he may support the cause of liberty and his country. The army trusts to his ability to maintain the honor of the republic, and to that of those under arms in the ranks of the army our honor, and that he will fulfil those solemn obligations which he owes to his country and to society.

2. That all bandits who have under all circumstances, and especially the present ones, endangered, by the reports they have circulated, the union of the defenders of the republic, shall be punished.

These resolutions, being submitted to a vote, were unanimously approved by the generals and officers present, the same who subscribe this act.

Residence of the general-in-chief of the republican army at Ciudad Guzman, June 10, 1864.

Signed—Miguel M. Echeagaray, Ramon Iglesias, Santiago Tapia, T. O'Horan, P. Rioseco, A. A. Guaderrama, Felix Vega, J. Diaz de Leon, L. Ornelas, Albino Espinosa, Augustin Iglesias, and Francisco Castillero, for the fourth division; José Linares, for the State of Queretaro; Francisco A. Ramos, for the Colima brigade; Antonio Neri, Miguel Garcia de Aguirre, Emilio Rey, Francisco O. Arce, Manuel Mariscal, Serapio Villalovos, Julio M. Cervantes, Simon Delgadillo, Maericio Casas, T. Romero, Francisco M. Villasenor, Manuel de Unzaga, M. Mena, Ciro Uraga, Guillermo F. de Unda, Antonio M. Jaurequi, Manuel Cevallos, Mateo Reyes, José G. Munoz, Marcos Villegas, army commissioner; Pascual Sepulveda, Salvador Brilmega, secretary of the treasury; M. R. Alatorre, commissioner of internal revenue; Francisco Hernandez Carrasco, Aristeo Moreno, secretary of the meeting.

A true copy: ARISTEO MORENO, *Secretary.*

Ciudad Guzman, *June* 10, 1864.

No. 7.

Extracts from a circular addressed by General Riva Palacios, governor of the State of Michoacan, to his subordinate officers:

[Translation.]

"If the French general," he says, "wishes to bring civilization to this country, (Mexico,) he ought to commence by repressing the disorder of the troops under his command, who have traversed the ocean to show us that they have about them nothing of the soldier except the uniform and the arms. But in morality and discipline they are inferior not only to our organized corps, but even to guerillas of the worst kind known unto this day in the republic.

"The French wish to swim in the blood of our patriots, and authorize every expeditionary chief to murder and assassinate. They wish to convince the world of the justice of their cause, and to change their lies and calumnies into laws; and, in short, when the entire nation rejects their 'protection,' they seek to consummate a work of conquest by constructing the gallows and the guillotine for every man who will not consent to be placed under their ignominious yoke. * * * * * * Inasmuch as the circular of the French general is a challenge of war without mercy and without quarter, we do not hesitate to accept it, because, in launching into the struggle for maintaining the independence and autonomy of Mexico, we have never counted on the clemency of Frenchmen. You will, therefore, apply in future to French prisoners who may fall into your hands and power the articles of the circular of the commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army; and, after having established their identity, all prisoners, civil or military, employed by the French, or the so-called empire, whatever may be their nationality, shall instantly be put to death. * * * * To shoot prisoners it is first necessary to make them; and never, at least as far as we know, has Riva Palacios been exposed to this good fortune. In regard to exploits, the French general has never, up to this time, done more than attack us with forces like three hundred to one. Before so easily disposing of the skin of the lion, they ought, I think, to try and capture the animal himself."

No. 8.

[Translation.]

Colonel José Maria Cortina, military commandant of the line of the Bravo, to the inhabitants of the heroic city of Matamoras:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The French filibusters are invading this port; we will soon have occasion to show that, as sons of Mexico, we know how to repel force with force.

I appeal, then, to you to summon your patriotism, which has never been invoked in vain, in order that, sustained by it, you may defend the nationality menaced upon the frontier of the republic.

I solemnly call upon you to aid, to the extent of your abilities, the military authority in the endeavor to drive from the territory of Tamaulipas the foreign enemy, and especially to deliver this beautiful portion of the State from the calamity of invasion.

Remember that you first saw the light in this heroic city, and let it still preserve a glorious title accorded to its valor and its courage which you are expected to illustrate on this occasion.

You will find at your head, defending the independence of the country and the integrity of Tamaulipas, your fellow-citizen and friend,

JOSÉ MARIA CORTINA.

MATAMORAS, *August* 22, 1864.

No. 9.

Letter from General Doblado.

To the Editor of the Courier des Etats Unis:

SIR: Referring to Mexican affairs in yesterday's number of your daily paper you speak of me in terms so highly offensive to my honor that I feel compelled, in self-defence, to trouble you again for the publication of a few lines.

I repeat once more that I never did solicit anything at all of the so-called imperial government of Mexico, nor do I intend returning there to submit to it; he who so states falsely affirms that I have done so.

It is a most infamous calumny to insist upon saying that I pretended to make an arrangement with the invaders to save my private property. What I possess in the State of Guanajuato has been acquired just as legally as any property bought by any one else—politics having nothing to do with my fortune, which has been gotten by honest labor; for that very reason I need ask no guarantee at all of the so-called imperial government. My property, like every other person's, is guaranteed by the civil laws in vigor in Mexico long before the country was invaded. Of all the national property sold in Mexico, I bought but one single house, and that I paid for according to the regulations of the laws of reform, enacted there by the legitimate government of my country. The French intervention has never dared to derogate them, in spite of the exigencies of the clergy and traitors, because every one knows that owing to them the French resisting in Mexico have become possessors of more than one third of the so-called church properties.

Therefore, that person asserts what is untrue, who persists in affirming that I have endeavored to enter into any kind of arrangement with the usurper of Mexico to save my fortune, and I defy any one to show my signature affixed to any document of the kind.

I did pretend to save my fortune legally acquired, but by the only means honorable to a Mexican in these circumstances, viz: helping to keep up the war against the usurper, the French and traitors, and repelling force by force, to the utmost of my power. I think, by so doing, I have done my duty as a Mexican. I emigrated to this country after the fate of war had proved adverse to me, and after losing nearly all my soldiers.

As to my object on coming to this country, allow me to say, I do not consider myself bound to confide it to any one, and much less to writers who judge so lightly of persons whose present misfortune entitles them to the respect of all. I know, perhaps better than any one else, the little or no value of the guarantees the usurper's government might tender me, for I have not so soon forgotten the worth of Mr. Salign's signature at the preliminaries of La Soledad.

Your servant,

M. DOBLADO.

NEW YORK, *October* 8, 1864.

No. 10.

To the Editor of the Courier des Etats Unis:

Through the correspondence I have just received from Mexico, by the steamer Eagle, I have been enabled to reach at last the true facts concerning the various statements and comments recently published by the press with regard to my returning to Mexico.

Being anxious to put an end to so many inaccurate rumors, I proceed to state the real facts of the case as they have taken place in Mexico.

A friend of mine, who was not acquainted with my present condition, nor with that of the new "empire," expecting, no doubt, though wrongfully, to do me a service, applied to General Bazaine and asked him for a safe conduct to protect my return to the country. He made his application without previously apprising me of the fact. The interventional authorities granted the request, and caused the safe conduct to be issued and sent to me here.

My friend notified me afterwards, as well of his steps as of the motives which guided him, in a letter I have received but to-day.

As it was my duty, I have immediately returned the safe conduct through the same medium it reached me, disapproving, in my answer to my friend, of his whole conduct, though thanking him for his good intentions.

I have, besides, written to some influential persons in Mexico, apprising them of what has taken place, and showing them how, in leaving my country, it was my fixed purpose to undergo ostracism and all its consequences rather than stain my public life by a dishonourable submission.

To leave my country, and to return to it after a few days' absence, would be indeed an inexplicable contradiction, as the causes which compelled me to abandon it are still existing. Who knows how long they will yet last?

I am confident that the persons in Mexico to whom I have written will give to my statement the required publicity, which, together with the undeniable fact of my remaining abroad, will be the best convincing argument against those who, in good or bad faith, endeavor to attack other persons for no other reason than that of differing with them in political opinions.

Being persuaded that what I have here stated is enough to satisfy all who judge and act in good faith, I shall no longer employ the public press in behalf of my person, this being, therefore, the last time I shall appeal to your kindness for the publication of my letters.

Yours, respectfully,

M. DOBLADO.

NEW YORK, *October* 13, 1864.

No. 11.

[Circular.—Translation.]

AMATLAN, *July* 30, 1864.

Yesterday the French invaders committed one of the most barbarous deeds which history can record.

Yesterday they stealthily approached our encampment at San Geronimo in one of their war steamers, they being covered by their bulwarks, from which protruded their rifle guns. Our forces, a small number of which defeated them on the 14th instant at Garcia bridge, in order to prevent any injury which might arise to the farm of that name, were withdrawn to a convenient distance and beyond the reach of their artillery; but the French, under cover of the houses, landed, and, without seeking to engage us, gave themselves up to the most shameful and criminal pillage, and in the end set fire to the buildings of the farm. Subsequently they continued, torch in hand, upon the left bank of the river, protected meanwhile by their steamer, robbing everything on the rich farms in the vicinity and reducing them to ashes in the midst of their vandal rejoicings. All the sugar plantations and distilleries of brandy, all the sugar-cane fields and buildings on the bank of the river for the distance of three miles, were committed to the flames, and their owners, peaceful and hard-working men, who had given, after the labor of many years, an impetus to the industry of the country, and procured respectable comforts for their families, were in an instant reduced to poverty and compelled to seek shelter under the trees; thanks to the wantonness of the French and their traitor friends who reduced their splendid mansions to ashes, the value of which is estimated at no less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This barbarous act, which I communicate to you without any exaggeration in its details, is an instance of what the people living on the leeward coast must expect from those who, contrary to common sense, proclaim themselves the propagandists of civilization, and calls for the most summary vengeance on our part. You must, therefore, cause copies of this official communication to be circulated and published in all the settlements and Indian towns of the country under your worthy charge, for the information of all the people of Mexico, and to the end that they prepare for war, some by personally volunteering, others by contributing their means, and all in every way possible to them; for it is clear that, from the measures adopted by our invaders, the question is no longer the defence of the country in its general acceptation, but that of defending each one of us individually, our families, our interests, and our lives against the acts of barbarity practiced by the French and their traitor friends.

Independence and liberty.

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

The COMMANDER OF THE CANTON OF ——.

No. 12.

[Translation.]

Proclamation of the citizen Ignacio Pesquiera, governor and military commander of the State of Sonora.

People of Sonora! The time for making sacrifices has come, inviting the patriot to crown himself with laurels, and to perform deeds which shall redound to the glory of his country. Guaymas, of Zaragoza, has been trodden under foot by the successors of Raousset, by the assassins of Cháves and of Ghilardé, by those who covet our territorial riches, and by those who intend to profane the honor of our wives and daughters, and to make us the slaves of a monarch, himself an adventurer. Though the invaders gave us no summons, but announced their arrival by acts of barbarity, they have not been enabled to prevent our brave defenders from withdrawing with their materials of war, and thus saving the honor of the national flag. They withdrew from the city in order not to expose it and the innocent families it contained to the calamities of war. Henceforth, however, they will continue to war upon the enemy, and they hope soon to punish him soundly on the battle-field. Thanks to their vessels, they have committed with impunity their first outrage; but outside of walls, in an equal fight, the smallest triumph to their cause will cost them much blood.

Fellow-citizens! Are we not the men who have been brought up in many contests for liberty and independence? Your noble pride and your holy enthusiasm, awakened by this cry of alarm, will be in keeping with that which our brothers, who have conquered in Sinaloa and who have immortalized themselves at Puebla, expect of you.

To arms, then, Sonorians! Let us raise aloft, and upon this frontier, the standard of our country, and to such a height that the nations of the earth shall contemplate it with applause. Henceforth the flag which shall be upheld by our arms is the only asylum for our individual guarantees, for the security of our families, and for the preservation of our national institutions.

The government has faith in the future of the State because its power is based upon your co-operation, and because Sonora has never wavered when danger threatened. Let us make one universal and spontaneous effort, and your beloved State will retain its supremacy; and then, rising above the weakness of our military resources, the world will look upon us as great in our honor and in our civic virtues.

Independence, liberty, and the Mexican republic.

IGNACIO PESQUIERA.

CAMP AT SANTA MARIA, *March* 30, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 20th of November, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the government of the United States, the copy of a letter dated Bern, September 17, 1865, addressed by a Mexican citizen to a German baron, who is in the confidence of the ex-archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, now called the emperor of Mexico.

This review of present affairs in Mexico is impartial, if not rather inclined to judge with too much kindness French intervention and its instrument, and plainly shows that the French Emperor's project to substitute an Austrian monarchy for a Mexican republic is entirely impracticable, and that, should it be insisted upon, it will only bring France into much trouble and expense, causing countless ills to Mexico.

As the monarchy, in fact, has no national support, it is impossible to conceive how it can be established or consolidated.

I am pleased with this occasion of repeating to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.,*
Washington City, D. C.

[Translation.]

BERN, *September* 17, 1865.

SIR: I regret that I did not, at the time they took place, write down the conversations I had with the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian and yourself when his highness first entered Mexico; and, for fear I may forget those between you and myself in the *imperial palace of that court*, I will note them in this letter.

I am not moved to this by the vanity of proving that my predictions have been fulfilled, or will be, but by the desire of recalling some important events to your mind, and enlarging upon others I barely mentioned in the course of our conversation.

It is now too late to discuss past events in Mexico, and the erroneous opinions formed of them in Europe. They belong to history; and, as to more recent deplorable events and grievous deceptions, they are attempted to be justified by saying that the present condition of Mexico is very different from what it was a year ago.

You are a friend of the archduke, and I am a friend of Mexico; so it is our duty to consider things as they are, and find the best remedy for them we can. In the first place, we must consider the very critical condition—more critical than is believed—not only of Mexico, but of the archduke, and examine the moral and physical support of the new empire, and the elements that are conspiring to destroy it

The two principal parties in Mexico, the conservative and liberal, are subdivided into radical (or purist, as called there) and moderate.

The radical portion of the conservative party is composed of the higher clergy and a portion of the laical people, who, by education, prejudice, or perhaps by conviction, are forced to belong to it.

The moderate party is composed of persons of wealth, who, though partial to conservative principles, are always busy with the management of their own affairs, have, in reality, no political principles, and accept any form of government and liberal reform, provided the new government will let them enjoy their wealth in peace.

The radical fraction of the liberal party, purely republican, is composed of those who think it absolutely necessary to establish liberal principles (they made the reform) immediately, and at every cost, and the moderate fraction of those who are slow and measured in their steps towards the same end, for fear of convulsions and revolutions, and even social commotions

When liberal principles are settled the moderate liberal party will cease to exist, as there will be no further cause for its existence, and its scattered members will have to be numbered with the conservatives

In nationalizing church property and confirming other reforms made in the time of Juarez the archduke has made bitter enemies of the high clergy, and has alienated the lower priests, who were never hostile to Juarez, by depriving them of their old fees, and assigning them salaries which they will certainly never get. As to the persons in comfortable circumstances, that formed a portion of the moderate conservative party, and joined the imperialists for the sake of peace and quiet, they left it as soon as they found themselves in a more sanguinary and disastrous war than they had ever before seen. They found the empire more expensive than the republic, for it must be supported by enormous and continued foreign loans, that increase domestic taxes to pay them, and they find it does not protect them from guerillas; therefore, they desire a change, and want to try some other way to gain the security and peace their interests and inclinations require.

In regard to the liberal party, its moderate fraction no longer exists, as I have already said, and the pure radical party is the one that now keeps up the war against the empire. All the archduke has done by his personal influence is to persuade six or eight members of the moderate party to accept places in his cabinet; but this is very different from having the support of a political party.

We must conclude, then, that the empire has not the least moral support. As to physical support, all he has to depend upon are a few Mexican troops and the French army, with the Austrian and Belgian divisions. The archduke can place no confidence in the first, for many have already passed over to the republican side, and proposals from some of his generals are no secrets. As regards the foreign army, its insufficiency to subjugate the country is already proved: First, by the fact that it has fought four years in vain; second, that re-enforcements are now being sent to them; and third, in the opinion of their chief, who is the best judge, in a letter lately published, it is impossible to whip the guerillas, because they run off and disperse whenever attacked.

The elements that militate against the empire are also physical or moral. Among the latter, and in the first place, we may name the dislike to the archduke on account of his extravagance and immense and unnecessary debts with which he began to burden the country before he knew it; and for his inability to protect the Mexicans, as is seen by the shooting of General Romero; for the preference he shows to foreigners, putting in office instead of the natives of the land; and finally, because he has established no good administration. A philosopher might excuse the archduke for these errors; but the people are not philosophers; they feel rather than reason, and they lack patience. A nation that has suffered so much from revolutions requires a long time to recover, and must have patience to suffer and wait. No Mexican has ever doubted but the country would be restored to peace in proper time without foreign intervention; and if a few decided for intervention, it was only because they thought it would restore peace at a more early day. As soon as they were undeceived they abjured their error.

In the second place we may mention the want of present and future means. The imperial expenses amount to forty millions of dollars annually; and every Mexican knows that the country, even in times of peace, could not produce the half of that sum. Let the French financiers who were sent to make their imaginary estimates say what they please. This is certain death to the empire. It cannot curtail its expenses, because a large army must be supported to defend it from the Mexicans; nor can the revenues be increased, because the situation of the country will not allow it. No resources are left then except temporary loans, and that will soon be exhausted.

To these opposing elements may be added that of the unpopularity of the Mexican war in France, because it embarrasses the French government. And we may include another reason why the empire in Mexico must end. The civil war in the United States is ended. This has discouraged the monarchists, while it has revived the hopes of the republicans.

Now for the physical elements that are hostile to the empire. I will only mention two: First, the constitutional forces, chiefly composed of guerillas; and second, expected aid from the United States. Guerilla warfare is not known in Europe, nor have they any idea how useful it is. The events in Spain at the beginning of this century have been forgotten, and they can only judge from recent events in Poland, a level and densely populated country, where the few guerillas formed were rather gangs of fugitives than organized guerillas, trying to escape from the immense armies that surrounded them. In countries like Mexico, mountainous and dry, with a mild climate, where horses abound, and inclemency of weather never prevents out-door movements; where food is found everywhere to supply the necessaries of life, guerillas always exercise a deciding influence. The chief difficulty is in a proper organization; but, this once acquired, they can defy the strongest powers in the world. This system is the stronger as its power is latent and deceptive; it gains time by sudden action, and you never know when it is defeated.

Mexico gained its independence of Spain by a series of sudden victories by guerillas, in eleven years. The reform was effected by the same means, in three years; and so must the second independence be achieved. The French army may triumph everywhere, just as the royalists did in the war of independence, and the clergy did in the reform; but, as the victories of all these parties were more expensive to themselves than destructive to the enemy, the latter finally triumphed.

For this very reason the national government need not be concerned about the routs of their guerillas—only a temporary dispersion, in fact—but may rejoice, because those beats are only so many steps towards final victory. But to avoid the shedding of blood, danger, and expense, orders have been given to all the guerillas to annoy the enemy without offering battle, as that would cause the French to make fatiguing marches, at a great expense, without the least advantage, except a distant sight of their foes. Every late event in Mexico promises a repetition of the scene in San Domingo, where two hundred thousand inhabitants, with only six or eight thousand soldiers, have whipped Spain, and compelled her to a very mortifying retreat from that island.

I came from America in company with General Espinar, a gentleman of good judgment, who had served in San Domingo, and was then on his way to Spain to ask the evacuation of that island, for reasons very applicable to the French in Mexico. His proposal was shamefully received in Madrid, and, so far from listening to him, additional forces were sent to reduce the handful of opposing rebels in the colony.

Like the French leaders in Mexico, the Spanish generals in San Domingo continued to send despatches announcing victories, from day to day, until they declared the whole island subdued. The simple final result is just what General Espinar proposed, an abandonment of the island, under the most deplorable circumstances, after a great sacrifice of men and money. How much blood Spain would have spared, how much money she would have saved, and how great a shame to her reputation she would have avoided, if her government had done in time what she was compelled to do at last!

I see the French newspapers insist that the United States will remain neutral on the Mexican question, founding this argument on their conduct up to this time, and portions of public documents collected here and there; but they need put no trust in what a government says and does under certain political circumstances. What a government will do depends upon the natural inclinations of its inhabitants and the national interest of that government at the time.

If an American army were to dethrone Leopold, of Belgium, and establish a democratic republic in that country, to exist under its immediate direction, would the Emperor Napoleon remain in quiet indifference? We guess he would try to save his throne in some way, even if he had to change political opinions in France. Well, the United States will act in exactly the same manner, and with greater reason, because the establishment of an empire in Mexico was a consequence of the southern rebellion; and did not the French Emperor declare publicly in a speech that his Mexican expedition was in defiance of the United States?

The present silence of that republic is a prudent consideration, as it must settle with England before it offends another great power. But if the British question is amicably settled by diplomacy, as is generally believed it will be, then we shall see the United States turn its attention to the empire. And even supposing it were prudent for the United States to keep at peace with France, it would still assist the constitutional government of Mexico in many ways without getting into war with other nations. It might not prevent private emigration to Mexico to aid Juarez, and arms, the great need, might be smuggled in from every quarter. Money they do not want; they can live upon the country, and they have always had enough men. Everybody knows the guns at Puebla were made of old muskets rejected, and unarmed bodies of men waited to use the guns of those who were slain. And even if the United States government refused to supply them with arms, individual interest would elude all prohibition and furnish them in any quantity, as was done in the late civil war. But we must not think that the exportation of arms will be prohibited, because the United States has adopted as a principle in neutrality that articles of war may be allowed in trade. If the exportation of arms was prohibited by the United States during the civil war, it was only because they were needed in the country—just as they prohibit the exit of corn in years of scarcity. So President Johnson, faithful to these principles, has revoked the prohibition to export arms and munitions of war. This recent act is a great benefit to Juarez—more beneficial, in fact, than if he had been aided by troops; and the fact of the United States constantly refusing to recognize the empire ought to convince Maximilian of the disposition and probable intention of the United States.

It is the policy now of the authors and aiders of intervention to say the republic of the United States will remain neutral; but they cannot believe it, for they would be the first victims of the error. In a nation where public opinion is all-powerful, and where it has been so often expressed against Mexican intervention, the President would run a great risk to proclaim neutrality in an affair of vital importance to his country. Without debating this point to a greater extent, I will merely assure you that the United States will not remain neutral in the question of Mexico. And in giving you this assurance, do not believe, for an instant, that I am blinded by party zeal, for I consider it a disgrace to my country to ask for foreign assistance. I know how it lessens the sovereignty and independence of a nation. I think Mexico possesses all the necessary elements to regain her independence without foreign aid. I have faith in her future, and want her to act alone, that she may be indebted to no one for her success. One of the reasons (aside from duties and natural sentiments) why I have opposed European intervention so violently is precisely because it would compel us to call on the northern Americans for help. I believe, my dear Baron, that, as a sequel to what I have said, the time has come when the archduke will reflect seriously upon the precariousness of his position, and will take himself out of Mexico before the force of circumstances compels him to evacuate the capital. If he thinks his situation secure, I have nothing more to say; but if he doubts it, and should hereafter change his mind, and should need my assistance with Juarez and his cabinet, I will do all I can to get him out of trouble, and at the same time save my country from further misfortunes. I will try to induce Juarez to enter into a treaty honorable to both parties, showing the evils consequent upon foreign protection. He, as a true patriot, desires to see Mexico free from obligations to any foreign power, and I do not doubt but he can free it yet. But, I repeat, Maximilian must be quick in his determination, for if Juarez once appeals to the United States it will be too late to make treaties of any kind. In my opinion Maximilian already views affairs in Mexico in their proper light. The pleasant visions that beguiled his fancy at Miramar are gone. and he will now believe what I told him, when I assured him that the history of intervention in Mexico would be like that in France after the first revolution. The conquered party in both countries, filled with anger and thirsting for revenge, sought foreign aid by deceiving strange governments, exaggerating their sufferings and anarchy, declaring that the call for intervention was unanimous and very easy to be effected. When the people have made a reform—that is, when they have extirpated the cause of their displeasure—they are more proud and elated with hope than at any other time, and cannot bear the idea of a foreign yoke, and their patriotism is bold and exhibits its full strength on the least provocation. The prodigies of French patriots against combined Europe are well known. Mexico, feeble Mexico, will be satisfied with struggling within its own frontiers for its independence.

According to late news from Mexico a deep hatred to the French army is spreading throughout the country on account of its cruelty as conquerors; a dislike to Maximilian increases because he does not prevent these barbarities; he is blamed for not giving protection to persons and property; and the general want of confidence in the stability of the empire is increasing and becoming more general. The day is not far distant when this disaffection will pervade the whole nation, and a second of May, as in Madrid, will be the consequence—one of those sudden, spontaneous, and unanimous movements, of which we have seen several examples in Mexico to end Santa Anna's dictatorship. The French army is too small to resist such a movement; and if it cannot, what is to become of the archduke and his little band, unless France submits to new sacrifices? And supposing that Maximilian sustains himself for the present, what will support him in future? The French army cannot always remain in Mexico! Another army, composed of adventurers and volunteers from other countries, will not be sufficient to sustain him. What, then, must he expect? Just what I must repeat—sooner or later a defeat, or sudden expulsion To retire quietly and decorously would certainly be far preferable, and he ought to know it better than we.

I will tell you how he could do it honorably, so as to raise himself much in the eyes of Mexicans and foreigners. Did Maximilian come to Mexico to secure the felicity of its people, or to sacrifice them and keep himself upon a throne? We must suppose the former case. Well, since he has not succeeded in this, he is in honor and duty bound to withdraw. Will any one blame him for doing his duty? Any other course of conduct would lessen him in the estimation of his peers, and ruin his former reputation. His grandfather, the Emperor Francis, declaring the German Confederation dissolved, on a similar occasion, thus gaining a great name in history, left him an example of abnegation and magnanimity he ought never to forget. If I were in his place, I would agree upon an armistice with the constitutional government; then I would conclude a treaty as advantageous as possible to myself, and send off the French army, in accordance with the treaty of Miramar; and, lastly, I would publish a manifest explaining the object of my journey to Mexico, what I had done there, and finally withdraw from the country, agreeable to my promise to retire as soon as I found out that my presence was not pleasant to the people.

Such frank and loyal language would undoubtedly be more worthy of Maximilian than to involve his party in an unequal contest, turn the whole of Mexico into a battle-field, and drag France into a useless and expensive war to sustain him on a throne he could never hold. If a treaty could not be formed with the government, it would be honorable in Maximilian to withdraw at any rate, preferring peace in Mexico to personal interest, and saving France much trouble and expense. Maybe Maximilian might object to this manner of quitting Mexico! As unpleasant as it might seem to him, (but I see no reason why it should be,) he ought to remember that it is the best, and he cannot have choice. Later he might consider himself lucky to get off in a way he rejects at present. He now has a good chance to get away, and he will find danger in delay.

I have the honor to repeat, &c.,

JESUS TERAN.

NEW YORK, *November* 20, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

[Circular.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 29, 1865.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to Señor Matias Romero, and has the honor to remind him of the circular of this department of the 5th of December, 1864, which assigns Thursday of each week as the day for receiving members of the diplomatic body. An observance of the restriction contained in the circular is particularly desirable during the session of Congress. It is hoped that it will not be disregarded, except in matters of urgency, for the consideration of which an interview may have previously been asked for in writing.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 30th of November, 1865.

The Minister of Mexico presents his respects to the honorable Secretary of State of the United States, and has the honor to acknowledge the reception of the circular of yesterday, reminding the members of the diplomatic corps that Thursday of each week is the day for their reception at the State Department; and it is intimated that in cases of great urgency, an interview may be had with the Secretary of State on other days, through a written request.

The Minister of Mexico will bear in mind the recommendations contained in this circular, as he has done with those of the 5th of December, 1864, as he is sure he has never troubled unnecessarily the honorable Secretary of State.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

WASHINGTON, *7th of December*, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to you an extract from the Messager Franco-Americain, of the 4th instant, a French paper published in New York, which contains a letter from its correspondent in the city of Mexico, dated 17th November last, giving a summary of the situation. The circumstance that this córrespondent views the occurrences in my country from a French point of view, and that even thus it appears that the situation is untenable, induces me to send you the letter and call your especial attention to it. I will send an English translation of it, in a few days, for the use of your department.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your very obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

[From the New York Messager Franco-Americain of December 4, 1865.]

(Special correspondence of the Messager.)

MEXICO, *November* 17, 1865.

If we may rely on a letter addressed by the Emperor Maximilian to his minister of state—of which I transmit to you a copy—we may consider the administrative, judicial, and financial organization of the empire as now perfected. Nothing more remains but to carry into effect the measures elaborated for the purpose by the government, and to await their results, which "cannot but be excellent," according to the imperialist journals. We are informed, for instance, that the question of the civil list is settled; that the administration of justice is entirely remodelled; that the financial system is definitely established. Nevertheless, the laws relative to these important questions are yet unpublished. This official journal daily publishes decrees relative to the etiquette of the court, to the rank of the various functionaries, to the duties of the ministers towards the sovereign, but hitherto we know nothing whatever of subjects of general interest. Let us hope that the work of perfection will be soon completed, for people are waiting with some impatience for the publication of the new decrees. They are eager to learn in what way Maximilian has cut the thousand Gordian knots that thus far have never ceased to fetter the progress of his administration.

If the work of the civil organization of the empire is complete in the eyes of Maximilian, I doubt whether that of the pacification is equally so. In fact, so far as military affairs are concerned, the situation is the same that it has been for the last six months. On every side the Juarists show themselves with their usual boldness. It is in vain that the imperialist soldiers multiply themselves by their prodigies of activity; they cannot at once occupy all parts of a territory so vast as that of Mexico. Their duty is limited by necessity to bear the flag of the empire into each district in succession. After they have planted it there, they can do no more than leave it there, under the guard of the inhabitants themselves; and I need not tell you whether they guard it well or ill. Generally the few individuals of the clerical and reactionary party, who have received with acclamation the imperialists on their arrival, are compelled to quit the country, after the departure of the troops, in order to escape from popular vengeance. Thence ensue deceptions and sufferings innumerable. Thus, I learn in a letter from Mazatlan, (Sinaloe,) under date of the 31st October:

"General Aymard has started for Durango, with 2,200 men and 1,200 baggage mules. This departure has caused a real consternation here among the imperialists. As a first consequence, La Noria, that interesting town, whose influential inhabitants and clergy have given so many proofs of devotedness to the new order of things, has been abandoned, as well by the battalion of *chasseurs à pied* who composed its garrison, as by all such persons as compromised themselves by favoring the empire. The chief men of property, rather than remain exposed to uncertainty, have followed the camp of General Aymard in the capacity of muleteers."

Letters from Monterey, under date of October 20, contain the same language. This city was evacuated by General Jeanningros, who took up his route of march towards Saltillo. A Mexican garrison, under the command of Colonel Tinajero, replaced the French garrison. The partisans of the empire showed themselves very much disturbed and almost desperate at th is change, of the consequences of which they appeared to have a most lively apprehension. Many among them have converted all their possessions into money at any price, not wishing to remain in a city which "the red pantaloons have ceased to protect." I understand this sentiment, which is a remarkable testimony of the confidence inspired by the French bayonets. But should we not ask how it is that, after seventeen months' existence which the actual order of things now counts, the *adhesion* of such or such a region of the empire is considered by the imperialists as inseparable from the presence of French uniforms?

The military authorities have had recourse, as I lately wrote to you, to the disarming *en masse* of certain districts, in order to compel their submission. But to give you an idea of the fears inspired by the hostile dispositions of the people in general, permit me to cite to you some articles of an order of Marshal Bazaine, dated October 24:

"ARTICLE 1. In all districts subject to the empire there will be a certain number of licensed armorers, or, in default of them, of merchants designated by the military authorities of the post, to whom shall be granted the right of keeping guns, caps, and powder.

"ART. 2. These merchants shall keep a register, in which shall be inscribed all receipts of arms and disbursements of the same from the store, in order to facilitate the surveillance which should be kept over sales.

"ART. 3. They must not sell any arms, unless the purchaser is provided with a permit to that effect. In this case, they will insert in their register the name, the profession, and the residence of the purchaser, as also the date of sale. Permits will be given from the office of the sub-prefect, and will be available only after being countersigned by the commander of the post.

"ART. 6. The pan-covers must always be separated from the arms, as also the barrels, and deposited in a place known only to the armorer and the commandant of the post.

"ART. 7. Neither arms nor caps are to be sold as articles of trade. * Guns, muskets, and percussion carbines, or such to which bayonets can be attached, are not to be permitted to leave the armorer's house without special authorization.

"ART. 12. The country not being yet completely pacified, permits to carry arms given by the civil prefects and municipal magistrates will not be valid unless countersigned by the military authorities, who will take note of them."

Summary executions of Juarists, captured in arms, continue on every side. I spare you the details of them. It is evident, however, that the hour of retaliation is nigh, and that the republican authorities will shoot and hang in their turn. We pity the unfortunate soldiers, who cannot help it, and who will be the first victims of the imperial proclamation.

The announcement of another victory, gained by General Mendez over the forces of Ronda, in Michoacan, does not seem to be confirmed. According to all appearances, they have given to a partial engagement the proportions of a general battle. All the circumstances induce us to believe, however, that Ronda and Riva Palacios have succeeded in reaching Zitacuaro, in spite of the pursuit of which they were the object. If such be the case, military operations in Michoacan must come to a pause; for Mendez, with his soldiers, exhausted by twenty days of forced marching, cannot be in a condition to follow the liberals and attack them in their mountains.

This is nearly all that I will say to you in reference to military affairs; for I would tire your readers by detailing to them the account of the battles that are fought almost every day in different parts of the country. Moreover, I have some facts of great importance wherewith to entertain you. And, in the first place, have they mentioned in the New York papers the resignation in a body of the officers of the Belgian legion? No sheet in Mexico has breathed a word of it, although the fact is authentic. I have learned it by a letter from Morelia, which gives me the following details:

"You know that, after the departure of Colonel De Portier, Lieutenant Colonel Van der Smissen was invested with the military government of the province of Morelia. The brilliant victory of the Loma, on the 16th of July, it would seem, should have confirmed M. Van der Smissen in this command. It was the very contrary that took place. M. Van der Smissen has been superseded by the Mexican Colonel Mendez who up to that time, had served under the orders of the commander of the Belgian corps, especially in the affair of the 16th of July.

"This measure, it may be easily conceived, occasioned the most serious discontent in the Belgian corps, and its immediate result was the resignation of Lieutenant Colonel Van der Smissen, followed by that of all the officers of the Belgian corps."

The resolution of the Belgian officers seems to have occasioned great embarrassment to the imperial government. This latter hesitated and deliberated long enough, and finally refused to accept the tendered resignations. It is believed that it is the intention to send the Belgian corps as far away from the capital as possible, under pretext of pacifying one or other of the departments of the north.

There is another serious fact, the narrative of which I borrowed from the *Ferro-Carril* of Orizaba, and which requires no comment. It is this:

"The rumor has been current for some days past that the individual named G. Finck, resident for about thirty years at Potrero, where he possesses a beautiful coffee plantation, has been shot at Paso del Macho, having been convicted of complicity with the bands of robbers who infest the roads below Orizaba. This man Finck exercised at Potrero the functions of Prussian consular agent.

"Further inquiries, made in the best informed quarters, inform us that the accused is confined in the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, where his trial is to take place before the court-martial sitting at Vera Cruz, conformably to a decree of the 3d of October just passed. Grave charges are brought against him—at least if we may judge from the current rumors."

The fear of a complication with Prussia, I must acknowledge, causes very little thought outside of official circles; but less indifference is manifested in regard to a new affront offered by the imperialist authorities to the press. The *Exhalacion* of Guadalajara has been the object of a summary and unusual measure. Without the reception of any preliminary warning whatever, it was peremptorily enjoined to cease its publication by an order from the office of the prefect. The occasion for this act of rigor, entirely beyond the limits of legal authority, was an article published by that journal in its issue of the 25th of October, and containing political reflections on the course of the imperial policy. I have read this article, and while remarking in it some passages calculated to draw the attention of the authorities, I must confess that I cannot understand the reason of the exceptional severity which it has provoked. Even admitting it overleaped the limits which the government has thought proper to appoint for discussion, the law of the 10th of April has provided for the case, and appointed regular penalties, to which the authorities might have restricted themselves without inconvenience. The condition in which the press is placed is already hard enough, not to aggravate it any further. Are they right, then, who affirm that the empire is nothing but the triumph of arbitrary power?

What shall I tell you of interest in the way of court news? The whole may be briefly summed up thus: The empress departed on the 6th for Yucatan, and her absence has left a great void at the palace of Chapultepec. She was to reach Vera Cruz on the 13th or 14th.

NOPAL.

ALCAZAR OF CHAPULTEPEC, *November* 1, 1865.

MY DEAR MINISTER OF STATE: After assiduous labor and a mature examination of long days' duration we have at last ended, and I send you with this letter all the decrees, laws and by-laws concerning the provisory organic statute promulgated by us the first day of the first anniversary of our reign. The political, judiciary, and administrative organization of our country is thus almost completed.

In the administration of justice, the particular object of our solicitude, some important work will be found wanting. The difficulties attending upon such a subject, and the lamentable state in which we have found this branch of our institutions, are the cause of this deficiency. The administration of finances is also to be completed. Finally, the regulation upon professional instruction we, however, adjourned until we select the competent men who are to participate in its application and development.

My desire was to get through the organization two months after the promulgation of the statute. This being impossible, I have postponed to a later date the glorious anniversary of our independence. But your colleagues and yourself having represented to me that it was impossible to finish in so brief a time a work of such importance, I have been compelled to put it off until to-day.

Many a month has elapsed. This time will not, however, be lost if, as I hope and recommend, my cabinet executes and causes the law and regulations we issue to-day to be executed.

I acknowledge myself that numerous modifications are to be made in the way we publish to-day. Experience and study will cause us to reach possible perfection. With these views we have prescribed to all authorities to send us in the course of the year the observations suggested by practice.

You will see that the president of the council of state appoints three commissions to study carefully the rules of administrative right adopted by the most advanced nations, their financial and judiciary system, in order to adapt these rules to what has been established among us, and to calculate what innovations it is proper for us to adopt, in order to perfect the dispositions of the statute.

We have, at last, reached the end of the period of legislative elaboration in which you have been exclusively engaged as well as your colleagues. From this day will begin in its fulness the period of government based upon this organization.

MAXIMILIAN.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 15th of December, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the United States government, the English translation of an article on French intervention in Mexico, written by that distinguished literary Frenchman Alphonse de Lamartine, and published at Paris last month, in his literary monthly magazine, entitled Literary Entertainments, (Les Entretiens Littéraires.)

The importance of this article is, that it expresses the real views of French intervention in Mexico, and is, in fact, more than any thing else, a paraphrase of Emperor Napoleon's letter to General Forey of the 3d of July, 1862, pointing out briefly, but plainly, the objects of intervention. I sent you a copy of this letter, among the documents, annexed to my note of the 26th of January, 1864.

As a proof of this assertion I think it convenient to mention that the semi-official press of France has greatly lauded the article, considering it as the genuine expression of the Emperor's views.

With pleasure I accept this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

M. Lamartine's Article.

I am not afraid to say it boldly, notwithstanding the natural opposition which may exist between the diplomacy of the republic and that of the empire; against interests so French, so elevated, so European, as those we defend in Mexico, there is no patriotic opposition possible. The conception of the policy in Mexico is a sublime conception, a conception misunderstood, (I shall explain further on why,) a conception as just as necessity, as vast as the ocean, as new as all that which is apropos, a conception of a statesman, fecund as the future, a conception of safety for America and for the world.

We must here raise ourselves to a great height in order to comprehend the full force of this policy. The first empire, a purely military empire, and which sold Louisiana for a piece of bread to feed its armies, was never capable of a conception which equalled this.

The idea of a bold and efficacious position to be taken in Mexico against the usurpation of the United States of America is a new but just idea. *Europe has the right to take this position;* France takes the initiative. Let us examine the right from this elevated point of view, from whence we distinguish the legitimacy of things, and let us start from this true but not radical position:

The globe is the property of man; the new continent, America, is the property of Europe.

In starting from this principle, which has become at this moment a fact, that the American continent has become the collective property of mankind, and not the disrupted Union of a single race without title and without right, at least over Spanish America, and over the Latin race, mother of all civilization, the principle of the protection of Europe and of its independence, at least in the seventeen republican states of South America, belongs evidently to us and all the powers of the Old World. We must be prepared for events ; we must protect the Latin race ; we must, in the first place, take position at the point menaced by the United States.

We must do this, or else we must declare that the new continent, the property of Europe, is to belong entirely in twenty-five years, perhaps, to the armed pioneers who recognize no other title for their usurpation than their convenience, and who permit their citizens, like Walker, to raise, individually, fleets and armies against Cuba, while their federal general enters, in the name of the Union, into Mexico, and from there into all the civilized capitals of South America !

Why, therefore, should Europe or the Old World recognize these rights of piracy by sea and land for the United States, whilst in the Old World we recognize not only the right of protecting such property as is useful to all, but further, the right to expropriate with indemnity the right of all states and individuals in things useful to all ?

This principle of the protection of interests useful to all, which applies to a commune, does it apply with less right to a continent entire ? Evidently not. We do not say, expropriate the United States of Spanish America ; their proper organic anarchy will expropriate them sufficiently ! But we say Europe has the right, and we add, the obligation, of not giving over to them the Latin race, Spanish America, the half which still remains free and independent of that magnificent part of the globe, more than half of the heaven, the earth and the population of the New World !

What are the collective, sacred possessions, the necessities of mankind at large, that the policy of the Old World cannot and ought not to be delivered up to the mercy of the United States of English America ? These things are the capital of the entire world, used by a few, necessary to all, in our state of civilization and in our system of exchange, which renders to us all moneyed gold, as necessary as bread. The mines of gold are there !

In the second place, the food of the Old World—the wheat, flour, corn, potatoes on which people subsist, and of which the privation in the years of famine might produce in Europe incalculable calamities and destructions of populations.

In the third place, the industries which have become in the last few years especially, by the salaries they assure to at least forty millions of workmen in cotton, the veritable and indispensable *stipendium* of wages and of life.

In fine, commerce, which compels us to maintain a navy and sailors, a floating population, incalculable as a number of men fed under sails, still more incalculable as an element of our national power. To permit the United States to renew the folly of the first empire, to establish an anti-European blockade, no longer on their ports alone, but on the world, as they have just proclaimed it, is no longer a poltroonery, it is to accept what New York offers us, it is to abdicate navigation, commerce, cotton, free trade, the marine of the Old World ; it is not to live but on the death of life.

Thus, who does not know that the grain of America, of the valley of the Mississippi, especially, does not constitute the world's granary in case of famine, as Sicily was the granary of the Romans ? Who does not know that the monetary capital of the universe is in the immense mines of Mexico, and Peru, and Sonora, and that these mines, given up to their natural productiveness by a good system of drainage, will place all the capital in gold and silver of the universe in the hands of the United States, masters of the two Americas ? Who does not know that the master of capital is the master of interest, and that Europe, delivered up to this country of monopolies, will be forever subject to its despotism ? Who does not know that, masters of the price of gold and silver, they will be masters also of our most vital industries, and that their coalition, already organized against our industry in silks, which rivals their industry in cotton, will ruin Lyons, the capital of tissues, and the second capital of France? Who does not know that in depriving us, or in depriving themselves by the extinction of the south, of the element of this industry in Europe, cotton, they will continue to starve, as they have already starved, eight millions of workmen in France, more than that in England, five millions in Austria, and thus take Europe by famine at every caprice of their arbitrary interests? Who does not know, in fine, that our commerce and navigation will be subject to the same destruction as our products?

In all this we discover evidently the secret thought which inspired the Mexican expedition, an expedition which bears the appearance of a temerity without compensation, and behind which I alone in France have seen the general utility.

France has not comprehended this expedition. Why? I will venture to reply: because in the commencement it was neither explained nor explainable. It was because this idea of taking a position in Mexico against the United States was not to be exclusively French, but European; it was necessary to consult together, to organize, to agree frankly on a common basis before acting, and this was not done. France, accused of secret intentions, was suspected by England and Spain. They believed that she simply desired to draw her two allies into a war of intervention for purely French and monarchical interests, instead of combining with London and Madrid an armed, disinterested, and European policy; and for this reason they suspected and at last abandoned France. But one of two things was true; either France was sincere and wished to act in the common interest, and in this case there ought to have been frank explanations in advance, and no action but after a diplomatic and military European agreement on an equal footing of force, which would thus give no motive for complaints of reticence or want of frankness against the intervention; or France, acting alone, ought to have acted with a force worthy of herself, and not commence by planting her protecting flag in Mexico with a handful of heroic men, abandoned by their auxiliaries, and insufficient for the accomplishment of the original conception.

In these facts lie the vice of the enterprise and the reasons why the people in France have not comprehended it, why Spain has had suspicions of it, and why England has abandoned it. France, when her loyalty in the matter is better understood, will bring back England and Spain to it, or she will act alone with preponderating forces. Spanish-America will thus be protected, the United States will be repressed, Spain and England brought back, and this grand enterprise will turn out the honor of the century in Europe, and the honor of France in Spanish-America.

One can easily understand that this people have yet scarcely any of the conditions of an American literature. The Mexicans before the conquest, the pretended savages of Montezuma, the Peruvians, with their poems of quippos, were in that respect much more advanced. The gigantic monuments of the Aztecs have left on the earth traces of intelligence and of force very much superior, thus far, to the exclusively utilitarian edifices of the Americans of the north. The pioneers of the north do not build for time; the log-splitters only know how to cut down in order to split up the grand aristocratic trees of the forests, which they see fall with the joy of men envious of the superiority of nature. Their eloquence is the struggle of their legislative assemblies, into which they carry the rudeness of their violent manners, and where brutalities of gesture and of the closed fist take the place of the beautiful moral violences which the great modern or ancient orators of Europe exercise by aid of persuasion, or logic, or men of refinement assembled together for the purpose of seeking in common after the right and the justice of things.

Their journals, innumerable because they cost little or nothing, are only so many receptacles of advertisements of the charlatanisms recommended by the Barnums of the press—receptacles of calumnies and invectives thrown out daily to the various parties, in order to fasten upon them odious appellations or trivial accusations, so as to discredit one another, and to take away their subscribers. Their "saloons" are held in hotels; their circles of men, which are tempered neither by good feeling nor by politeness toward women, are only so many clubs of eager tradesmen, utilizing even their hours of repose for their purses, proud to know only that which brings them in money, and entertaining each other only with real or illusory enterprises, by which they may centriple their fortune. Their liberty, altogether personal, has always something about it hostile to some one; the absence of all kindness of manner gives them in general the air and the attitude of some one who is in the expectation of being insulted, or who seeks, by force of pride of manner, to prevent the insults that may be offered him. They have conscience themselves of the continual disagreeableness of their manners.

One of their rare political orators, (the most eloquent and most honest among them,) whom the envy of his fellow-citizens has always prevented from being elevated to the presidency of the republic, said to me one day: "Our liberty consists *in doing all that may be the most disagreeable to our neighbors.*" The art of being disagreeablè is their second nature. To be willing to please is a symptom of love. They love no one; no one loves them. It is the expiation of egotists. History presents no parallel of such a physiognomy; pride, coldness, correctness of features, mechanism of gestures, munching of tobacco in the mouth, spit-box under the feet, legs perched against the chimney-jambs or doubled up on themselves without regard to the respect which man owes to man, an accent brief, monotonous, imperious, a disdainful air imprinted in every feature—this is the picture of one of these autocrats of money.

With few exceptions which stand out, and which suffer by the general pressure in an inferior atmosphere—exceptions so much the more respectable, inasmuch as they are more numerous in the individual—and there is the North American, there is the people to whom Mr. Monroe, one of their flatterers, said, in order to be applauded: "The time is come when you ought no longer to suffer Europe to mix in the affairs of America, and from which you ought to commence to exercise a preponderance in the affairs of Europe."

WASHINGTON, *December* 15, 1865.

A true translation: IGNO. MARISCAL.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 24th of December, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the government of the United States, various documents relating to Mexican affairs, mentioned in the accompanying index; and although some of them are of old date, I think them all of sufficient importance to be submitted officially to your consideration.

You will find among them several that manifest the atrocities of the European mercenaries sent to enslave the Mexican people, and to perpetrate all sorts of outrages upon them in the name of civilization, and in a country they already consider as conquered, and other reliable reports of the condition of things in the central part of Mexico and on the western coast of the republic.

I embrace this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c. &c, &c.*

Index of documents sent to the Department of State, in Washington, from the Mexican legation in that city, with its note of this date, &c., &c., &c.

No. 1.—May and June, 1863.—Various official despatches from General Forey, commander-in-chief of the French invading army of Mexico, upon the occupation of Puebla and other places.

No. 2.—April 4, 1864.—Proclamation of the constitutional President of the Mexican republic to the inhabitants of New Leon and Coahuila, on account of the treason of Don Santiago Vidaurri.

No. 3.—May 9, 1864.—Proclamation of Colonel Dupin, of the French army, to the inhabitants of Panuco.

No. 4.—May 12, 1864.—Communication of the alcalde of Panuco to the governor of Tamaulipas, with the preceding proclamation.

No. 5.—May 23, 1864.—Communication from the captain of the French frigate Colbert to General Cortina, asking him to join the French.

No. 6.—May 24, 1864.—General Cortina's answer.

No. 7.—October 28, 1864.—Communication of Mr. Romero to his government, giving an account of the visit of General Doblado to the army of the Potomac, published in the New York papers.

No. 8.—January 26, 1865.—Reply of Mr. Lerdo de Tejada to that commucation.

No. 9.—April 4, 1865.—Communication of Mr. Romero to his government, giving an account of the rejoicing in Washington at the capture of Richmond by the United States army, as published in the papers.

No. 10.—May 17, 1865.—Reply of Mr. Lerdo de Tejada to the above.

No. 11.—April 24, 1865.—Communication of General Arteaga to General Bazaine, sending him a watch that belonged to a Belgian officer, son of the minister of war of Belgium, who fell in action at Tacambaro the 11th of April.

No. 12.—April 27, 1865.—Letter of Silviano Nava, Maximilian's agent, to his uncle, the so-called General Don José Antonio Heredia, mentioning the excesses of the Belgian forces in Michoacan.

No. 13.—July 8, 1865.—Manifesto of Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna against intervention in Mexico.

No. 14.—July 11, 1865.—Letter from the city of Mexico, showing the state of affairs in that republic.

No. 15.—September 19, 1865.—Letter on the same subject, from the same place.

No. 16.—November 8, 1865.—Letters from Mazatlan and La Paz, showing the condition of things on the western coast of Mexico. (For these letters see No. 4, military operations in the western military division.)

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 24, 1865

No. 1.

General Forey's despatch announcing the capture of Puebla.

PUEBLA, *May* 18, 1863.

M. LE MARECHAL: Puebla is in our hands. The combats of San Lorenzo having dispersed the corps d'armé of Comonfort, which sought to force our line of investment, and to throw supplies into Puebla, where the garrison was already suffering from hunger, although it had taken possession of everything available; on the other hand, a trench having been opened before the fort of Teotimehuacon, and our batteries of thirty guns, of various calibre, having opened their fire on the 16th against that fort, and in two hours completely destroyed its works, two vigorous attacks were made upon the place. General Ortega at this juncture made an offer of capitulation; but he had the presumption to ask to leave with all the honors of war, with arms, baggage, and artillery, to withdraw to Mexico. I declined all these proposals, telling him he might leave with all the honors of war, but that his army must march past the French army, lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war, promising to him all those concessions which are customary among civilized people when a garrison has bravely performed its duty.

These proposals were not accepted by General Ortega, who, in the night between the 16th and 17th, disbanded his army, destroyed the weapons, spiked his guns, blew up the powder magazines, and sent me an envoy to say that the garrison had completed its defence and surrendered at discretion.

It was scarcely daylight when twelve thousand men, most of them without arms or uniforms, which they had cast away in the streets, surrendered as prisoners, and the officers, numbering from one thousand to twelve hundred, of whom twenty-six were generals and two hundred superior officers, informed me that they awaited my orders at the palace of the government.

All the material of the place is in our hands, and has not been so much damaged as was supposed.

I hasten to forward this despatch to your excellency, with instructions to Vera Cruz to send a fast steamer to the Havana, so that the news should reach Europe, via New York, before the English steamer, which would leave Vera Cruz on the 1st of June, and will bring you a detailed account of our situation.

The army is in high spirits, and will advance in a few days on Mexico.

I am, with respect, &c.,

General FOREY.

Napoleon's reply to Forey.

PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU, *June* 12, 1863.

GENERAL: The news of the capture of Puebla reached me yesterday, via New York. This event has given us the greatest satisfaction. I am well aware what care and energy were required, both by the commanders and men, to achieve this important result. In my name express to the army my full satisfaction; tell the men how much I appreciate their perseverance and courage in so distant an expedition, where they had to struggle against climate, local difficulties, and against an enemy the more obstinate because he was deceived in my intentions. I deeply deplore the probable loss of so many brave men; but I have the consoling idea that their death has not been useless, either to the interests or to the honor of France or to civilization. Our object, as you are aware, is not to impose upon the Mexicans a government contrary to their wish, or to make our success a triumph for any party whatsoever. I wish Mexico to be regenerated to a new life, and that soon. Reformed by a government based upon the national will, on principles of order and progress, it may admit that it owes to France its peace and its prosperity.

I await the official reports to give to the army and to its commander the rewards which they deserve; but, my dear general, I beg of you at once to accept my sincere congratulation.

NAPOLEON.

Proclamation of General Forey.

MEXICANS: I do not desire to take one moment's repose before expressing my high acknowledgment for the brilliant reception which you have this day given to the valiant army that I have the honor to command. I have not words enough to express the feelings of my heart; but I have experienced this day a feeling which shall continue all my life a sweet remembrance, a sacred debt, and that is to labor without ceasing, with the view of securing to you those things which you so much desire—that is, peace, order, justice, and true liberty.

I trust that all true Mexicans will aid me in the fulfilment of my mission, which I shall easily accomplish, if you repose your absolute confidence in me, listening to the counsels which I give you from this moment, not exciting your passions by means of false representations, writings, pamphlets, &c., &c., because all this would be premature.

When an edifice has been destroyed it can only be reconstructed by slow degrees; that is, if we desire it to be really solid. Have patience, then, and, with Divine protection, in which I place all my confidence, we will overcome the difficulties of the great work of regeneration, in which we ought all heartily to co-operate.

FOREY.

MEXICO, *June* 10, 1863.

Despatch of General Forey to the minister of war.

MEXICO, *June* 10, 1863.

I have just entered Mexico at the head of the army.

It is with a heart still thrilling with emotion that I hastily address this despatch to your excellency, to announce that the entire population of this capital has received the army with an enthusiasm approaching to delirium. The soldiers of France were literally overwhelmed with bouquets and wreaths, in a manner only to be conceived by those who witnessed the return of the army to Paris on the 14th of August, 1859.

I have attended a Te Deum with all the officers of the staff in the magnificent cathedral, filled with an immense multitude. Afterwards, the army, in admirable order, filed off before me, to cries of "Vive l'empereur; Vive l'imperatrice."

After the filing off I received the authorities in the government palace, and received addresses from them.

The population is eager for order, justice and true liberty. In my answers to its representatives, I promised them those blessings in the name of the Emperor.

By the very first opportunity I shall have the honor of giving you more ample details of this reception, which is unequalled in history, and has the bearing of a political event of immense importance.

FOREY.

The official journal also publishes a long despatch from General Forey, giving a detailed account of the operations of the expeditionary army from the 20th May to the 2d June, the principal points of which are as follows:

On the 21st May, being anxious to commence my movement on Mexico, and especially not to leave the allied troops exposed alone to the attack of the enemy, I sent off Beitler's brigade to San Martin, where it arrived the following day, and at once commenced forming a depot of provisions.

On the 22d the Mexican general officers left Puebla for Vera Cruz, but as four of them had succeeded in making their escape, their escort was charged to keep vigilant watch by the way. On the same day I went over the part of the town against which our attack had been chiefly directed, and found it in a state of destruction difficult to describe, but caused, perhaps, less by our projectiles than by the works for the defence.

I have issued several decrees for the administrative and financial reorganization of Puebla, which have had the effect of restoring confidence among the population.

The shops are again open, the merchandise which had been removed has reappeared, and the families which had fled are returning. The barricades have been removed, the buildings are being repaired, and the aspect of the town is daily improving.

On the 26th General Bazaine with Castagny's brigade left Puebla for San Martin, where he arrived next day and immediately occupied Pueute Tezmelucan.

On the 27th six Mexican generals, who were prisoners, escaped by means of disguises obtained from dealers, who had been authorized to sell them provisions. They are Generals Ortega, La Llave, Pinson, Patoni, Garcia, and Prieto.

On the 30th General Bazaine established himself with his division at Puente Tezmelucan, and the same day I sent off from Puebla a convoy of 176 wagons loaded with stores and provisions, to meet the first division at Buena Vista.

On the 2d of June General Douay also left Puebla for the same place, with a great quantity of materiel and stores.

On the same day the consuls of Spain, Prussia, and the United States came to me at Puebla in the name of the ayuntamiento of Mexico. They stated that Juarez and his government had left the capital on the evening of the 31st for San Luis de Potosi, and that 500 or 600 volunteers had taken arms to maintain order in the city. The consuls requested, in the name of the inhabitants of Mexico, that I should occupy the city with French troops, and I accordingly sent orders to General Bazaine to that effect.

The garrison of Puebla will consist chiefly of the first regiment of zouaves, a battalion of marine infantry, a detachment of artillery, and 450 Mexican cavalry, under the superior command of Colonel Brincoart.

The sanitary condition of the troops is good. Owing to the change of season, we have more men on the sick-list, but their affections are not of a serious nature. I have inspected the edifices appropriated to the sick, wounded, and convalescent. They are spacious convents, and have been adapted for the purpose, as well as our means admitted.

At the present date, June 2, there are 822 men in the hospitals at Puebla, and 382 convalescents there and at San Martin.

The losses in action since the beginning of the campaign are 18 officers and 167 men killed, 79 officers and 1,039 men wounded, several of the latter having since died of their wounds.

The works of the railway are advancing, but not so rapidly as I could desire. The number of men at work is 950. The rails have been laid for 500 metres, which makes the actual length of the line 6,100 metres. The earthworks are terminated for 10,600 metres. The line will probably be finished as far as La Pulga by the 15th of the present month.

I am completing my arrangements for leaving Puebla. Though pushed on with all activity, they have taken more time than I could wish. The reorganization of Puebla, the revictualling of several points, and the necessity of waiting for convoys from Vera Cruz, to be forwarded to Mexico, have taken up much time.

The majority of the troops, however, are already on the road. A strong column will start to-morrow with the rest, and I intend to leave Puebla on the 5th.

Accept, &c.,

FOREY.

Despatch of General Forey.

MEXICO, *June* 25, 1863.

MONSIEUR LE MARECHAL: Your excellency will find in the journal which you receive the particulars of the movements effected during the last fortnight, so that I shall here confine myself to speaking of certain questions, which will make your excellency acquainted with the general state of affairs.

I have organized at Mexico the municipal authorities and the provisional government, in accordance with my instructions. A governing junta, composed of thirty-five members, has designated General Almonte, the archbishop of Mexico, and General Salas, as members of the executive power.

I have called to the direction of affairs honorable men of moderate opinions, belonging to the different parties, who appeared disposed to labor actively in the re-establishing of order in this country, so profoundly disorganized. These selections have met with general approval.

I have issued a decree for the regulation of the press, in conformity with the legislation existing in France.

The governing junta has divided itself into sections for the administration of the different ministerial departments. I preside over that of war, in order to constitute the Mexican army; but its reorganization can only be definitely accomplished after the establishment of a regular government and the pacification of the country.

Ever since my arrival in Mexico I have received incessant complaints of the depredations and crimes committed by one Buitron, who bears the title of general. This man has done nothing during his whole life but change from party to party, that he might always have opportunities for pillage. As it was necessary to put an end to such excesses which alarmed the populations, I caused Buitron to be arrested at Mexico, while Colonel Du Barail, with a small column, captured all his band at San Angelo.

Robbers under the name of guerillas infest all the roads, paralyze trade, stop public conveyances at the very gates of the towns, plunder farm-houses, and spread terror throughout the country. I have outlawed all these brigands, and instituted tribunals composed of energetic officers, to execute justice on all those who may fall into our hands.

Before thinking of sending troops to a distance, it was first indispensable to purge the environs of the capital of the bands which keep it in a kind of blockade. On the other hand, Negrette, seconded by Aurellano, Carbajal, &c., was organizing considerable forces at Tlascala, to operate in the State of Puebla and cut off our communications. The occupation of that place thus became indispensable; I have therefore taken measures to meet these requirements.

A French column, under the orders of Colonel De la Canorque, is marching on Tlascala with a Mexican detachment commanded by General Guttierez, who will establish himself at Apam. The troops of General Vicario occupy Tialpan and Tepepa. Some of the troops of General Marquez guard the embankments of Guanhtitlan and Zumpango. Colonel Aymard, of the sixty-second, is in position at Pachuca. General Mejia, who has great influence in Queretaro, is going to that town with a sufficient force. Another column will soon go to take possession of Toluca. Lastly, the cavalry is stationed in the environs of Mexico, where it can best find forage and assure tranquillity.

By these arrangements I assure security in a rather extensive zone round Mexico, and shall maintain my communications with Puebla uninterrupted. Nor have I, at the same time, neglected the occupation of the coast.

The question of the customs of Minatitlan is very serious, for their revenue is estimated at 30,000 piastres per month, half of which would be paid into the treasury, and the other half employed in paying the counter-guerillas, as well as the persons employed in the customs and police. On the proposition of M. Natzner, administrator of customs, I have authorized the creation of a new auxiliary force, to be called the "Minatitlan counter-guerillas."

General Juan Ortega has raised the province of Chiapa in our favor. General Marin, at Carmen, has organized an expedition against Tabasco. He has taken possession of several points of the coast, and will be able to afford aid to the Minatitlan counter-guerillas. We shall soon hold the whole coast from Vera Cruz to Yucatan.

I am anxious to occupy Tampico by a French force, which General Mejia will support by the Indian corps under the orders of General Moreno, who is in that neighborhood.

The artillery have found in the works round Mexico ninety-seven guns, most of them of large calibre, 986,000 cartridges, 21,196 projectiles, 4,429 charges prepared for cannon, 12,300 kilogrammes of powder, 300,000 percussion-caps, and rockets of various sizes. The artillery service will forward a detailed inventory to your excellency. Among the guns found is the Pelerin, cast at Douai in 1744, and which will be taken back to France.

I am, &c.,

FOREY.

No. 2.

[Translation.]

The citizen Benito Juarez, constitutional president of the United Mexican States, to the inhabitants of New Leon and Coahuila:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The presence of the supreme government in the capital of New Leon, after the events just passed, is, in every respect, a happy occurrence for the whole republic; for this single act demonstrates, in an eloquent and very significant manner, the people's invincible strength and the great power of its authorities when both, sustained by principle, cherish and defend the mandates of the law as a sacred duty.

The recent extraordinary events are fresh in the memory of all, and from this day we will keep them in our thoughts as an experience of the past and a warning for the future.

One man—and fortunately the only one—taking advantage of his elevated position as governor, declared hostility to the general government, betrayed the holy cause of the people, sold his brethren and tried to put them under the yoke of the invader; but a people who have conquered a consciousness of right by revolution—a people who have faith in the future destiny of the republic—arose in mass to protest solemnly against the treason, and responded with a unanimous shout of enthusiastic joy to the voice of the supreme government, calling them to arms in the name of their country, of independence, and of law. Fellow-countrymen, all is now over; the traitor, attended by a few of his accomplices, is ruined, and flies like a coward, with the consciousness of his crime imbedded in his heart, and the supreme government, without calling upon its loyal forces, has destroyed, by moral suasion and legality, the plans of liberticide, conceived by traitors in an evil hour.

But this was not enough. To complete its work the government has come to this capital with the double object of reorganizing the State, removing the evils that oppress it, and utilizing its elements for the defence of the nation. For this I rely upon the union of all Mexicans. Let the chiefs be united; let all the soldiers fight as one, and the triumph, countrymen, shall, without a single doubt, be ours.

To accomplish this purpose I must have the active, efficacious, and irresistible co-operation of a people who will know how to preserve without a stain, and hand down with glory to their descendants, the independence and liberty which, at the cost of so much blood, our fathers won by bravery in battle and martyrdom upon the scaffold.

BENITO JUAREZ.

MONTEREY, *April* 4, 1864.

No. 3.

[From the Boletin de Tamaulipas, Ciudad Victoria, May 22, 1864.]

Proclamation of the French General Du Pin.

TAMPICO, *May* 9, 1864.

INHABITANTS OF PANUCO: For a long time you have been engaged in civil war, and have always given your aid to the enemies of order and of true liberty. I have ordered a column of my soldiers to visit you, and you have fled like criminals, and have hidden in the mountains. You have not had sufficient courage to take arms and defend yourselves with weapons in hand. I now give you ten days to comply with the following orders:

On the 20th of this month of May, before noon, the alcalde and four of the most notable persons of the population of Panuco must come to see me in Tampico, bringing with them two hundred muskets; and for each gun which they fall short of this number they must pay two hundred dollars—in all, forty thousand dollars, if they lack all the guns—though I frankly state it will be more satisfactory to secure the arms than to have the money. There must also be delivered here, at the same time, forty horses of good condition and serviceable for cavalry. The price of these horses may be fixed by the persons referred to, who are to accompany the alcalde. There shall also be brought two hundred fanegas of corn, which will be paid for at the price current in Panuco. Both horses and corn will be paid for on delivery. The failure to comply with all I have here ordered, in every respect as I have expressed, will be followed by the complete ruin of your place, which has thus far been only a nest of bandits. I send you a paper herewith, which will inform you of what has occurred in a similar case with the town of Ozuluama; but I expect you will be too prudent to fail in complying with my orders, as was the case with your political co-religionists of Ozuluama.

CH. DU PIN.

The ALCALDE *of the town of Panuco*
or other notable person of the population.

PANUCO, *May* 12, 1864.

A true copy, which I certify.

DESIDERIO PAVON.

CITY OF VICTORIA, *May* 20, 1864.

A true copy:

JULIAN CERDA.

No. 4.

[From the Boletin de Tamaulipas of Ciudad Victoria, May 22, 1864.]

Letter from the alcalde of Panuco to the governor of the State of Tamaulipas.

PANUCO, *May* 12, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I have scarcely time to enclose to you a copy of the demand which has been addressed to this place by the French commander, Du Pin, chief of the invading forces occupying Tampico, by which you will see that Panuco is threatened with entire destruction if we do not deliver all that he asks by the 20th instant. In consequence, the inhabitants, who cannot and ought not to deliver what has been imposed, have abandoned the place, and we are at this moment concluding the departure of the few who yet remain.

Don Andras, who happens to be here, will give you more details with regard to the affair, and for this reason I omit entering upon an account of all that has befallen this unfortunate people. Notwithstanding that I am only just recovering from an illness which attacked me in Amatlan, I am doing all that is possible to raise a force to await our enemies and make all the resistance that we can, inflicting upon them as much injury as possible, in order that, if they destroy the town, they may not escape with the impunity that they did on the 5th instant, when they burnt my little hacienda, leaving me not even a mat to sleep upon. I am in great haste; and although I wish to communicate to you many things, in order that you may transmit them to our friends in Victoria and Matamoras, I have to leave it for another time, when I will inform you of the result of the demand and threat of Du Pin, and have now to conclude, repeating myself, as always, affectionately, your friend and obedient servant,

DESIDERIO PAVON.

Don JULIAN CERDA,
Governor of the State of Tamaulipas, city of Victoria.

VICTORIA, *May* 20, 1864.

A true copy, which I certify.

JULIAN CERDA.

No. 5.

[Translation.]

[From the official bulletin of the commandancy of Tamaulipas. Matamoros, May 25, 1864.]

ON BOARD HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S STEAM CORVETTE EL COLBERT,
Off the mouth of the Rio Grande, May 23, 1864.

GENERAL: I have the honor to send you some numbers of the Eco del Comercio of Vera Cruz, The last number publishes the address of his Majesty, Emperor Maximilian, on accepting the crown of Mexico, and late European papers positively announce his departure from Trieste on the 15th of April.

His detention in Rome, at Madeira, and Martinique, will probably prevent his arrival in Vera Cruz before the first fortnight in June. After listening to the malicious rumors current in Matamoras and vicinity, that his Majesty the Emperor Maximilian will never come to Mexico, I deem it my duty, general, to give you the truth of the case.

I am convinced that fidelity to the old government (which some believe is still preferred by the people) is very honorable; but when a free country votes, by a great majority, to change the form of its government for its own advantage, it is wrong to persist in supporting the old government against the general interests of the country; for, by so doing, you prolong the civil war, destroy the prosperity of the country, and write a black page in its history.

General, your reputation for bravery and honesty has prompted me to address a few lines to you, to give you a proof that I still desire to be friendly with you, though we differ in political opinions. Military men can shake hands before and after the fight.

Receive, general, the assurances of my most distinguished sentiments,

V. JOUVERT,
Frigate Captain, Commander of the Colbert.

General CORTINAS, *Commander at Matamoras.*

No. 6.

[From the official bulletin of the commandancy of Tamaulipas.]

MATAMORAS, *May* 24, 1865.

CAPTAIN: I received the two numbers of the Eco del Comercio, of Vera Cruz, with your communication of this date, which you have had the kindness to send me. I had already heard of the Archduke Maximilian's acceptance of the crown of Mexico, offered by a small number of its citizens, and that he had already set out on his journey to this continent. We had no doubt about his coming at some time or another, and believing he was called by the Mexican people, would accept the homage of the few partisans of monarchy in this republic who have been sustained in their views by French arms. As the majority of Mexicans were born under republican institutions, they can have no idea they will be obliged to change their way of living, and I am sure if it were left to the people to vote a form of government, it would be anything else than a monarchy. Vidaurri's fall is an unequivocal proof of this; he remained in power nine years through all the disturbances that agitated the country, tolerated by his fellow-citizens; but as soon as he began to show an inclination for foreign intervention and a monarchical government, without fighting, without resistance, he fell from his high position, the scorn and contempt of his countrymen. Another proof is, that the towns occupied by the allies and those that had adhered to the empire represented by Maximilian, no sooner saw themselves free, than they replaced the old constitutional authorities and restored the rule that had existed before the oppression.

I tell you, then, captain, in all sincerity, this free vote of the Mexican people to change their popular government for a monarchy was not legitimate. I, as a soldier of the people, always disposed to respect their will, see no other legal government in Mexico than that sanctioned by the people in their popular elections—one supported more by principle than force of arms; such an one as the allies found when they first set foot on Mexican soil, established *de facto et de jure*, acknowledged in 1861 by the representation of his Imperial Majesty of France; the one that sent its minister to conclude the unfortunate preliminaries of Soledad; in fine, the government represented by citizen Benito Juarez.

I have no doubt, then, in assuring you, that even though the archduke should occupy Mexico with the title of emperor, many years shall pass, many misfortunes happen, and the annihilation of the present population be necessary, before his government can be established through the whole country. For my part, I assure you, that if I were an advocate for a monarchy, I would not ask a stranger to be my sovereign and bend my knee as a vassal to his power.

I have thus extended my answer because the candid civility of your note required this frankness on my part. It is not obstinacy in me to defend the legitimate government of my country; I do not seek to prolong a civil war that was about to expire when the disturbances were revived by intervention; I do not wish to arrest the prosperity of my country, for it cannot prosper under a monarchy; but it is my firm conviction, that whatever my have been our errors, we Mexicans alone have the right to regulate our political being, and no nation on earth can incline the balance of public opinion by the weight of its sword.

In return for your kindness in sending me the Vera Cruz paper, I have the honor to send you two numbers of the official paper of this State, in which you will see a *resolution* passed by the United States House of Representatives, and the opinion that great nation has of the Franco-Mexican question.

It would certainly be very pleasant to keep in friendly relations with a gallant leader like you, for, as you say, military men may shake hands before and after battle; and if this case should actually happen with us, we must observe all the rights of nobility and humanity, avoiding sanguinary acts, such as the allies have begun already in the interior of the country. Mexico shall never forfeit her position as a civilized country among the nations of the earth, which she has merited by her frank, noble and generous conduct towards her conquered enemies.

Receive the assurance of the high consideration and esteem of your humble servant, governor and military commander of Tamaulipas,

JUAN N. CORTINA.

The COMMANDER *of H. I. M.'s Steam Corvette "Le Corbet,"*
Off the mouth of the Rio Grande.

No. 7.

Mr. Romero to the minister of foreign affairs.

No. 280.] MEXICAN LEGATION UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, October 28, 1864.

On arriving here General Doblado desired to visit the army of the Potomac, and being unable to go alone on account of not speaking the language of the country, and desiring also on my part to see that army, I decided to accompany him. I asked from Mr. Seward the necessary permission for both of us, which was immediately given, with letters of introduction to Generals Grant and Meade, and for Admiral Porter.

On Saturday, the 22d instant, we left here for Baltimore, from whence we proceeded on the following day to City Point, where the headquarters of General Grant are located, and at which place we arrived on the afternoon of the 24th. General Grant received us with demonstrations of the most sincere consideration and great cordiality. He assigned us quarters in a tent very near his own, and expressed to us the greatest sympathy for our cause, even manifesting a desire to directly aid in the glorious enterprise of defending the independence of Mexico and preserving republican institutions on this continent against European aggressions. General Grant, who was in Mexico with the army of the United States in 1847, made many allusions to his pleasant recollections of our country.

On the following day, excusing himself for not accompanying us personally, on account of his military duties not permitting him to leave City Point, he assigned to us one of his aids, who escorted us, by a special train, to the headquarters of General Meade, the chief of the army of the Potomac, to whom our arrival had been previously announced by telegraph.

General Meade sent his carriage to the railroad station, with one of his aids, who received us. On arriving at his camp we found a guard of honor, composed of a regiment of zouaves, with a military band, who extended to us the honors paid to a Lieutenant General. In the camp of General Meade we met all of his staff and the generals of the highest grade who command the three army corps which form the army of the Potomac. On the part of all we were received with the same welcome as from General Grant, and all expressed to us the same sympathy for our cause and the same desire to aid us in expelling the European forces from our territories.

Various officers said to us that they should not consider their military mission concluded until after the foreign forces and Maximilian had been driven out of Mexico. It may be added that the unanimous sentiment of this army is, to continue and terminate in Mexico the campaign which has commenced here.

General Meade and his staff, with a numerous escort, accompanied us afterwards around the line of fortifications of the army of the Potomac, which extend from the river Appomattox to the other side of the Weldon railroad, to the southwest of Petersburg. At sunset we returned to General Mead's camp, when we sat down to an abundant dinner, after which we returned to City Point.

On the 26th General Grant despatched us with another of his aids, by a special steamer, to the camp of General Butler, the chief of the army of the James, which is composed of two corps. Here the same scenes were repeated as the day before. General Butler accompanied us to view his lines and to see the canal which he is constructing at a point called Dutch Gap, for the purpose of avoiding a great bend in the James river. He detained us to dine with him, and in the evening we again returned to City Point.

On the 27th General Grant left for the vicinity of Petersburg to direct a movement against the confederates, and we returned to this city, where we arrived this morning.

As the result of this visit I have the honor to communicate to you that the army of this country entertains with every-day increasing ardor the same opinion which is the unanimous sentiment of this people, that the establishment of a monarchy by foreign bayonets in Mexico is an insult which must be washed out with blood as soon as the civil war here shall have terminated.

I must also inform you that after having examined the condition of this army, its numbers, resources, and discipline, I have come to the conclusion, without its being necessary for me to mention here the reasons which lead me to that opinion, that it will not be an impossibility for it to capture Richmond before the coming winter.

Should the supreme government order the publication of this note, I beg you to be pleased to cause the preceding paragraph to be omitted therefrom.

I renew to you the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

The CITIZEN MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, *Chihuahua.*

No. 8.

Señor Lerdo de Tejada to Mr. Romero.

No. 32.] DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT,
National Palace, Chihuahua, January 26, 1865.

I have received your note, No. 280, of the 28th of October last, with reference to the visit made by yourself and General Manuel Doblado to the army of the United States on the Potomac.

The President has been informed with very great satisfaction of the attention with which that government conceded at once the necessary permission, of the cordial consideration which was extended to you and to General Doblado by Generals Grant, Meade, and Butler, and of the good opinions and favorable sentiments of that army in favor of the cause of the Mexican republic.

I assure you of my most attentive consideration.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the Mexican Republic in Washington, D. C.

No. 9.

We have letters and correspondence from the city of Chihuahua up to the 10th of June. All was progressing favorably for the liberal cause. The French forces had not entered the State of Chihuahua, and the government remained entirely undisturbed in the capital of that name. It appears the French forces have more than they can attend to in regions much nearer to the city of Mexico.

We translate from the Diario Official of the 20th of May the following interesting letter:

No. 137.] MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE U. S. OF NORTH AMERICA,
Washington, April 4, 1865.

In the popular rejoicing occasioned yesterday by the news of the occupation of Petersburg and Richmond by the troops of the Union; the streets were thronged by crowds of people, who called upon various public functionaries and prominent men to address them, as is the custom of this country.

I enclose to you a slip from the Chronicle of yesterday, which contains the principal addresses to which I refer, and I think it proper to call your attention to the allusions that some of them contain to the policy which, on the conclusion of the war, will be initiated by the government of the United States towards France and England, in consonance with the popular sentiment. Some of these allusions are direct to the question of Mexico, and others refer more or less indirectly to it.

The most remarkable of all, from the character with which the speaker is invested, is that made by Mr. Seward to the Emperor of the French in the speech which he made upon being called upon by the people at the Department of State. In order that the spirit of the allusion may be better comprehended, I believe it convenient to translate the speech entire, which, while it is short, cannot fail to be of interest, because it reveals the sentiments which animate this government with reference to the European powers. The speech is as follows:

"I thank my fellow-citizens for the honor they do me by calling to congratulate me on the fall of Richmond I am now about writing my foreign despatches. What shall I say to the Emperor of China? I shall thank him in your name for never having permitted a piratical flag to enter the harbors of the empire. [Applause.] What shall I say to the Sultan of Turkey? I shall thank him for always having surrendered rebel insurgents who have taken refuge in his dominions. [Applause.] What shall I say to the Emperor of the French? [A voice: Tell him to get out of Mexico.] I will say to the Emperor of the French that he can go to-morrow to Richmond and get his tobacco so long held under blockade there; that is, if the rebels have not already burned it up. [Laughter and cheers.] To Lord John Russell I will say that British merchants will find cotton exported from our ports, under treaty with the United States, cheaper than cotton obtained by running the blockade. As for Earl Russell himself, I need not tell him that this is a war for freedom and national independence, and for the rights of humanity, and not a war for empire; and that if Great Britain will only be just to the United States, Canada will remain undisturbed by us so long as she prefers the authority of the noble Queen to voluntary incorporation with the United States. [Applause, and exclamations of: You are right—that is the way to talk!] What shall I say to the King of Prussia? I will say to him that the Germans have been faithful to the standard of the Union, as his excellent minister, Baron Gerolt, has been constant in his friendship to the United States during his long residence in this country. To the Emperor of Austria I will say that he has given proofs that he is a very prudent man, because he has said to us from the beginning that he had no sympathy with rebellion anywhere. [Applause.]

"I do not doubt, fellow-citizens, that at least now you will accede to the theory by which I have governed myself during the war, viz: that the rebellion was to end in ninety days. I have thought this the true theory, because I never knew a physician able to restore the patient to health unless he thought he could work a cure under the most unfavorable circumstances in ninety days.

"Finally, if the American people approve, I will say that our motto in peace shall be what our text has been while in war: Every nation is entitled to regulate its own domestic affairs in its own way, and all are bound to conduct themselves so as to promote peace on earth and good will to mankind."

The Vice-President, Mr. Andrew Johnson, also spoke to the people, and in his discourse occurs the following significant passage:

"In the language of another, let that old flag rise higher and higher, until it meets the sun in his coming, and let the parting day linger to play upon its ample folds. [Cheers.] It is the flag of your country, it is your flag, it is my flag, and it bids defiance to all the nations of the earth, and to the encroachments of all the powers combined. [Renewed cheering.] It is not my intention to make any imprudent remarks or allusions, but the hour will come when those nations that exhibited toward us such insolence and improper interference in the midst of our adversity, and, as they supposed, of our weakness, will learn that this is a government of the people, possessing power enough to make itself felt and respected." [Cheers.]

Mr. Charles S. Spencer, president of the republican club of New York, who happened to be in this city, also addressed a gathering of the people, and, among other things, said:

"And now that we have settled this account, have we not others to arrange?

Shall we not just insert the points of our bayonets and pitch into the Pacific ocean every Johnny Crapaud who is to be found in Mexico?"

For the illumination which is preparing for this evening there have been placed upon the building of the Department of State transparencies with these mottoes: "Peace and good will towards all nations, but no entangling alliances, and no foreign intervention." "At home, Union is order, and order is peace: abroad, Union is strength, and strength is peace."

I repeat to you the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, *Chihuahua.*

No. 10.

No. 193.] DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND OF GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL PLACE,
Chihuahua, May 17, 1865.

The citizen President of the republic has seen with pleasure what you have communicated in your note No. 137, of the 4th of April of this year, with reference to the demonstrations of public rejoicing which took place in Washington upon the reception of the news of the occupation of Petersburg and of Richmond by the troops of the Union.

The allusions of the Hon. Mr. Johnson, who at that time only had the character of Vice-President of the United States, and of the Hon. Mr. Seward, demonstrate that in that country the intrigues and the acts by which Napoleon has sought to injure the United States during its civil war have not been lost sight of. Napoleon has offended the people of the south by not favoring them, from fear of an open rupture of the government of the United States, as much as they expected and wished; and he has offended the north by clearly showing, so far as that fear would let him, how much he desired their downfall and the permanent destruction of the Union. Without doubt the terms of Napoleon's letter to General Forey have also been remembered, in which, without tact or prevision, he stated that the principal object of the intervention in Mexico was to oppose the United States, and to raise up against it the Latin race, as if it was possible to elevate a race by seeking to humiliate and degrade one of its members and foment forgetfulness of all of its sentiments of national dignity. In order to avert the effects of that stupid lack of foresight, the French senate has sought recently to record, in its answer to the address on the opening of the sessions, that the intervention in Mexico has not had any object in the antagonism of races, the senate thus pretending to deny the express terms of the letter of Napoleon.

In the allusions of Mr. Seward to the prudence of the Emperor of Austria, who has taken care to make known that he has no sympathy with rebellion anywhere, he assuredly had reference to what was manifested to his government with reference to the civil war in the United States, and also to what the government of the republic has reason to know was communicated to that of the United States at the beginning of last year with reference to the arrival of Maximilian in Mexico, explaining that it was his own personal affair, in which the government of the emperor, his brother, had no part whatever. This was an act of prudence on the part of that sovereign, and at the same time of dignity; for he did not wish to take part in the unworthy enterprise of the archduke, his brother, who consented to come to Mexico to represent there the humble position of the simple instrument of a foreign government, and, in addition, the instrument of a government which had just, in Lombardy, been the means of conquering and humiliating his country and his family; who consented also, at the call of a few Mexican traitors to their country, and reserving, in his turn, to deceive them and to prove false to them, when after a little he should be ordered by the French government.

I renew to you my attentive consideration.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

No. 11.

General Arteaga to General Bazaine.

TACAMBARO, *April* 24, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: By special request of the Belgian lieutenant, M. Guallo, who was taken prisoner in the capture of this place on the 11th instant, I have the honor to remit to you, through the military chief of Morelia, a gold watch belonging to Baron Chazal, son of the minister of war of Belgium, who was killed in the said assault.

The object of this remission is, that you will be pleased to cause it to reach his father, to whom, as a last request, his son directed it should be sent, according to his wishes expressed to the said Lieutenant Guallo before the commencement of the attack.

I am, sir, with due attention, yours, &c.

JOSÉ MARIA ARTÉAGA.

Marshal BAZAINE, *Mexico.*

No. 12.

The following letter was written by a Mexican officer in the service of Maximilian, who was accompanying a detachment of Belgian troops sent into the State of Michoacan. It reveals a tale of horror that shows how utterly impossible it is for Maximilian ever to pacify that country except by the extermination of all its inhabitants. The civilization he is introducing is worse than that of the Goths and Vandals:

MARAVATIO, *April* 27, 1865.

MY DEAR UNCLE: Since I left Mexico this is the first opportunity I have had to address you a letter and communicate anything about our campaign, in which the fatigue is very great and the results next to nothing. For fifteen days we have been marching through mountains and deserts, behind an enemy whom we have not had the felicity of seeing even at a distance. We arrived at Zitacuro and found it deserted—the houses open but without inhabitants, nor even a sign that they had been occupied; for, all the inhabitants being enemies, they had retired some time since to the mountains and the most distant estates. Finding the place deserted in this manner, this circumstance, added to what had occurred some days before to the force of Lamabrid, caused the Belgian colonel, the sole commander of the expedition, to become very indignant, and to order the most severe measures yet necessary in such cases as this.

On the day following our arrival at this collection of houses—for it cannot be called a town, where there are no inhabitants—we left for the neighboring villages and ranches with precise orders "to raze and destroy everything in them." In fact, on this day we burned the villages of San Francisco and San Miguel, leaving their inhabitants without property or home. It was a scene that would have filled with consternation even a Nero. Think of the families in the street, the children crying, some calling for their fathers, who had fled distracted to the mountains; others entreating in the most pitiful manner; and, accompanying all these laments, the echoes of the trumpet sounding without cessation the order to set fire. Everywhere was seen nothing but flames, which devoured everything. In fine, to relate to you all that I saw would be impossible. This operation finished, we scoured the fields and drove off the cattle, the horses, the mules, everything in fact, which belonged to the miserable unfortunates who, in less than three hours, saw perish all their savings of many years. These opetions we have repeated with two other villages and a hacienda belonging to one Arias, who is serving with Riva Palacios, and finally we left for this point, whence we proceed to Morelia.

Up to the present time I have only lost from my squadron two men and twelve Belgians, whom the Indians surprised in the mountains and whom they killed like dogs in the village of San Mateo, which also disappeared from the scene, thanks to the fire which consumed it.

I have met with no accident, and as I am more accustomed to active life than to quiet, I am well and in very good condition.

I trust that your health has also improved, and that everything is going on well, which I shall be much pleased to hear.

With great and sincere affection, your nephew, who hopes to see you soon,

SILVIANO NAVA.

General José Antonio Herredia.

No. 13.

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, well-deserving citizen of the country, and general of division of the national armies of Mexico, to his countrymen :

Mexicans: He who has always addressed you on solemn occasions, whether to explain to you his political conduct, or to give you advice, or to offer you his sword, is the same who now claims from you the greatest calmness and attention, in order that you may listen to him once more. I speak to you from the heart. I have never deceived you, because truth has always been my rule.

The respect which in all times and under all circumstances I have paid the majority of the people, imposes upon me the duty to impress upon you that which you have already read in my manifesto, issued at Vera Cruz on the 27th of February, 1864.

I adhered to the system of government which appeared to be proclaimed by a considerable majority, in obedience to the principles which I professed, based upon submission to the national will, under the conviction that the Mexicans were those who, exercising their civil omnipotence, had given themselves new institutions, and were trying to find the way to conciliate order with liberty. But what a painful error! From this hospitable island I contemplate with increasing indignation the scaffold which the tyranny of a usurping people are raising in our beloved country to stain it with the blood of our brothers, and for the destruction of our people.

From this island I have contemplated also, with pride, your struggle for life with the invaders of your country, the soldiers called forth by the intervention, and the trumpet of the free has made my heart palpitate with joy, as in the happy days in which we combated together in defence of our firesides and our outraged rights. The hopes of those who sought in monarchy the repose which the republic denied them, have been disappointed; the national dignity has been contemned, justice derided, our holy rights trodden under foot, thought enslaved, prostitution elevated and virtue vilified, the sanctuary draped in mourning, and the church afflicted with tribulations. Terror is seated upon the scaffold, brandishing over the patriots the knife of extermination. War to the invaders. Liberty or death should be the cry of every generous bosom in which honor has her home, independence her altar, and liberty her rites.

We thought that the Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, would restore to us peace, and he has been the new element of discord; that with wise laws he would enrich our treasury, and he has impoverished it in an incredible manner; that he would bring us happiness, and the misfortunes are innumerable which in so short a time he has heaped upon the ruins of ensanguined Mexico; that in fine he would be consistent in his principles and promises if he accepted the views of President Juarez in all that related to reform, at the same time that he persecutes him and gives him war to the knife.

European adventurers formed his guard of honor. The French bayonets are the foundations of his throne, and in the mean time so many see themselves condemned to oblivion, to the contempt of the veterans of independence, once the glory of our nation, and now objects of derision and mockery for the foreign soldiery. Such insults cannot be tolerated any longer. The hour has come in which we should exterminate from the sacred soil of the free the farcical rabble who profane the land with their feet, and insult us with their presence.

Liberals and conservatives forget our fratricidal contentions, and advance to the rescue. Let us unite together against the common enemy. One banner covers us—the flag of liberty. One thought alone animates us—that of war and death to the invaders who destroy our towns and cities, and behead our brothers. Eternal execration to the tyrants of our country!

Compatriots, if, on reading my manifesto of last year, your attention should be arrested by the expression that "the last words of my conscience and of my convictions is constitutional monarchy," remember that I also said on the same occasion, "I am not an enemy of democracy, but of its excesses;" and, above all, do not forget that I was the founder of the republic. A people is free, whatever be their form of government, when the head of the nation forgets that he is human. Let him remember only that he is the organ of the law. This, my belief, was also yours, when the republic was changed to an empire.

But we have been mistaken. The prince whom you chose is not the organ of the law, but the usurper of our rights. He is not the defender of national independence, for if he were he would not cede Sonora. He is not the sovereign of the nation, but the humble vassal of a foreign potentate.

In order to inspire greater confidence in the new form of government which you have just adopted, and to carry to the throne for your benefit the advice of experience, I went to Vera Cruz to meet the proclaimed emperor, disposed to give him, without reserve, all my support; but his arbitrariness and discourtesy closed the doors of my country upon me. The decree of my expulsion was written in a language which our forefathers did not speak.

I owe you an explanation. The public journals of the capital published my recognition of the French intervention. This act of mine did not originate from my own will, but was imposed upon me by the force of circumstances.

Scarcely did the steamer that conducted me anchor in the port, ere a French commander presented himself before me on board of the vessel, as the chief superior of Vera Cruz, and made known to me that I would not be allowed to land, but, on the contrary, he should oblige me to return in the same vessel, if I did not immediately comply with the conditions which he presented to me written in French. These conditions required me to recognize the intervention and the monarch elect, and not to address the people.

Such quiet insolence could only excite my indignation. But the sufferings of my wife, caused by the painful journey by the sea, and the advice of some of my friends who came to meet me, inclined me to subscribe to these conditions, which, however, did not liberate me from the annoyances to which I was exposed.

All this proves that the intervention could not be supported without mistrust of the presence of the soldier who had always defended with energy the rights of his country, humbling on various occasions the flag of the haughty potentates and making their so-called invincible legions bow under the yoke of democracy.

My friends, in addressing you to-day, I am only inspired with the desire for your happiness and the glory of Mexico. No unworthy sentiments dictate my words. I have shed some drops of my blood in your defence, and I would shed it all, were it necessary, fighting in your armies, if not as your chief, then as a private soldier. In the mean time, while circumstances prevent me from joining your ranks, I wish you to know the sentiments with which I am animated.

Compatriots! on the memorable 2d of December, 1822, I adopted as my motto these words: "Down with the empire! Live the republic!" *Abajo el imperio! Viva la republica!* And now, from the foreign soil upon which I am exiled, I repeat that motto with the same enthusiasm.

A. L. DE STA. ANNA.

ST. THOMAS, *July* 8, 1865.

No. 14.

THE TRUE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN MEXICO.

Extract from a letter from a well-informed commercial house.

CITY OF MEXICO, *July* 11, 1865.

* * * * The political situation here daily becomes more critical. The French papers acknowledge that the foreign troops now in the country are entirely inadequate to put down the insurgents, and that the country evidently rejects the intervention and the empire.

The *Estafette* says, "that in order to pacify the country it will require at least one hundred thousand men;" and the *New Era*, another French organ, says "that the empire needs not only soldiers, but the indorsement of public opinion and the support of the people, which it has not, as is shown by events every day; for after four years of fighting, and the French having all kinds of resources and possessing the chief cities, Juarez, the president elected by the people, is still safely established in Chihuahua, and his armies are everywhere throughout the country fighting as on the first day of the war."

In the State of Vera Cruz the republicans now occupy the whole State, with the exception of the line of one of the roads from Vera Cruz, that by way of Orizaba, and this is now frequently cut by the liberals. The republican governor of the State of Puebla is regaining possession of many of the towns of that State; the States of Tabasco and Chiapas are ruled by republican governors who occupy them in their whole extent; a great part of the State of Oajaca is again in open rebellion; the State of Mexico is overrun by the liberal General Vicente Riva Palacios, who has under his command some two thousand men, and portions of his forces penetrate often into the valley of Mexico, quite near to the gates of the capital. A part of this State, that was submitted to the empire through a treaty with one of the commanding officers, is now in rebellion again, and the insurgents have captured Huejutta, the chief town of the district, taking all of the garrison prisoners. General Alvarez is complete master of the State of Guerrero, where the French dare not penetrate, and in Michoacan there is quite a respectable army under the liberal commander-in-chief, General Arteaga, who occupies most of the State except the capital, which is now threatened. One of his lieutenants, General Regules, lately took prisoners a Belgian garrison, which is still in their power, and we have just received news that he has also captured the garrison of Uruapan, consisting of some three hundred men.

Two of the imperial regiments of this State have left their banner and joined the republicans, to whom, it is said, further desertions are daily being made.

From this State the insurrection has communicated to those of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi and Jalisco, where there are more than a dozen chiefs commanding different parties of guerillas.

In the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas, though lately the French forces took possession again of the cities of Monterey and Saltillo, it was without inflicting any damage upon the republicans, who only fell back to unite again at another place, and so keep up an exhausting and never-ending struggle. The liberal forces in those States are some five thousand strong. General Carbajal in Tamaulipas has lately taken possession of Ciudad Victoria, the capital of the State, and of Tula, whose garrison were taken prisoners.

Tampico is also threatened by this same general. In short, there is perfect disorder and insurrection everywhere, and the country is further from being pacified to-day than ever. It is believed here that the situation cannot continue long.

Maximilian evidently foresees a change, and is preparing for it, as there are now sent in to him at the palace ten thousand dollars a day, and he is sending funds out of the country by every opportunity.

No. 15.

CITY OF MEXICO, *September* 19, 1865.

On the 16th of September last was the 44th anniversary of Mexican independence. Maximilian availed himself of that occasion to make a most remarkable speech, intended as a warning to the United States.

If any one had been laboring under the idea that the Austrian archduke was about to leave Mexico, that impression must be dispelled. However great may be the complications that are to arise with the United States, he is committed irrevocably to remain in Mexico. His speech contains the following solemn and unmistakable words:

"No influence in this world can make me waver in my duty; every drop of my blood is Mexican now, and if God sends fresh dangers to threaten our country you will see me fight in your ranks for its independence and integrity. I am willing to die at the foot of our glorious banner, because no human power can wrest from me the trust with which you have endowed me."

No more direct reference or open defiance to the United States could be made. Now, after our war has terminated and time for reflection has been given, Maximilian, in defiance of the well-known views of the United States, deliberately takes his stand, and says: "I shall remain in Mexico." It is too late for him to say, as he might have done before, that he was mistaken and had been misinformed with reference to the views of the Mexican people; and that they do not desire an imperial form of government, and that in deference to their wishes he was willing to abdicate the throne. Now the die is cast, and the throne usurped through the aid of the arms of France is to be maintained at all hazards. This important step, however, had a higher origin than the vacillating purpose and feeble will of Maximilian. It emanates from Paris. Maximilian is the speaker, but the words are the words of Louis Napoleon. It is evident from the advices that have reached here from France, that this speech as well as the abandonment of the journey of Carlota, his wife, to Belgium, are the result of direct orders from Napoleon, who has decided to meet the issue, and he it is that is to be held responsible.

So strong has been the feeling of confidence here on the part of Maximilian and his advisers, since the receipt of recent advices from Paris, that he has gone further than anybody had dreamed he would, and has attempted, in order to encourage emigration from the south, to establish slavery in his dominions. Before entering on his edict upon this subject, I will refer for a moment to the colonization business and how it has been managed here.

It has always been the plan of Louis Napoléon and of Maximilian to rely in a considerable degree, for the maintenance of their position here, upon the support of discontented emigrants from the south who would seek refuge in this country.

In the Mexicans alone they saw no elements strong enough to oppose the United States, in the difficulties which they foresaw would arise upon the termination of our war. But they have calculated upon a large emigration from the south, and this explains their anxiety to receive with open arms all who harbored prejudice or had grievances yet to redress with the United States.

To secure this immigration they were willing, of course, to take them with all their prejudices of color, and, in fact, if necessary, indirectly to adopt, for a time at least, their well-tried system of labor.

The first plan was to have Duke Gwin, as commissioner general of emigration, to be located in the northern and frontier States, and there to build up a barrier against the encroachments of the United States. This plan would have been carried out had not the rebellion been crushed so speedily. That unexpected and undesired event deranged their plans and rendered more caution necessary. Duke Gwin was obnoxious to many of the leading rebels, who soon arrived in Mexico, and his name had been too prominently mentioned in connexion with the scheme, and its purpose was too well known for it to be prudent to have him any longer at the head of it. Consequently Duke Gwin was unceremoniously thrown overboard, and a new plan has now, after much deliberation and study, been adopted. This plan, besides accomplishing all the purposes of the original scheme, has the merit of appearing not to be exclusive, and of presenting only the honest purpose of populating the country with laborers from abroad, whose presence all admit is so much needed.

The scheme is embraced in several decrees which have been recently issued. One issued on the 5th September proclaims "that Mexico is freely opened to emigration from all countries," (which means southern emigration,) and is followed by certain "Regulations," signed by Maximilian himself, which, while declaring free, according to the laws of the empire, all who enter the Mexican territory, proceeds to establish certain rules and regulations by which the laborer is thrown really into a worse state of slavery than that of the southern States; and a slavery that is not confined to the colored man, but extends to all laborers alike.

The *peons*, or laborers, have to make a contract with their master, who is styled *patron*, by which they engage to work in his service for a period of not less than five nor more than ten years, which contract can be renewed at its expiration.

The *patron* is to engage himself to feed, clothe and keep the serfs and to nurse them when sick, paying them also some nominal wages in money. The patron has also to feed his servant's children, and these, should the father die, are to remain in his service until they become of age. Fugitive serfs are condemned to the public works, without pay, until their master may demand them.

You have doubtless heard of the former peonage system of this country, of which scarcely a vestige has for many years remained, and that only in a limited part of southern Mexico, where it has existed in violation of law and only under an abusive practice of the land owners, who have there a controlling influence. This system was equivalent to slavery, but the early legislation of Mexico and the constitution of 1857, in express terms, strictly abolished it and prohibited its exercise under severe penalties.

But it has remained for Maximilian, the Austrian, the docile tool of Napoleon, to attempt to re-establish this odious relic of the past, and deliberately to systematize by formal edict, and cover with the color of lawful right, this shameful practice of virtual human slavery. Can such things be allowed in the middle of this nineteenth century, and when, in the United States that odious institution has just been abolished at the cost of the greatest war the world has ever seen? The object of this scheme is, while avoiding the use of the word "slavery," to establish a system in place of it which shall be equally satisfactory to southern men, and while thus apparently drawing them in as emigrants to strengthen their hands in the event of any movement by the United States. For the information of your readers I enclose a copy of the decree and "regulations" annexed.

In addition to the evidence showing a design to secure the support of discontented people from the south, constant additions to the existing force in this country are being made from France. A French steam transport has just landed at Vera Cruz 800 men, and the last packet from St. Nazaire brought 500.

There are also on the way and expected soon to arrive 1,200 Egyptians, while the money remittances from France show that Napoleon is preparing to maintain a large army here.

The recent order of the Secretary of War, disbanding a large part of Sheridan's army on the Rio Grande, has caused a great deal of satisfaction to the government here; and they assume that it is proof positive that the United States does not intend to disturb their possession of Mexico.

It is even asserted that the recognition of the United States will yet be obtained. Quite a number of agents of Maximilian are now at work in the United States, who are well supplied with funds for influencing popular opinion there through the press and other channels. The chief of these is an Austrian count, a personal friend of Maximilian, who was formerly acting as the assistant secretary of the yet to be created navy. Señor Arroyo is acting under him as so-called commercial agent, and Señor Degollado holds an inferior position subordinate to both. Encouraged by the reported withdrawal of our troops from the Rio Grande these efforts will be redoubled; but it is to be hoped our government will in season appreciate how great an encouragement to Napoleon this measure will be, and suspend any further diminution of the forces at this most important strategic point.

The internal condition of affairs here could hardly be worse for Maximilian and the French than it is at present. The number of guerillas increases every day, and new leaders are coming into the field in every direction. They annoy and cut off the communication of the French, interrupt their mails, attack their convoys, prevent all travel except under strong military escort, stop the transit of merchandise, pick off the French pickets, and, whenever an opportunity is afforded them, swoop down upon and surprise some small outlying detachment. When pursued, they invariably disband and disperse in every direction, and are constantly always being pursued but never destroyed. As can easily be imagined, this kind of warfare is excessively annoying and unsatisfactory to the French. They are kept in a continual state of uncertainty and alarm, are constantly subjected to long and weary marches, and are fighting an enemy who is always before them but never overtaken, and is as intangible as a shadow, yet surrounds them and harasses them everywhere night and day. The Austrians and Belgians in considerable bodies have often been defeated by the guerillas, so that the former are no longer feared by the Mexicans, while the latter are even despised, and when taken prisoners are simply disarmed and let go at once. If I were to enumerate all the different encounters with the guerillas which are contained in the recent numbers of the Franco-Mexican papers, I should fill whole pages of the Herald. I will therefore content myself, as evidence, with translating a few items from La Sociedad, an ultra clerical paper of this city, and L'Estafette, the organ of General Bazaine.

The Estafette of the 7th of September comments upon the defeat at the Rio Florido, in the State of Chihuahua, of a *detachment* of French soldiers by the liberal General Patoni. The same issue has also the following:

"The neighborhood of Toluca has just been the scene of painful events. The 'dissidents' having surprised at San Felipe a detachment of the municipal guards it was destroyed. This disaster costs the municipal guard of Mexico seventy men, and Captains Concha and Moncada, and Lieutenant Galindo."

The Sociedad of the 8th says:

"Figueroa took possession at Tecomovaca of a *conducta* of $200,000, proceeding from Oaxaca to Vera Cruz, the troops that escorted the money having been completely routed."

In the issue of the 10th the same paper adds:

"The Boletin of Tlaccotalpam publishes Figueroa's report of his engagement with the Austrians, after he left Tehuacan, at Trapichito, on the Rio Salado. Figueroa states that the enemy's losses were more than twenty killed and forty-eight prisoners, among them an Austrian lieutenant of cavalry." The same paper adds: "We are informed from a trustworthy source that Fragoso, who is again in the field, surprised, on the evening of the 2d instant, at the hacienda of San Antonio del Valle, an imperial force of ninety dragoons from San Juan del Rio. All were taken prisoners, except a few who escaped by scaling the walls of the hacienda. From the same source we learn that Ugalde, (another liberal chief,) coming from Huapango, crossed the national road to the interior on the 3d instant with a force of five hundred men on his way to Mezquital."

El Pajaro Verde of the 9th says:

"General Rueles (imperialist) is fortifying Tepeje del Rio, to await there the enemy, who is approaching that locality with upwards of twelve hundred men.',

I should never finish were I to repeat all that is published of this character and which is the staple of our daily news. "Tula, in the State of Mexico, has been captured by the republicans." "The republican forces have approached the outskirts of Orizaba." "The imperial General Tenajero has been defeated in Nuevo Leon." Such items fill the papers constantly. Maximilian, or rather General Bazaine, who is the real emperor, has abandoned the policy of conciliation heretofore pursued, and it is now a war of extermination against all who oppose them.

Here in the capital we have recently had an alarm, and some forty prominent Mexicans of distinction were arrested and imprisoned without trial or charge, and for no reason other than that they were known to be unfriendly to the empire in the opinions which they entertained, but without taking any part whatever in the struggle that is going on. No reason whatever has been assigned for their arrest and imprisonment, nor have they been brought before any tribunal for trial. Rumor says to-day that they are to be sent to Martinique, subject to hard labor. The outrages and atrocities that are being committed here by the French will, when known, shock the whole world and fill it with horror. Poland, even, has scarcely been the theatre of more iniquitous events.

The Sociedad of the 6th instant publishes the following, taken from an official report of an engagement in Aguas Calientes:

"According to orders, and with the greatest secrecy, without calling upon the authorities of the place, Don Manuel Lozano (a supposed republican) was arrested and immediately shot in his own house."

Speaking of French atrocities, the Sombra, a semi-liberal paper of this city, publishes the following:

"We have denounced before the nation many acts of cruelty of which the press of this city has taken no notice at all. We have also stated in our remarks addressed to the Estafette that it is impossible to consolidate peace in the presence of a power, which in utter disregard of the laws of nature, and stifling all feelings of humanity, decrees with profound secrecy and without any law but its own will the death of citizens. It is impossible, we repeat, to re-establish peace and public confidence by the use of such means."

In my next I will send you further extracts, which will unmistakably show the course of events.

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(The so-called colonization decree was sent to the Department of State with M. Romero's letter of October 5, 1865, and is published in No. 8.)

(For No. 16, see No. 4, Military Operations on the Western Division.)

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON, *12th of February* 1866.

M. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to send him a copy of a verbal note addressed by M. Romero to the Hon. Lafayette S. Foster and the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, which explains the motive of his absence from the exercises held to-day to the memory of the late President Abraham Lincoln.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

WASHINGTON, *12th of February* 1866.

M. Romero presents his compliments to the Hon. Mr. Lafayette S. Foster, and has the honor to inform him that, on the 8th instant, he received a note dated the 5th, and signed by Mr. Foster, as President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, inviting, "in accordance with a concurrent resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives, Mr. Romero's attendance at the hall of the House on Monday, February 12, at noon, on the occasion of the exercises in honor of the memory of the late President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln."

M. Romero thought it to be his duty to attend that ceremony, and thus show his regard for the late President Lincoln, and for the representatives of the country who made such a demonstration. Therefore, in company with the other members of the Mexican legation, who had received similar invitations, he went this morning at a quarter of 12 to the House of Representatives for the purpose of being there at the appointed time.

On reaching the north door of the hall of said House, they were asked by the doorkeeper for their tickets of admission. M. Romero showed the tickets which had been sent to him from the State Department on the 9th instant, and which were intended for the diplomatic gallery. The doorkeeper asked him for the invitations to the floor, which neither M. Romero nor the members of his legation had taken with them, not knowing that they might be required. Their admission was then refused by the doorkeeper, and in this course he was supported by the Hon. Solomon Foot, who was present at the door, and who said that, according to the regulations, (of which M. Romero had no knowledge, not having been sent to him,) nobody could be admitted to the floor without showing his invitation.

M. Romero's object in making this statement is, that his absence and that of the other members of the Mexican legation from the interesting ceremony alluded to, may not be misconstrued in any way.

Hon. LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER,
President of the Senate.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 20, 1866.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to Mr. Romero, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his verbal note of the 12th instant, enclosing copy of one from him to the honorable L. S. Foster, explaining the reasons of his absence on the occasion of the exercises in honor of the memory of the late President of the United States, held at the hall of the House of Representatives, and to express his regret at the causes which prevented his presence on that occasion.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., &c., &c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

MEXICAN LEGATION,
Washington, 20th of February, 1866.

Mr. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the verbal note which he addressed to him to-day in reply to Mr. Romero's note of the 12th instant, and to send him, besides, a copy of the replies which he has received from Messrs. Foster and Colfax, the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, to the verbal note which he addressed to them on the same date in reference to the same affair.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
Washington, February 13, 1866.

Mr. Foster has received Señor Romero's note of yesterday.

It is a matter of deep regret to Mr. Foster that any cause should have prevented the attendance of Señor Romero with the members of his legation in the hall of the House of Representatives to hear the discourse in honor of our late President. No guests could have been more welcome than Señor Romero and the members of his legation, the honored representatives of *our neighbor and sister, the republic of Mexico.*

Mr. Foster is especially sorry for the annoyance to which Señor Romero and his legation were subjected at the door of the hall. As notice was published in the daily papers, and in the programme of the day, that tickets must be shown for admission to the galleries, and letters of invitation for admission on the floor of the House, it was supposed it would be understood, and it was hoped no mistake would be made.

Mr. Foster can but repeat how much he regrets what has happened, and takes this opportunity to assure Señor Romero of his high regard.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS OF THE U. S., HOUSE OF REPS.,
Washington, D. C., February 16, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I had intended an earlier reply to your explanatory letter, but the constant pressure on my time by multiplied duties prevented. I noticed your absence on the twelfth, and regretted it, and still more when, on my return to my residence, I learned the reason of your statement.

Fearing that some persons might leave their invitations at home, which, by the programme published in all the Washington papers, were necessary for the admission, I provided myself in the morning with several extra ones, signed by Mr. Foster and myself, to supply such deficiencies. If you had only called at the Speaker's room, where I was till noon, and informed me of the fact, I would have handed you the duplicates with pleasure. As the invitations were signed by Mr. Foster and myself, and not by the chairman of the joint committee, I regret that you did not refer to me instead of Senator Foot, who doubtless felt he had no authority to act.

Very truly, yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX, *Speaker*.

Señor M. ROMERO, *&c.*, *&c*, *&c*.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 14th of February, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a French publication, lately made in Paris, entitled "Mexico before the Chambers," and written by Mr. Georges Jauret. It is undoubtedly the most impartial article ever published in France on the Mexican question.

The importance of this publication is such that I cannot refrain from sending it to the department under your worthy charge, and recommending it to your particular attention.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c*.

Mexico before the French Chambers.

[From La Presse, Paris, January 20, 1866.]

I.

On the 5th and 6th of January, 1862, the first ships of France, Spain, and England appeared before the harbor of Vera Cruz. Spain had sent a large contingent of 7,000 men. The quota of France was much more modest, being only 2,500 men, and the English detachment amounted to little more than 700 bayonets.

The city was evacuated before any demonstration was made against the fort of San Juan de Ulua, and the allies immediately took quiet possession.

Now a series of tedious negotiations begin, and concluded with the convention of Soledad, on the 19th of February, 1862. But this convention was rejected at Paris, by a formal note in the *Moniteur* of the 2d of April; full diplomatic power was consigned to Mr. Dubois de Saligny; this disavowal became the pretext of a rupture between the allies, and very soon afterwards General Lorencez, at the head of the French corps, re-enforced, was attacking the Monastery of Guadalupe, transformed into a citidel, at Puebla, on the 5th of May.

Thus at each step we took upon Mexican territory we found ourselves more deeply involved. The skirt of a garment caught in a cog-wheel drags in the whole body. We begin by wishing to protect the interests of our countrymen; at Puebla it is the honor of the flag that demands vengeance; in Mexico we shall see the exigencies of national self love, determined not to give up a work once begun.

General Forey, taking re-enforcements with him, takes General Lorencez's place, and embarks at Cherbourg on the 30th of July. He organizes his columns, and on the 15th of February, 1863, nine months after the check at Guadalupe, he determines to take the offensive. He had twenty thousand men with him. The siege of Puebla commenced on the 18th of March, and on the 18th of May the city and its defences were taken. Finally, on the 10th of June, General Forey made his entry into the capital.

We now approach the decisive period. The meeting of notables is held, and on the 3d of October, 1863, a deputation starts for Miramar to offer the imperial crown to the Archduke Maximilian. The candidate for the restored throne of Mexico submitted his acceptance to the will of the people formally expressed, the result of this vote was communicated to him on the 10th of April, and he finally announces his acceptance to the Mexican delegates. On the 14th of April he embarked at Miramar for Vera Cruz. The lot is now cast; from this moment dates the decisive experiment and the commencement for France of the bitter fruits of intervention.

II.

Under this history of military incidents there is another profound one, diversified with confused and imperceptible accidents systematically dissembled by calculated reserves, and by what we are pleased to call diplomatic exigencies. This last is, however, the most interesting to learn; for it alone gives value to facts, in exposing the secret thought that has produced or directed them.

We must say now, as a preface to the work undertaken by our army, that Mexico is a country of a peculiar kind. It gets on, in opposition to its governments, by *pronunciamientos*, just like Spain, from which it has preserved certain political morals. At the time of our expedition, instability was the normal condition of the different powers that jostled, fought, and replaced each other.

It may be explained in this way, the Mexican people, without being brave, are restive. The wars kept up for independence have given them the habit of arms and the necessity of internal struggles.

In fine, Mexico extends over a vast territory, very poorly joined together in its parts. The absence of roads, the difficulties of communications make it a country very slightly connected federally, and so cut up that a victorious party must always find resistance in some remote quarter of the empire or republic, once headed by Santa Anna, then by Miramon, and now by Juarez.

Such were the difficulties we undertook to overcome when we signed the convention of the 31st of October, 1861.

III.

The idea of a French expedition first appeared in a despatch from Mr. Dubois de Saligny, dated in Mexico the 18th of April, 1861. The despatch was as follows:

"In the state of anarchy, we might say of social decomposition, in which we find this unfortunate country, it is very difficult to foresee the turn events will take. One thing seems certain to me; it is impossible to remain in *statu quo.* Everything indicates that we are approaching a new revolution. In this situation, it seems to me absolutely necessary for us to keep a material force upon the Mexican coast, sufficient to protect our interests, under all circumstances."

It is only a question of a protective demonstration, somewhat negative, as is plainly to be seen, that diverts intervention rather than invites it.

In his despatch of the 12th of June, 1861, Mr. Dubois de Saligny intensifies his thought, making it more decisive. It is no longer a question of simple *protection*, but one of *reclamations* by force. This despatch says:

"It remains for me to add, that I have little confidence in the new administration; that the position of this government appears to me so precarious, that I believe more than ever in the necessity of taking immediate precautions to put ourselves in a condition to support by force, in case of need, the justice of our claims."

In his despatch of the 27th of July, Mr. de Saligny announced to Mr. Thouvenel that on the 23d, in accord with Sir Charles Wyke, he had broken his relations with the government of Juarez.

As to Mr. Thouvenel, he admits the necessity of demanding satisfaction and indemnities; but he does not yet see, even in the most distant case, the project or thought to overturn the republican government of Juarez. See in what remarkably wise terms our minister of foreign affairs resumes his instructions in a despatch from Paris the 5th of September, 1861, addressed to Mr. Dubois de Saligny:

"The government of the Emperor entirely approves of your conduct, and protests in the most formal manner against that of the government of Juarez That government must know the impression of the government of the Emperor, and must be instructed in regard to what we require of it. You must therefore declare to it, that repudiation of the foreign debt, under any pretext whatever, is very unpleasant to us, and we demand the immediate repeal of the law of the 17th of July last. You will add, that we require the appointment of commissioners in the ports of Vera Cruz and Tampico, to be designated by us, and whose duty shall be to assure the deposit, in the hands of the powers entitled to them, the funds collected for their benefit, in execution of foreign agreements, from the profits of the maritime custom-houses of Mexico. If the Mexican government refuses to accept these conditions, you will quit Mexico without delay, with all the *personnel* of his Majesty's legation."

At last, on the 30th of October, the day before the signature of the famous convention between France, England, and Spain, Mr. Thouvenel addressed Mr. Saligny another despatch, announcing in a positive manner the expedition, the conditions under which it was to be undertaken, and the object of the three powers in organizing it.

"The Emperor," said Mr. Thouvenel, "has decided that a naval division, under Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, shall be sent to the Gulf of Mexico to demand satisfaction, which must be given for insults to our dignity, and injuries of all sorts to our citizens. The government of the Emperor will not act alone; the government of her Britannic Majesty and that of her Catholic Majesty propose to join their forces to ours in this expedition."

To explain clearly the situation we are now forced to stop and ask Spain, in her turn, to allow a brief history of her projects in regard to Mexico. It will be seen here that French policy has only yielded to solicitations from Madrid. The wrongs to that power date back even further than ours. As early as the month of April, 1860, before the final triumph of Juarez, we find the first diplomatic protestations of Mr. Pacheco, the Spanish minister in Mexico. We will soon see what fatal fruit this early germ brought forth.

IV.

Let us proceed with the facts. In the month of April, 1860, as Mr. Calderon Collantes says in his despatch to Mr. Mon, on the 23d of October, 1861, Spain had conceived the project of a joint expedition, which would have terminated, according to the proposed plan, in the establishment of *a regular and durable government*, in the stereotyped language of diplomacy; but no definite resolutions were taken till the end of August, 1861. As early as the month of September the government increases its communications with London and Paris; and on the 10th of December Mr. Isturiz writes from London to his government, "That there is nothing yet agreed upon between England and France about intervention in Mexican affairs." As I have observed, it was not till the 30th October, in Mr. Thovenel's despatch to Mr. Dubois de Saligny, that French diplomacy reveals the existence of negotiations for the conclusion of a convention to be signed the next day, and on the 23d of the same month Mr. Calderon Collantes discusses the plan of it in a despatch to Mr. Mon, Spanish ambassador at Paris.

Let us now leave dates and hasten on to the instructive portion of this history. What matters it whether the expedition originated in Madrid, Paris, or London? This question was definitely settled when the three powers solemnly signed the convention of October 31. From that day the responsibilities of the expedition cease to be successive and personal; there is but one action and one responsibility. At present the situation has quite a different appearance. The convention has been given up, and France remains at Vera Cruz, in front of Mexico. We have nothing to say about the conduct of Spain and England after withdrawing from the convention of Soledad. What good would it do? But our expedition has gained its ends. It remains to be seen whether these ends were desired, sought for, or premeditated. And for the proper solution of the question it is certainly not without interest to discover what has been the French policy since the 31st of October, 1861, to the 10th April, 1863, and whether it has been constantly true to itself and constantly uniform. In our mind there are but two orders of facts in the investigation of this question: apparent and tangible facts and those that escape vulgar comprehensions; there is the *letter* and the *spirit*.

V.

Consulting appearances we easily conclude that France never had the idea, ostensibly at least, of exercising any force in the change of government in Mexico. The convention of the 31st October says, in article 1st:

"The commanders of the allied forces shall be authorized to carry out any other operations deemed necessary to enforce the specific aim stated in the preamble of this convention, and particularly to assure protection to foreign residents."

Mr. Calderon Collantes goes so far, on this occasion, as to demand, in his despatch of 23d October to Mr. Mon, the suppression of all of the article after the word "preamble." "Then," said he, "the intent of the convention cannot be doubtful."

Let us pass on to article 2d; certainly the most explicit:

"ART. 2. The high contracting parties bind themselves, in the coercive measures provided by the present convention, not to seek to acquire territory, nor take any private advantage, nor to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to disturb the right of the Mexican nation to choose and constitute freely the form of its government."

This article is very explicit; and it appears much more so when we consider the commentaries made upon it by official declarations and facts. The first of these commentaries is certainly one of the most explicit. We find it in a diplomatic document from Washington, signed by Mr. Seward.

The three European powers in consort, moved by England, wished to have the co-operation of the federal government. The ministers of the three powers knocked at the door of the Washington cabinet, and the Secretary of State for foreign affairs answered in a despatch dated Washington, December 4, 1861; which despatch begins by giving almost the whole of the convention of the 31st October, and expresses the views of the United States upon each article.

What Mr. Seward says of article 2d is particularly interesting:

"The United States," says Mr. Seward, "take great interest—and they are happy to think that this interest is in common with the high contracting parties and other civilized nations—in believing that the sovereigns that have concluded the convention do not seek to obtain an enlargement of territory, or any other advantage not acquired by the United States, or any other civilized state, and that they do not wish to exercise any influence injurious to the right of the Mexican people to choose and freely establish the form of their government. The undersigned reiterates on this occasion the expression of his satisfaction, based on the declaration of the high contracting parties, that they recognize this interest, and he is authorized by the satisfaction of the President of the United States."

It is evident from these declarations of the American statesman that the three powers ought to have discussed the convention of the 31st October, at Washington, in a sense altogether reassuring for the national sovereignty and the security of republican institutions in Mexico.

Mr. Seward adds these characteristic declarations:

"It is true that the United States also have causes of complaint against Mexico, as the high contracting parties suppose. After mature reflection, the President is, however, of opinion that it is not proper at this time to demand satisfaction for these wrongs by an act of accession to the convention. Among the reasons for this decision, and which the undersigned is authorized to communicate, he will mention: 1st. That the United States prefer, as far as possible, to maintain that traditional policy recommended by the Father of the Country, and confirmed by a happy experience, which forbids them to form alliances with foreign nations. 2d. Mexico being a neighbor of the United States on this continent, and possessing, as to some of its most important institutions, a system of government analogous to ours, the United States profess sentiments of friendship towards that republic and take a lively interest in its safety, its welfare, and its prosperity. Animated by these intentions, the United States are not disposed to have recourse to coercive measures to satisfy their wrongs at a time when the Mexican government is profoundly disturbed by internal dissensions and threatened by an external war. These same sentiments prevent the United States, with greater reason, from participating in an alliance in view of a war against Mexico."

The Secretary of State in Washington would have answered very differently if the three powers had allowed an afterthought of dynastic restoration to penetrate their communications. These afterthoughts have long existed, as we will soon see; but they are disguised, dimmed, and changed in the mystery of diplomatic conversations, waiting only the complaisance of facts and the attitude of the Mexicans to give them the right of publicity.

Mr. Calderon Collantes sends instructions to the captain general of Cuba. There were but three points to impose on Mexico: 1st, solemn satisfaction for the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador; 2d, execution of the treaty signed at Paris between Mon and Almonte; 3d, indemnity. Nothing yet of the perspective of a monarchical restoration.

On his part, Mr. Thouvenel, on the 11th of November, 1861, sends instructions to Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. First, he is informed of the motives of the expedition; next, his duties are pointed out to him, and he is told what conditions he is to impose upon the Juarez government, with which the plenipotentiaries are still evidently authorized to treat. It is only later that Mr. Dubois de Saligny and Mr. Jurien de la Gravière will officially learn the irrevocable condemnation that threatens the Mexican republic.

"The combined forces of the three powers," says Mr. Thouvenel to Mr. Jurien de la Gravière, in his note of the 11th of November, "having arrived at the eastern shores of Mexico, you will, as I have said, claim possession of the ports of that coast After this step, two alternatives may arise: either you will be resisted, and you will take these ports by force, or the local authorities will make no material opposition, and the Mexican government will refuse to enter into relations with you."

We here see that Mr. Thouvenel still admits the supposition of an arrangement with Juarez, and of course the maintenance of republican institutions. This does not certainly accord with the diplomatic conversations then taking place between Paris and Madrid, with the view of a monarchical establishment in Mexico; but we will have occasion presently to examine this discreet and mysterious phase of facts; we will continue for the present to look at the avowed aims and to expose appearances.

Mr. Thouvenel continues thus:

"Renewing a tactic used by one of his antecessors in the war with the United States, Juarez would retire to the interior. This expedient would not stop the allied powers. The interest of our dignity, and climacteric considerations, would determine us to act promptly and decisively. The government of the Emperor admits that whether it be to reach the Mexican government, or to render coercion more efficacious, you may be compelled to march into the interior, even as far as the city of Mexico itself." The march on Mexico is only regarded here as a possibility.

The conclusion of the despatch deserves to be given entire; we quote verbally:

"The allied powers, as I have said, have no other design than is expressed in the convention; they do not intend to interfere with internal affairs, nor to exercise any influence on the will of the people in their choice of a government. There are, however, certain contingencies we must be prepared for, and which we must previously examine. It might happen that the presence of the allied forces on the Mexican territory would induce the sensible portion of the population, weary of anarchy, and longing for order and repose, to try to form a government with the guarantees of strength and stability, that have been wanting ever since the independence of the country. The allied powers have a manifest common interest in ridding Mexico of the anarchy which has so long paralyzed its prosperity and annulled the riches bestowed upon it so bountifully by Providence, forcing it to change unstable and expensive governments for others of no better character. This interest ought to induce them not to discourage these attempts, and you will not refuse them your encouragement and moral support if they undertake to establish a government that will afford protection to strangers as well as to other residents. The government of the Emperor relies upon your prudence and discernment to appreciate, in concert with his Majesty's commissioner, (whose knowledge of Mexican affairs, from a long residence in that country, will be very useful to you,) the events that will come under your observation, and the part you will be called upon to take in them.

"THOUVENEL."

This is the first public appearance of the intentions of the French government on the restoration of royalty in Mexico. But these intentions are so slightly developed, and so little encouraged, that the French plenipotentiaries, scarcely fixed upon Mexican soil, are authorized to send Juarez an ultimatum, comprehending all the wrongs against France, under the form of imposed conditions, concluding with an article 9, thus conceived:

"ARTICLE 9. As a guarantee for the fulfilment of the financial conditions and others proposed by the present ultimatum, France shall have the right to occupy the ports of Vera Cruz, Tampico, and such other ports of the republic that seem proper, and to establish commissioners to be appointed by the imperial government, whose duty shall be to deliver funds collected in the maritime ports of Mexico, in execution of foreign contracts, into the hands of those powers to whom they are due, and to deliver sums due to France to the French agents.

"The said agents shall also be invested with power to reduce by half or in less proportion, as they please, the duties now collected in the ports of the republic.

"It is expressly understood that goods upon which importation dues have been paid shall be subjected in no case whatever to an additional tax of more than fifteen per cent. on import duties as internal tax or any other, neither by the supreme government nor by the State authorities."

This article shows that the French commissioners reject all projects of a hostile nature to the government, and are disposed to treat with Juarez.

VI.

The opening of the session of 1862 was impatiently expected. The imperial discourse would necessarily cast some light on this Mexican expedition, around which rumors from every quarter had cast so many shadows. At the opening of the session on the 27th January, 1862, the Emperor expressed himself thus on the Mexican question:

"We would be at peace with the world if the proceedings of an unscrupulous government in Mexico did not force us to join Spain and England in protecting our countrymen, and suppressing crimes against humanity and the laws of nations."

From the data of this imperial speech, then, it is only a question of one of those conflicts so frequent during the first half of the century across the sea. Citizens to protect, crimes to be suppressed—such is the wise, modest, and easy programme announced and avowed solemnly by imperial policy.

Next come discussions of the address. Strange rumors about Mexico circulate, and they find an echo in the centre of the legislature. Vague talks of monarchy in Mexico are heard; officious offers to a prince of the house of Hapsburg are hinted; the band of five bestirs itself, and presents this significant amendment:

"We see the beginning of the Mexican expedition with regret. Its aim seems to be to meddle with the interior affairs of a people. We advise the government to attend only to the reparation of wrongs."

Mr. Jules Favre gets up this amendment. He admits the reparation of wrongs; but he is alarmed when the name of Maximilian is pronounced, particularly in diplomatic circles. On the 24th of January, 1862, Lord Cowley wrote to Lord John Russell thus:

"I have heard it said so often that the officers going to Mexico with re-enforcements say they are going there to place Archduke Maximilian on the throne of that country, that I have thought it necessary to question Mr. Thouvenel on that subject.

"I asked him if negotiations were pending between France and Austria on the subject of the Archduke Maximilian. His excellency said no, but that negotiations had been commenced by Mexicans alone, who had gone to Vienna for that purpose."

We must confess that this affair, lately so much of a secret, was very suddenly developed; for only three days after Lord Cowley's despatch, Lord John Russell wrote, on the 27th of January, 1862, to the English minister in Mexico as follows:

"Sir: I have received your despatches of the 18th and 28th of November, and have placed them before the Queen. Since I last wrote to you the Emperor of the French has determined to send 3,000 more men to Vera Cruz.

"It is supposed these troops will march to the capital with the French and Spanish troops already in the country. It is said that the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian will be invited by a number of Mexicans to ascend the throne of Mexico, and that the Mexican people will be rejoiced at this change in the form of their government.

"I have little to add to my instructions upon the subject. If the Mexican people, by a simultaneous movement, place the Austrian archduke upon the throne of Mexico, we have nothing to do with it; that is not in our convention.

"But we cannot forcibly interfere in this affair. Mexicans must consult their own interests."

And this was written in Europe, and talked of in diplomatic circles, two months before our plenipotentiaries tried to treat with Juarez and sent him the ultimatum. This is a mystery to be solved only by a contradictory study. Mr. Billault at this time undertook to quell the alarms of the opposition. The official orator is very plain, precise, and affirmative. Mr. Jules Favre dreaded the project of monarchical restoration. Mr. Billault answered him thus:

"England and Spain have joined us. The same offers have been made to the United States; but the United States, in regard to Mexico, do not seem to concentrate their views upon a simple reparation of damages suffered. Their policy views things differently, and we have decided to act without them (Very well!)

"Does not this union of three powers fully satisfy you as to the private suppositions upon which your speech is founded? *You persist in seeing certain secret machinations of France, for the benefit of foreign interests, beyond open and avowed facts.* When such suppositions are affirmed, you ought at least to have some proof of them, and you have none!"

Mr. Jules Favre is afraid the convention of the 31st of October covers some ambiguity, and cannot give full faith to complaisant interpretations. Mr. Billault replies to him:

"The convention agreed upon by the three powers is plain and precise. The aim is to exact from Mexico:

"1st. A more effectual protection of the persons and property of their subjects.

"2d. The execution of obligations contracted towards them by that republic; and article 2 of the convention adds:

"'The three contracting parties bind themselves to seek for themselves, in the use of coercive measures provided by the present convention, no acquisition of territory, nor any private advantage; and to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico no influence of a nature to trespass upon the right of the Mexican nation to choose and freely constitute the form of its government.'

"All that is plain and precise. It clearly explains what the three powers intend to do in common, and what they forbid each other to do. Against such solemn declarations what proofs have you to adduce?"

Mr. Jules Favre anxiously inquires why we should go as far as the city of Mexico. Mr. Billault answers:

"You ask why go as far as the capital? Gentlemen, the topographic and hygienic situation of the country commands it as much as political necessity. To take possession of the coast, and remain there, would be sacrificing our troops to the yellow fever. [That's so! that's so!] It would be destroying ourselves; anarchy would reign in the interior, and laugh at France and its futile efforts.

"The decisive blow must be struck at the heart of the power, and, leaving the yellow fever behind us, we must assault a less terrible enemy.

"There, and there only, can we force our rights to be respected, and command respect for our subjects, and the execution of obligations to our country too long delayed. [Good!] That is why our troops must go to the city of Mexico; and as they left on the 20th of February, they ought to be there now."

Mr. Billault does not stop at these declarations. Urged on by the current of his eloquence and applause of his hearers, he becomes more explicit:

"This principle which we proclaim, this principle, the base of our public right—independence of the popular vote and national sovereignty—we will not violate it in the city of Mexico. We will leave these unfortunates perfectly free; miserable people, oppressed by governments you praise, that never gave them the securities and blessings which are the rights of civilized societies. If they desire to continue that miserable existence, we will not force a better lot upon them; but if they will accept a better condition, most certainly we will encourage them with all our sympathies, with all our counsel, with all our moral support."

It is still a question of moral support.

And, finally, to dispel all ridiculous rumors about the throne of Mexico and the Archduke Maximilian, to banish all fancies of idle imaginations, the minister makes this decisive argument to the Chamber:

"Such, gentlemen, is the situation, briefly explained; and as to the rumors that gave umbrage to the ambassador of her Britannic Majesty, permit me to pass them by. Officers said they were going to put a foreign prince upon the throne of Mexico. What! do you suppose a great diplomatic secret would be intrusted to the first army officer that might be sent to Mexico. Surely he was not serious!"

In the debate on the address of 1863, Mr. Saligny was accused of having instigated the French government to a monarchical restoration in Mexico. We will not undertake to defend our plenipotentiary against these imputations; but we must defend truth against conjectures. Did not Mr. Saligny put his name, with that of Mr. Jurien de la Gravière, to the famous convention of Soledad, and thus give his support to the following articles:

"ART. 1. The constitutional government now in power in the Mexican republic having informed the commissioners of the allied powers that it has no need of the assistance so generously offered to the Mexican people, because it has the strength to preserve itself from internal revolt, the allies will resort to treaties to present the reclamations they are charged to make in the name of their respective nations.

"ART. 2. With this intent, the representatives of the allied powers protest that they have no intention to injure the sovereignty and integrity of the Mexican republic. Negotiations will be opened at Orizaba."

This was written on the 19th of February, 1862, over the signatures of the representatives of the allied powers. These princicples were subsequently denied; but the fact is not less serious, inasmuch as it reveals the nature of the instructions given to our plenipotentiaries. The preliminary convention of Soledad is the authorized and official commentary of the convention of the 31st of October

VII.

The situation is now clearly established. It comes out as evidence, that until the official rejection of the Soledad convention, the French government did not acknowledge as an avowed object and aim, the repression of the Mexican republic. The expedition is confined, ostensibly at least, to the prudent limits of a simple revindication. How, then, has it been brought to abandon, that policy? By what intrigue has it been impelled to a monarchical crusade? By what association of ideas or facts has it been led to dream of a resurrection of an imperial crown for the benefit of the Archduke Maximilian?

Here we fancy that French policy has left its old initiation, yielded to the solicitations of the court of Spain, and suffered itself to be caught in a net of intrigues, woven for it by its refugees; but it is yet only an apprehension, and we leave it to facts that we are going to produce to contradict or affirm it.

Let us go back some years. As early as the 16th of March, 1860, the Spanish government began to propose its claims against a country, "the situation of which could not be worse." Miramon then ruled the republic; but we must go back to the 24th November, 1858, to discover the first thought of a joint intervention in the affairs of Mexico. At that date Mr. Mon began to confer with Mr. Walewski on the necessity of establishing a government and a firm power in those countries.

On the 3d of January, 1859, Mr. Mon again wrote to Mr. Calderon Collantes in these terms: "The thought that I have not been able to make your excellency comprehend, is to find out if it is not possible to aid in forming a government in Mexico, which, supported at first by the three powers, might afterwards exist without any assistance."

Would not any one say that this despatch was written the day before the convention of the 31st of October?

Mr. Mon continues: "Will your excellency inform me, if possible, what form is best, and what means most available, to attain this end? Count Walewski and myself have left this question here, in order to resume it at a more convenient season."

Mr. Calderon Collantes, minister of state, writes to Mr. Mon, on the 10th of January, that it is of the utmost importance to establish a strong and durable power in Mexico; but that to persuade Mexico to this, *moral suasion and purely diplomatic discussions are sufficient.*

As to the initiative taken in this grave question by Spain, it is indisputably affirmed in these few lines, borrowed from a despatch of Mr. Calderon Collantes, on the 18th April, 1860:

"Your excellency knows of the attempts made several times by the government of her Majesty to induce England and France to join in the adoption of measures to put an end to the anarchy now exhausting the Mexican republic."

The minister of state in Madrid continued in these terms: "I had a consultation some time ago, on this grave affair, with Mr. Barrot, the French ambassador. Mr. Barrot transmitted my remarks to the department of foreign affairs of the Emperor, and recently he read me an extract from one of his despatches, which says that the governments of France and England are now disposed to combine their efforts to establish a government in Mexico, to be recognized by the whole nation, and put an end to the painful condition of that unfortunate country.

"Mr. Thouvenel thinks the best way would be to propose a constituent assembly to fix a permanent form of government, and settle all existing difficulties, whatever their nature or importance.

"Her Majesty's wish is, that your excellency have an interview with Mr. Thouvenel, to try and contrive some way for the three powers to intervene in the disorders of the Mexican republic. Her Majesty's government thinks that the simple news of this resolution, and the first steps taken, will be enough to encourage the honest people of Mexico and dispose them to act in favor of the establishment of a government which, without limiting the exercise of legitimate rights and guarantees enjoyed in other civilized countries, may suppress that spirit of rebellion that has caused so much harm to that unhappy country."

See the gentle approach. At first it is only a strong and durable power; nothing is said of a republican form. On the 18th of April, 1860, a republic was considered; two months after, Spain favored a monarchy; and lastly, when everything was ready, as she supposed, a Bourbon was proposed. And thus our policy has been insensibly seduced into the Mexican expedition.

Things were in this condition when Spain took the trouble to draw up a constitution for the reorganization of Mexico, and sent it simultaneously to London and Paris, on the 24th of May, 1860. What caused these plans of intervention, so actively caressed by Spain, so pleasantly received by France, to fail? It was their cool reception by England.

On the 27th of April, 1860, Mr. Isturitz wrote from London to Mr. Calderon Collantes: "In fact, on the 27th of April, 1860, Lord John Russell replied briefly to Mr. Isturitz, in regard to English co-operation, that he would not reject it, if it was 'understood that no force was to be used in the execution' of the projects. In a second interview, Mr Isturitz insists on a more explicit answer from Lord John Russell The secretary of state replies, that 'England will require protection to protestant worship;' 'to which I replied,' adds Mr. Isturitz, 'in that case England cannot rely upon the co-operation of Spain.'"

After this reserved attitude of England, Mr. Thouvenel seems inclined to back out. On the 18th of May, 1860, he declared to Mr. Mon, "that as to force and coercive measures, he is by no means inclined to use them."

This is not all; on the 2d of June, 1860, Mr. Barrot, our representative at Madrid, handed a despatch to the minister of state, in which the question of mediation is considered by data and instructions from Mr. Thouvenel.

"Moreover, it is understood," says that despatch, "that the steps to be taken must be of a friendly nature, to the exclusion of all forcible coercion."

This period of projected intervention may be considered as concluded, after the solemn declaration of Mr. Thouvenel.

Henceforth Spain hurries her military preparations, and sends *reserved* instructions to the captain general of Cuba.

Here the diplomatic history of the Mexican question has a large void; for a year passes before a Spanish despatch, of the 6th of September, 1861, revives diplomatic negotiations upon the Mexican question. A few days previous, Mr. Mon, alluding to the troubles in the United States, wrote to his government: "The government ought to know that this is a good opportunity to awaken old memories, and place upon the throne of Mexico a prince of the Bourbon blood, or intimately connected with that house."

We must pay strict attention to this despatch, because it will subsequently explain the sudden defection of the Spanish government.

On the 6th of September, 1861, the Spanish government instructs Mr. Mon to inform the French government that a Spanish expedition is fitting out against Mexico, and that special orders have already been sent to the captain general of Cuba. It was a sort of demurrer in the case, and Mr. Thouvenel, forgetting what he had said about coercive measures, is attracted within the orbit of Spanish policy. And it is not alone in regard to the expedition that this policy prevails, but also to its aim; and, in spite of the convention of 31st of October, in spite of instructions to Mr. Dubois de Saligny and Jurien de la Gravière, in spite of Mr. Billault's declarations in the legislature, the Mexican republic is definitely condemned, and Spain's dream of monarchy is debated, not as a possible event, but as a project irrevocably determined on. On the 11th of October, 1861, Mr. Thouvenel wrote to our ambassador in London:

"I have told the English ambassador that I agreed perfectly with his government on one point. I agreed with Lord John Russell that our coercion of Mexico should be caused by our complaints against that government, and that the prevention of their repetition was the only ostensible excuse for a convention."

Is the word *ostensible* intentional? The minister continues:

"But it seems to me useless to object to legal participation in the events caused by our operations. * * * It is lawful to suppose that if the result of the American crisis should be a separation of the north and south, the two new confederations would seek compensations on Mexican territory, offered by anarchy to their rivalry. England would not remain indifferent to such an event;

and the only thing, in my opinion, that could prevent it, would be the establishment of a new government in Mexico, strong enough to prevent its internal derangement "

It is evident from these declarations of Mr. Thouvenel, uttered twenty days before the convention, and five months previous to the solemn protestations of Mr. Billault, that it was no longer only to avenge our countrymen; and when we compare this declaration of Mr. Thouvenel with that of Mr. Mon on the crisis in the United States, which we have just quoted, we readily perceive the connecting link of the two kindred policies.

VIII.

We remember the clear, precise, and affirmative declarations of Mr. Billault. In 1864 the times and ministers have changed, and policy must change. The entire disinterested nature of the expedition must now be explained. As events have been hurried to the contradiction of Mr. Billault's declarations, Mr. Rouher must explain the unfailing unity of our policy in the Mexican question. Thus he is led, in contradiction to his eloquent predecessor, to prove that present facts were not unexpected, and that France foresaw them, if it did not will them, from the beginning of the expedition.

On the 12th of May, 1864, Mr. Rouher, in reply to Mr. Jules Favre, takes a retrospective observation, and lets a confession escape, in strong contrast to the previous declarations of Mr. Billault. He says:

"We did not stop at vain recriminations; we did not accept insignificant satisfaction, but we resolved from the first to march to Mexico, if our honor and the protection of our countrymen required it, in spite of temporary checks, of rude blame, and mean calumny; for after the situation was changed, despite the counsel of glory, we did not abandon the way we had traced out. We have neither been exalted nor discouraged. We came to Mexico to demand satisfaction of our honor, and overthrow a man who had dared to outrage France. We undertook to make peace in the country; we have reorganized the finances, the administration, and the army of that long unhappy nation, and we have invited it to choose its own government."

The expedition, then, according to Mr. Rouher, had started with the determination to overthrow Juarez, and substitute another government.

But that is not all.

Mr. Rouher expressed himself thus, in the house, on the 28th of January, 1864:

"We told the truth at first; it was satisfaction for our wrongs, protection to our countrymen, with the probable necessity of going on to the city of Mexico. If we go to Mexico, the Juarez government cannot be sustained; there must be a new one.

"The form and conditions of this government must be planned by prudent cabinets, determined to engage in a distant expedition."

Strange inconsistency!

The existence of a government with which our plenipotentiaries were to treat, was doubted. There must have been a previous determination to transform the expedition into a crusade for monarchy, exclusive of outside machinations. In discussing the preliminaries of the expedition, Mr. Rouher quotes a despatch of Thouvenel to Count Flahault, on the 11th of October, 1861. Here it is:

"But the interest we have," says Mr. Thouvenel, "in the regeneration of this country does not allow us to neglect anything to insure its success. As to a form of government, any that would offer proper guarantees would suit us; and I believe England has no preference, and has come to no conclusion. But if the Mexicans themselves, weary of their former miserable governments, should return to the instincts of their race, and form a monarchy, I think we ought to aid them, yet leave them free to select whatever form of government they may think most conducive to their happiness.

"Continuing these ideas in the form of a confidential conversation, I added that in case of such an event, the government of the Emperor, entirely disinterested, did not propose a prince of the imperial family, but, willing to satisfy all parties, would be pleased to see the Mexicans select a prince of the house of Austria."

The proposal of the Archduke Maximilian for the restored Mexican throne is thus frankly made. Then, we ask, how could Mr. Billault, five months later, call the reports from America, about Maximilian's accession, ridiculous stories of silly officers?

Mr. Rouher next read a despatch from Mr. Thouvenel to Mr. Barrot, on the 15th of October, 1864, concerning the projects of monarchical restoration:

"In my despatch to Mr. Flahault, you will find the observations I made to Lord Cowley on this point, by which I have attempted to prove that though we assumed no direct responsibility in internal Mexican affairs, we would not discourage their efforts to form a regular and substantial government, and that the three powers ought to aid in this work of regeneration. In this way I was led to mention to Lord Cowley the possibility of a monarchy in Mexico, as you will see in my despatch to Mr. Flahault."

Mr. Rouher adds these characteristic details:

"Mr. Thouvenel continues. He relates his conversation with Mr. Mon, the Spanish ambassador in Paris; he acknowledges, in case of a monarchy in Mexico, France will accept the Austrian archduke, thus rejecting Spain's proposal to put a Bourbon upon that throne."

From that moment the zeal of Spain became less warm; her troops are already on the way to Vera Cruz; she is obliged to sign the convention then negotiating; but since she cannot slip a Bourbon prince upon the Mexican throne, she will withdraw from the business as soon as she can; and France, pushed forward and then abandoned by her two allies, will be left alone to pursue her solitary way to the city of Mexico with a crown in her knapsack.

Such is history!

IX.

There was an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances to hasten the resolutions of our government. While Mr. Saligny was writing from Mexico about the necessity of establishing a firm government there, a band of Mexican refugees, one of whom had served Miramon, began their monarchical campaign in Europe. Their part, even before the October convention, had assumed an official character. Almonte was the evil genius of our policy in this circumstance

Mr. Billault was wrong to treat this band of refugees, on their way to Miramar or Vienna, so contemptuously in his speech in 1862, for not long afterwards, Almonte, their chief, appeared at Vera Cruz with a letter from Napoleon III, and made this celebrated declaration to the Mexicans:

"I have reason to know the desires of the allies, particularly of the French, to establish a firm government based upon peace and good morals in our unhappy country, and through our own instrumentality alone."

The refugees act with extreme prudence, but official documents contradict them. On the 9th of April, 1862, Mr. Saligny and Mr. Jurien de la Gravière addressed this note to General Doblado:

"When General Almonte left France the government of his Majesty the Emperor of the French knew that hostilities had commenced in Mexico. General Almonte offered to conciliate his countrymen and make them understand the benevolent intention of European intervention. His offer was accepted by the government of his Majesty, and the general was not only authorized but *invited* to repair to Mexico."

There is, then, no doubt about the official character of his mission.

On the 23d of March, 1862, General Prim wrote from Orizaba to Admiral Jurien de la Gravière about the refugees as follows :

"The act of introducing political refugees into the interior of the country, to plan a conspiracy that may destroy the existing government as well as its political system, while you pretend to be friendly and are waiting for a conference, is unexampled, and I am heartily astonished at it.

"If you have orders from your government, I must say I do not see the wisdom, justice, and grandeur of imperial policy; nor do I see any conciliation of the Emperor towards England and Spain in such a proceeding. I am sorry to say this, but your Mexican policy forces me to it, and I must also say it will cool the friendly relations of England and Spain towards France. I regret to say this, because nobody has more respect for the Emperor than me, and nobody loves France and Frenchmen more than I do."

General Prim writes to his government the 17th March in the same tone. General Lorencez had arrived with re-enforcements; there was a mutiny, and Generel Prim wrote:

"Articles in French papers announcing that the object of the imperial troops is to put Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, will not only cause a difficulty between France and Mexico, but a coolness between Spain and England and the imperial government. Almonte, Haro, Ramarez, and other monarch-makers arrived in Vera Cruz at the same time with General Lorencez. The Mexican government knowing this, has sent me a note announcing its intention to prosecute these exiled enemies of the nation, who have returned to Mexico for criminal purposes."

The part played by these Mexican refugees in Europe, and their influence on French diplomacy, inducing a monarchical crusade beyond the ocean, are candidly expressed in a despatch of the Spanish minister to General Prim. We find the following lines in that despatch, dated Madrid, 22d of January, 1862 :

"The Emperor of the French has informed the government of the Queen, by her ambassador, that he intends to increase the Mexican expedition by 3,000 men. The object of this seems to be to get enough men to march to the capital if necessary, to shorten operations and abridge the delay of troops in that country.

"As your instructions are clear and formal, I have no additions to make to them. But your excellency must know that the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico is daily increasing.

"Some of the natives of that country—and this deserves particular notice—now residing in Europe, are engaged in that business."

All this while Mr. Saligny enters into the full spirit of the expedition in the part he has to play, and gets up a kind of side game with General Serrano against England. In a letter of the 24th of November 1861, he speaks of the "incredible candor of perfidious Albion." The word *candor* is underlined. In a letter of the 29th of November he promises "proofs of the duplicity and stupidity of the British minister." He announces "curious revelations of a chimerical alliance between Mexico, England, and the United States against France and Spain;" and on the 23d he had already sent detailed accounts of the regular forces in Mexico. Alas! the 5th of May shows the result of all this; the blood of our soldiers who fell at Guadalupe will cry out against the advocates of Mexican emigration; and that order of General Lorencez, the betrayed and conquered general, will accuse the folly of ambition and the credulity of our policy.

On the 27th of May General Lorencez said to his soldiers: "Your march on Mexico has been stopped by unforeseen obstacles, which we did not expect from what had been told us; they said Puebla invited you within its walls, and that its inhabitants would welcome you with flowers.

"With the confidence inspired by these assurances we appeared before Puebla; we found it bristling wish barricades and commanded by a fortress armed with every means of defence."

This is the answer to the advocates of immigration; these sad lines dissipate the illusion and increase the bitterness of defeat.

We will now draw this first part of our labor to a close; we have pointed out the two currents that carried our policy into the dangers of the Mexican question; we have seen Mr. Billault reduce the expedition to a simple revindication of injured interests, and the secret conferences of diplomacy opening the doors to the projects of monarchical restoration. We have seen France first oppose the application of force in the restoration, and afterwards yield to the solicitations of Spain and the active manœuvres of Mexican immigration. Is that all? Alas! no. On the 9th of April, 1862, the alliance is broken at Orizaba. It is broken on account of the presence of the refugees who have already constituted a secret government; it is broken because Mr. Saligny wants to march on Mexico, when the Spanish plenipotentiary and the English minister declare that no deed "is of a nature to justify this resolution." (See report of conference held at Orizaba on the 9th of April.) It is broken, in fine, "because the three plenipotentiaries cannot agree upon the interpretation to be given to the convention of the 31st of October, 1861." (See note addressed by the plenipotentiaries to General Doblado on the 9th of April, 1862.)

X.

England never wanted the establishment of a monarchy, and Spain, after tugging France in by a Bourbon, was ready to quit on the first pretext.

Spain had long been preparing for a retreat, and General Prim was let into the secret. Saligny accuses him of wanting the crown for himself, and would not play Don Quixote for another's benefit. This was at the Orizaba conference on the 9th of April. General Prim, who must have known the Emperor's views in regard to Mexico when he met him at Vichy, wrote to Napoleon, from Orizaba, the 17th of March, the following letter:

"ORIZABA, *March* 17, 1862.

"SIRE: Your Imperial Majesty has deigned to write me an autograph letter, which, on account of the benevolent words it contains, for my person will be a title of honor for my posterity. * * * * *

"As to just reclamations, there can be no difference of opinions among the commissioners of the allied powers, and there will be less among the commanders of your forces and those of her Catholic Majesty. But the arrival of General Almonte, of the former minister, Haro, of Father Miranda and other Mexican refugees at Vera Cruz, with the idea of creating a monarchy in favor of Prince Maximilian, of Austria, to be supported by the forces of your Imperial Majesty, tends to create a position difficult for all, and particularly hard for the general-in-chief of the Spanish troops, who, according to instructions from his government, will see himself obliged to refrain from contributing to the realization of the views of your Imperial Majesty if they are really to raise an Austrian archduke to the throne of Mexico.

"I have, moreover, the profound conviction that the partisans of monarchy are very few in this country, and it is reasonable, because this country has never known monarchy in the person of the Spanish monarchs, only in the viceroys, who ruled as they pleased in those distant times.

Monarchy has not left here the immense interests of nobility, such as exist in Europe; it has not left moral interests nor anything to make the present generation wish for the re-establishment of monarchy, which it has not known. The vicinity of the United States, and their severe reprobation of monarchy, has contributed to create a hate for it here. In spite of constant disorder and agitation, the republic, which has existed more than forty years, has created habits, customs, and even a certain republican language hard to destroy.

"For these reasons and others that cannot escape the attention of your Imperial Majesty, you will understand that the general opinion of this country is against monarchy. If logic does not demonstrate it, facts prove it; for during the two months that the flags of the allied powers floated over Vera Cruz, and now that we occupy Cordoba, Orizaba and Tehuacan, important towns where there is no Mexican force, the partisans of monarchy have made no demonstrations to tell of their existence.

"Far be it from me to suppose that your Imperial Majesty has not the power to erect a throne in Mexico for the house of Austria. Your Majesty directs the destinies of a great nation, rich in brave and intelligent men, rich in resources, and that manifests its enthusiasm to second the views of your Imperial Majesty. You can easily carry Maximilian to Mexico and crown him King; but the King will find no adherents in the country, but conservative chiefs, who had no thought of establishing monarchy when they were in power, but wish it now, when they are conquered, scattered and exiled.

"A few rich men are willing to receive a foreign monarch who comes supported by your Majesty's soldiers, but the monarch will have nothing to sustain him when the time shall come for your soldiers to withdraw, and he will fall from the throne, as others will fall, when the mantle of your Imperial Majesty shall cease to protect and defend them. I know that your Imperial Majesty, moved by a high sentiment of justice, will not force this country to change its institutions in such a radical manner unless the country desires it and requests it. But the chiefs of the conservative party, who landed at Vera Cruz, say it will only be necessary to consult the high classes of society and not mind the others; but that inspires a fear that violence may be offered to the national will.

"The English troops that were to come to Orizaba re-embarked as soon as they heard that a greater number of French troops were coming than had been agreed upon in the convention. Your Majesty will appreciate the importance of this withdrawal.

"I ask a thousand pardons of your Imperial Majesty for having dared to write such a long letter, but I thought the only true reply to your Majesty's kindness to me would be to tell the truth, and the whole truth, upon the political state of the country as I understand it. In doing this I have not only done my duty, but I have obeyed the great, noble, and respectful attachment I feel for the person of your Imperial Majesty.'

"GENERAL PRIM, *Count Reuss.*"

The real design of the expedition, at first carefully concealed, afterwards timidly confessed, and now openly announced, comes out in relief. One remark, however, must be made before entering upon the era begun by the accession of the Mexican Emperor. We did not go to Mexico only to put up a throne for an archduke; he is only the instrument of a theory, of a preconceived plan.

XI.

Mr. Billault was then near the truth when he insisted on reducing the expedition to mean proportions; when, in 1863, he mentioned the monarchy as an unexpected event, caused by a concourse of circumstances; and Mr. Larabure was true in his report of 1864, on supplementary credits, when he expressed himself thus:

"We must not conceal that these frequent expeditions disturb the nation. To be just, let us say at once, that the Mexican expedition now pressing most heavily upon our exchequer and public opinion grew to its present importance by a concatenation of unfortunate incidents, which the government could neither foresee nor prevent."

When the Emperor himself said, in his discourse from the throne in 1863, "Distant expeditions, now so much criticised, have not been the results of premeditated plans; force of circumstances have brought them about, but they are not to be regretted;" he only half revealed his thought, for he destroyed his argument, *the force of circumstances*, in his famous letter to General Forey on the 3d of July, 1862:

"FONTAINEBLEAU, *July* 3, 1862.

"MY DEAR GENERAL: There will be people to ask you why we are going to waste so many men, and spend so much money, in establishing a regular government in Mexico.

"In the present state of the civilized world, the prosperity of America is not indifferent to Europe, for America supports our manufactories and keeps alive our commerce. We are interested in keeping the United States a powerful and prosperous republic; but it will not be interesting to us if it takes possession of the whole of the Gulf of Mexico, and governs the West Indies and South America, thus controlling the entire produce of the New World. We now see by sad experience how precarious an industry is that which is compelled to seek its raw material in a single market, the changes of which so seriously affect it.

"Now if Mexico preserves its independence and maintains the integrity of its territory; if a firm government be established there by the aid of France, we shall give to the Latin race beyond the ocean its ancient strength and power; we shall have guaranteed the security of our own and the Spanish colonies in the West Indies; we shall have extended our benevolent influence to the centre of America, and that influence, while it makes a market for our fabrics, secures us the material indispensable to our manufactures.

"Mexico thus regenerated, will ever be favorable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because its interests will coincide with ours, and because it will find a support in its relations with European powers.

"NAPOLEON."

After examining attentively a file of the *Moniteur*, after having collated the documents and studied the evidence, we have come to the conclusion that the above letter contains the true secret of the Mexican expedition. The continued expansion of the United States towards South America has frightened Europe. We had to build a dike against it out of a restored throne in Mexico; and our wrongs furnished ample excuse for the expedition. The merit of the Emperor's letter to General Forey is the acknowledgment of a political theory, and the elevation of the expedition into a system.

XII.

The question becomes grand in this light. It is no longer a question of contest with the refractory population of Mexico; it is a rivalry, a contest perhaps, between the Old World and the New; so Mr. Berryer proclaimed prophetically in his speech on the supplementary credits of 1864:

"Nothing afflicts me more than the present strife in the United States. I desire peace with the least possible injury to each party in that great country. But in whatever way the civil war may terminate, we must not forget that the United States will be the ruling power in North America, and that we have offended her by our Mexican expedition. Those who deny this have not studied the documents under their eyes, and the historic facts of the last three years. I do not allude to that profound sentiment, the vital nerve of political existence in the United States, called the Monroe doctrine; a sentiment opposed to European intervention in American affairs. I do not speak of that. But how did you begin the Mexican expedition? With the convention of the 31st October. And what did you say in that convention? Yielding to the wish of England, the United States are invited to join the convention. And in a letter of the 25th July, 1862, I read that it was necessary to form a new government in Mexico, just to diminish the influence of the States of the north, and prevent them from trespassing upon South America. Thus the Mexican expedition was got up to oppose the United States.

"I exaggerate nothing; I simply tell the truth. Read the letter of July, 1862, and you will see that the development of the United States is to be arrested.

"Well, suppose you succeeded; when the civil wars in the United States are over, and that government saw a new nation by her side, sustained at an immense expense and sacrifice by a foreign power, hostilities would certainly break out. The northern republic would not tolerate an imperial monarchy in Mexico, and war would certainly be the consequence. This is the dangerous, impracticable situation to which you invite Prince Maximilian, and which will be ruinous to France if she persists in the enterprise. [Applause."]

Thus the question is put upon new ground by the imperial letter and Mr. Berryer's eloquent commentary. These are the true conditions of the problem as France has propounded them by going to Vera Cruz, and as Mr. Seward has accepted them, when he wrote to the Spanish minister, at Washington, on the 14th of October, 1861, "That he acknowledged the right of Spain to make war on Mexico to defend her rights, and obtain satisfaction for injuries; but, *that as it was a question in the eventualities of which entered the possibility of a conflict with the United States and European powers,* he had carefully endeavored to avoid that possibility."

The manner in which the Mexican question has been officially laid down since General Forey's departure for Mexico, and Maximilian's accession, places France and the United States in new relations to each other. We must speak without circumlocution. The continuance of occupation is a political danger; is it a diplomatic duty?

XIII.

What are our obligations to the new empire? That is the interesting question now to French policy.

On the 10th of April, 1864, Archduke Maximilian received the Mexican deputation at his castle of Miramar, and announced his acceptance in these terms:

"Thanks to the magnanimity of the Emperor of the French, the necessary guarantees to fix the independence and prosperity of the country upon a solid basis are now given."

But, properly speaking, this is not an engagement; if we are bound, it is less by these vague effusions of a happy candidate, than by the precise terms of the diplomatic convention of the 10th of April, 1864. Now what does that convention say?

"The governments of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and of his Majesty the Emperor of Mexico, animated by a like desire to assure the re-establishment of order in Mexico, and to consolidate the new empire, have determined to settle by a convention. * * * * *

"ART. 1. The French troops now in Mexico shall be reduced to 25,000 men, as soon as possible, including the foreign legion.

"That body shall remain temporarily in Mexico, to protect the interests for which intervention was instituted, under the conditions regulated by the following articles:

"ART. 2. The French troops shall evacuate Mexico in proportion as his Majesty the Emperor of Mexico can organize the troops necessary to replace them.

"ART. 3. The foreign legion in the service of France, composed of 8,000 men, shall remain in Mexico six years after all the other French forces are recalled, according to article 3. From that time the said legion shall go into the service and pay of the Mexican government. The Mexican government reserves the right of shortening the term of service of the foreign legion in Mexico.

"ART. 10. The indemnity to be paid to France by the Mexican government, for supporting the troops of the army corps from the 1st of July, 1864, is fixed at 1,000 francs per annum for each man."

At the time of the debate on the supplementary credits, 27th January, Mr. Berryer said:

"Has the government bound itself to furnish money or soldiers to that country? Are we bound, or are we not?"

Mr. Rouher answered: "If you had read Mr. Larrabure's report you would have known."

Now here is the report:

"The government of the Emperor declares at this time that it is under no obligation to leave a body of troops in Mexico, nor to guarantee any loan. It declares it has no reason to think it may be necessary to increase the French forces now on Mexican soil."

In the session of the 27th of January Mr. Rouher again said:

"In treating with the sovereign, the government contracts no permanent and indefinite responsibility for the maintenance of an empire in Mexico."

The convention of Miramar, the most important articles of which we have quoted, appeared officially in the papers of the 16th of April, 1864. It was quite natural for it to become the subject of an interesting debate in the discussion of appropriations. So on the 11th of May Mr. Berryer busies himself with the obligations and charges imposed by the convention in respect to the finances and military affairs of our army. Mr. Rouher answers him, but instead of sticking to the convention, he gives a brilliant picture of the condition of Mexico. Let us listen to him a while.

Mr. ROUHER, minister of state, continues:

Mr. Berryer has discussed the whole Mexican question in his speech on the general appropriation. That question has caused many unfavorable apprehensions in this house.

When we debated it last year they said: Your San Louis Potosi expedition is madness. You are going to scatter the French army over four hundred square leagues. The Mexican army, under Juarez, Uragua, Doblado, will whip our scattered battalions.

Mr. THIERS; (interrupting.) They did not say that.

Mr. ROUHER: The honorable gentleman has only to refer to Mr. Jules Favre's speech, and he will see what has been said.

Mr. FAVRE: I have never doubted our military success.

Mr. ROUHER: They represented the expedition as marching contrary to the wishes of the Mexican people.

A voice, (interrupting.) And they were right.

Mr. ROUHER: You say they were right? Have you forgotten the triumphal march of General Bazaine over those four hundred leagues; our arrival at Guanahuato, Queretaro, and San Louis Potosi; the shouts of welcome wherever the French flag was seen? Some blind people can see no truth in historical facts. [Good, good.]

The San Louis Potosi expedition, that you blame, was a triumphal march. [Renewed applause.]

A little further on the minister exclaimed:

"Here is a new empire just beginning, a sovereign not yet seated on his throne, a government not yet organized, and capitalists have given it nine millions per annum, when old governments cannot negotiate their loans. Is not this a token of foreign confidence? There is no doubt that when Maximilian goes from Vera Cruz to Mexico, amid the enthusiastic demonstrations of the people —— [Disturbance on some seats.]

Mr. PICARD: Then recall the army.

Recall the army! That was evidently the logical conclusion for peace.

Yet the convention existed; it was known; the government must explain its meaning officially. On the 12th of May Mr. Jules Favre grew urgent, irresistable:

"You know, gentlemen," said he, "what arrangement has been made. A new plan has been discovered to pay the expenses of the war; they must be paid by the victorious power, for France issues sixty-six millions in bonds, that are only notes of accommodation over its signature. [Exclamations.]

"The convention of the 16th April, in the *Moniteur*, has regulated the stay of the French troops in Mexico. We are very far from the declarations of Mr. Larrabure's report: how long will our troops remain in Mexico? until the new empire shall be firmly established; that, in reality, is the business of France. Maximilian's empire must be consolidated. France is deceived when they tell her the expedition is over; it has hardly commenced. [Confused noises.] We leave 25,000 men in Mexico for an indefinite time; political circumstances alone can fix the day for the recall of our troops. It is said they will be paid by the Mexican government—a deplorable thing for France. [Noise.] Our troops are thus put in the pay of a foreign prince; they will obey a foreign policy; they may be used in enterprises, in adventures, in perils."

Here Mr. Rouher takes the floor and gives the convention, and the interpretations it may provokè, their right place

"We must once more consider the Mexican question. The honorable gentleman (Mr. Jules Favre) has told you that the treaty concluded with the Emperor Maximilian violated engagements we had with you; he has spoken to you of the threats of American intervention, suspended, like the sword of Damocles, over the new Mexican empire.

"While I listened to the ironical eulogies given to the eloquence of the government orators, as they painted gay pictures of promised prosperity to Mexico, little moved by them, I was patiently reading the Mexican Courrier that I had just received; and here is what I read:

"'The general condition of Mexico is daily improving, as the masses comprehend and appreciate the generous views of the Emperor towards them. Resistance, now only local, has entirely lost its nationality. The bandits fly at the approach of our troops; and whenever they are caught they are cut to pieces. It has, in fact, relapsed into brigandage, very annoying to the inoffensive people who are the chief sufferers; but this will soon be suppressed by a well-organized police system.

"'Confidence has greatly increased in the last month or two. People of all classes and all opinions come to the capital from every part of the country, meet and pass, forgetting their former hostility, and mingling in similar sentiments, with oblivion of the past and faith in the future. Under such circumstances, with the support of the government of the Emperor and the aid of European capital, Mexico cannot fail soon to enter into a way of national prosperity, by which Europe will be the first to profit.'"

Several voices: Who wrote it?

Mr. ROUHER: It is signed by Mr. Montholon.

We will not spoil this brilliant picture by untimely reflections. He then continues:

"But they say the treaty contains promises contrary to our declarations. What does the treaty say? First, that the army shall be reduced to 25,000 men. The expedition is over, and 10,000 of our men will return by the 1st of January, 1865. As to the other 15,000 men, we declare they are to remain temporarily in Mexico, to protect the interests of France, and the interests that induced the intervention."

Mr. **Gueroult**: Please read the treaty.

Mr. **Rouher**: I have not got it; but if the honorable gentleman will give it to me, I will read it to the house.

Mr. **Gueroult**: I have not got it either; but I think the time for the return of our troops was left to the emperor, Maximilian.

Mr. **Rouher**: The honorable gentleman is mistaken; I will give the sense of the treaty from memory:

Article 1st says the army shall be reduced to 25,000 men, who will remain in Mexico to protect our interests there. So 25,000 men remain for no fixed time—till France chooses to recall them. Now, do you call this indefinite? No. The emperor of Mexico reserves the right to demand the return of our troops, in proportion as the Mexican army shall be organized.

Mr. **Gueroult**: But we can't stay so long.

A voce: No interruption!

Mr. **Rouher**: Does Mr. Gueroult know the facts? Does he know that there is already a national army of 25,000 men in Mexico, and does he not see that it is for the general interest to withdraw these troops, so expensive to the emperor of Mexico? A Mexican army is organizing. Mr. Berryer declared yesterday it would cost the Mexican government thirty-seven millions this year. A national army then exists. Our soldiers will return as soon as our interests no longer require their presence there. Each day brings this period nearer, and it will be equally welcome to both nations.

The treaty contains nothing contrary to the declarations of the legislature; and if some are pained at our stay in Mexico, I care little about them, for they are revolutionists, who would like to see the country again as it was in the time of Juarez. [Very good, very good.] The treaty is above criticism. It contains nothing but what conforms to the thoughts expressed by the legislative body in the address. [Good, good.]"

Thus, in 1864, Mr. Rouher was sorry to see opposition to the prolongation of our stay in Mexico, because all who opposed it *were revolutionists, eager to deliver the country over to the agitations of the Juarez times*, which means that the prompt return of our army was impossible, in spite of the allay of passion and increasing prosperity of the Mexican empire; in spite of the brilliant picture he himself had drawn.

XIV.

The dark apprehensions of 1864 were fortunately dispelled by the bright prospects in the beginning of 1865. We find ourselves in presence of wishes, hopes, and promises. The good wishes are thus expressed in the address of 1865:

"The legislative body believes with you, sire, that the most wisely governed nations cannot always avoid external complications; and when they do come, they must be met firmly and without illusion. The distant expeditions to China, Cochin-China, and Mexico, succeeding each other, have disturbed many people in France on account of their expense and sacrifice. We acknowledge that they are calculated to inspire respect for our subjects and our flag abroad, and tend to develop our commerce; and we shall be happy to see the good results realized that your Majesty has induced us to hope for."

This hope is explained in the *exposé* of the condition of the empire of that year, where we find the following lines:

"The emperor Maximilian has assumed the crown offered to him by the national will, and his arrival has happily put an end to the provisional situation of Mexico. The emperor's reception in the capital, and all through the country, by all classes of people, and the support of influential men of all parties, leave no doubt about the wishes of an immense majority of the Mexican people.

"The new sovereign will gain strength and confidence by these manifestations, which will enable him to complete the great and generous mission he has so resolutely accepted. The pacification of an extensive country, where robbery was sheltered by the banner of a political party, could not be accomplished in a single day; yet, thanks to the soldiers of our expeditions who have penetrated every part of the country, this is being rapidly accomplished, and so the return of our forces from that country has already begun, and will continue, as the object of intervention permits. Functionaries from the different branches of our administration have been placed at the disposal of the Mexican government, at its request, to assist in the interior organization of affairs."

The promise offered is found in this solemn declaration of the imperial discourse for the session of 1865:

"Thus all of our expeditions are drawing to a close; our land troops have evacuated China; the navy can protect our settlements in Cochin-China; our army in Africa is going to be reduced; that in Mexico is now returning; the Roman garrison will soon return; and when we close the temple of war, we can proudly inscribe these words upon a new triumphal arch:

"A la gloire des armées Françaises pour les victoires remportées en Europe en Asie, en Afrique, et en Amerique.

("To the glory of the French armies for victories gained in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.)

"Let us devote ourselves quietly to peaceful labors.

"The new throne is gaining strength in Mexico; the country is becoming quiet; its immense resources are being developed. This is the happy result of the bravery of our soldiers, of the good sense of the Mexican people, and of the intelligence and energy of the sovereign!"

GEORGES JAURET.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.—Unofficial.]

WASHINGTON, *21st of February,* 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to enclose you two extracts from a paper published in the city of Mexico, under the title of "*Diario del Imperio,*" the organ of the usurper Maximilian, in its numbers of the 20th and 22d of January last, containing four letters from Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who has several times been president of the Mexican republic, showing the part he has taken in the French intervention of that republic.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[From the Diario del Imperio, of January 20, 1866.]

DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF MEXICO.

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, well-merited of the country, General of Division, Grand Master of the national and distinguished order of Guadalupe, Knight of the Grand Cross of the royal and distinguished order of Charles III, and President of the Mexican republic, to all who may see these presents greeting:

Being authorized by the Mexican nation to constitute it under the form of government I may think most convenient to assure its territorial integrity and national independence in the most advantageous and permanent manner, according to the full powers with which I am invested, and considering that no government is more suitable to a nation than that to which it has been accustomed for centuries and which has formed its peculiar customs;

Therefore, and to this end, placing full confidence in the patriotism, intelligence and zeal of Don José Maria Gutierrez de Estrada, I confer upon him, by these presents, the full powers necessary to enter into arrangements, and make the proper offers near the courts of London, Paris, Madrid and Vienna, to obtain from those governments, or from any one of them, the establishment of a monarchy derived from any of the royal races of those powers, under qualifications and conditions to be established by special instructions.

In faith whereof, I have caused these presents to be issued, signed by my hand, authorized by the seal of the nation and countersigned by the minister of relations, all under the proper reserve, in the national palace of Mexico, on the first of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-four.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

ST. THOMAS, *30th of November*, 1861.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: The news you have been kind enough to communicate to me, in your esteemed favor of the 31st October, received by the last mail, gave me very great pleasure, because it is so interesting that, if it can be realized, our country will be saved from ruin.

God grant that our dreams may come to pass as soon as possible!

The candidate you mention (his Imperial Highness Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian) is unexceptionable, and I therefore hasten to give my approbation. Do me the favor, then, to inform him of it, as well as our friends, but with all reserve, for you well know that in politics there are things that must not be published before the proper time, on account of the harm that might be caused.

I think the allied forces will reach Vera Cruz early on next January, and their arrival will be a cause of great rejoicing to all good Mexicans, because they will not be regarded as a threatening enemy, but as benefactors, to save them from the worst of tyrannies.

Public opinion will undoubtedly soon pronounce in favor of whatever suits the people.

Convinced that the time to act has come, I am ready to return immediately to my native land, determined to labor with all my strength till the realization of the undertaking is completed. I will let you know of my departure from this island by the mail of the 17th of December, and I will tell you where to address your letters to me.

Now you see, my friend, I am not dozing when the work is to be commenced, and my acts accord with my words.

If I am permitted to see my country constituted in a way to make it prosperous and happy in the future before I close my eyes in death, I shall be extremely gratified.

Don't fail to send me all the news you get.

Your most obedient servant,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

His Excellency DON JOSÉ MARIA GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA.

[Enclosure No. 3.—From the Diario del Imperio, of January 22, 1866.]

Santa Anna to Maximilian.

ST. THOMAS, *December* 22, 1863.

SIRE: When I heard that a considerable number of my fellow-countrymen, actuated by the purest patriotism, had fixed upon your Royal Highness to be called to the throne of Mexico, my soul overflowed with pleasure. If it had been in my power to accompany the Mexican commission, your Imperial Highness would have heard from the mouth of one of the noblemen of independence, from one who held for many years the first place among his fellow-citizens, the ratification of what the worthy president of the country expressed with so much eloquence and sincerity.

Yes, sire, in having the honor to greet your Imperial Highness, with the rest of my countrymen, as the emperor of Mexico, and to offer you, respectfully, my humble services, I can assure you, without flattery, that my attachment to your august person is boundless; and since distance deprives me of the pleasure of appearing personally in your presence, my pen will do that duty from my present place of residence, hoping your Imperial Highness will receive the expression of my sentiments with your accustomed benevolence.

I may also assure your Imperial Highness that the voice raised in Mexico to proclaim your respected name is not the voice of a party. An immense majority of the nation desire to restore the empire of the Montezumas, with your Imperial Highness at its head, believing it to be the only remedy for existing ills, and the ultimate anchor of its hopes. Accept, then, in absolute confidence, the enthusiastic Mexican vote, and come courageously to the Mexican shores, certain of receiving the demonstrations of love and profound respect, believing, at the same time, that your agreeable presence will suffice to restore harmony throughout the land. The occasion is propitious. Your Imperial Highness can make the Mexicans happy by placing your name among those of the heroes blessed by posterity.

The vast, beautiful, and fertile soil of Mexico abounds in elements to form a first-class empire on the American continent; consequently it is no insignificant power that is offered to your Imperial Highness. True, the country has suffered from anarchy for half a century; but under the auspices of peace, with a paternal, just, and enlightened government, its resources will be restored in a few years, and it will be the admiration of the world. Would to Heaven I could see this before I end my days!

I hope your Imperial Highness will condescend to acknowledge, in the dean of the Mexican army, a devoted and disinterested friend, a very obedient servant, who wishes you the greatest happiness and fervently kisses the imperial hands of your Imperial Highness.

A. L. DE SANTA ANNA.

His Imperial and Royal Highness
ARCHDUKE FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN *of Austria.*

[Enclosure No. 4.]

ST. THOMAS, *15th of October*, 1861.

MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND: In reply to your favor of the 15th of September, now before me, I must say to you that I had already received the news of the resolution adopted by the three maritime powers in regard to Mexico.

From what you tell me, there can be no doubt of a change of situation in a short time.

What remains to be done now is to take advantage of this propitious occasion to realize my long-cherished desires, remembering that such an opportunity never occurs twice.

What you have to do is to remind the governments near which you are accredited of your former petitions, insisting, especially, that Mexico cannot have a lasting peace until the disease is radically cured, and the only remedy is the substitution of a constitutional empire for that farce called a republic. Those nations can select one jointly. Remind them, also, that I am now, more than ever, disposed to carry out that idea, and that I will labor without ceasing to effect it.

I do not wish to depreciate the nationality of Mexico. My sole desire is to establish a government of order, to repair the damages of party strife, and to make the Mexicans contented by restoring the Catholic religion, now almost extinct, in a country that used to be famed for its respect and love for religion.

I beg you to communicate my resolve to our mutual friend Mr. ———, who I hope will use all his influence in aid of the triumph of correct principles.

In conclusion, I must say to you that since the profanation of our churches, I have determined to become the avenger of so many sacrilegious outrages, trusting that Providence will give me strength to carry out my resolution. * * I have improved much lately, and hope soon to be in Mexico.

Ever your affectionate friend and countryman,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

DON JOSÉ MARIA GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION,
Washington, 22d of February, 1866.

Mr. Romero presents his respects to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to transmit to him a copy of extracts of a letter he has received from Paris, dated the 3d instant, and written by a reliable person, noticing the departure of forces from Oran for Mexico about the end of January last.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Translation]

PARIS, *February* 3, 1866.

MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND: * * * * * *

I must inform you that a regiment of the Foreign Legion, consisting of twelve hundred men, left Oran for Vera Cruz, seven days ago, in a vessel that came for them from Toulon, after taking on a quantity of ammunition there.

This was done in the greatest secrecy; even the newspapers do not mention it. It is likely the United States consul in Algiers or Oran has informed his government of it.

It is also certain that arrangements are pending between Paris and Vienna to send an army corps of Austrians to Mexico. * * * *

Señor DON MATIAS ROMERO, *Washington.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation]

WASHINGTON, *26th of February,* 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you a translation into English of the official documents relating to the affairs of Mexico, which were published by the French government on the opening of the sessions of the legislative body thereof, in what is called, in Paris, the "Yellow Book."

Desirous that this collection may be of some use to the department under your worthy charge, I transmit it to you, and avail myself of the occasion to repeat myself,

Your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., &c., &c.*

THE YELLOW BOOK.

The Yellow Book, containing the diplomatic documents communicated to the Chambers, came out yesterday. These documents relate to the affairs of Italy and Rome; to the visits of the French and English squadrons; to the navigation of the Danube; to the Lebanon question; to the affair of Greece; to the United States; to the affair of Chile; to the affairs of the Plate; to the negotiations with Japan; to the extradition treaty between France and England; to commercial affairs—Sweden, Norway, Zollverein, Netherlands, Spain; to an international sanitary conference; in fine, to the United States correspondence relative to the affairs of Mexico.

Underneath this summary table we find the following note:

"As the publication of the correspondence on the subject of Mexico at this time might present some inconveniences on account of pending negotiations, the government of the Emperor reserves it for subsequent communication to the grand state bodies."

Further on, at the head of the correspondence relative to Mexican affairs, we find another note of this tenor:

"In postponing the publication of the papers relating to Mexico, the intention of the government of the Emperor was also to defer that of the United States upon the same question; but it is now thought unnecessary to delay the communication of that correspondence any longer, as publicity has been given in America to the documents presented to Congress."

It appears from this note that there are other documents relative to Mexico remaining to be published; in other words, the correspondence already published does not embrace all the Mexican documents, but only those documents relative to the reclamations of the United States.

UNITED STATES CORRESPONDENCE IN RELATION TO MEXICAN AFFAIRS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. Geoffroy, chargé d'affaires at Washington.

PARIS, 23*d of March,* 1865.

SIR: The United States chargé d'affaires has made the communication of which you gave me notice. Without formal instructions from his government, (so he said,) Mr. Biglow read me Mr. Seward's despatch, the substance of which I will now give.

The people of the United States, said the Secretary of State, have now but one thought, from which no consideration can divert them, namely, the reconstruction of the Union. To effect this they are resolved to make every sacrifice, to recoil from no obstacle, and to triumph over every resistance.

They desire that the crisis through which they are now passing may not affect their relations with foreign states; but their sentiments towards them will chiefly be inspired by the dispositions they are supposed to have towards us in present circumstances. Sympathizing with those they think favorable to the end they wish to attain, the people, by the natural effect of the contest they are sustaining, are inclined to feel considerable irritation against those who encourage their adversaries, or who provoke by their wishes a result contrary to that which they are contending for at the price of so many sacrifices. Now it is generally believed in the United States, rightly or wrongly, that the French government would consider a definitive separation of the American Union into two distinct confederations as the most desirable consequence of the present war.

With the present state of mind in America, this opinion upon the tendencies of the French government might change the feelings of friendship so long entertained for France, and embitter the relations between the two countries. The federal government, though not amenable to popular impressions, is obliged to regard them, and would be pleased to see the French cabinet take an occasion to manifest their sentiments towards the American Union; a manifestation of that nature would help to direct or reform the opinion, and prevent it from being perverted by thoughtless prejudices.

I told the United States chargé d'affaires that we might be excused from replying to suppositions that had nothing to justify them, and to which we are conscious of having furnished no pretext. I added, however, that I would have no hesitation to enter into frank explanations with the federal government of the attitude observed by us since the beginning of the American crisis, and to manifest once more our desire that no misunderstanding or equivocation should subsist between us. It is not necessary for France to recall the part she took at the founding of the great American republic. Still faithful to her sympathies, she has had the pleasure to see her interests accord with her sentiments in the continued development of the commercial relations of the two countries; and it is with sincere regret she has regarded the terrible conflict that endangered a state whose prosperity and grandeur she has always desired.

It is superfluous to say that we have remained absolute strangers to the circumstances, altogether internal, that have brought about the separation of the north and south, in the centre of the Union; but we may mention that we have not ceased to deplore the events that have been the consequence; that we had always expressed ourselves in regard to it in the most explicit manner, under all circumstances, even declaring ourselves ready to interpose our good offices if they should at any time be thought necessary to the success of an attempt at reconciliation.

Facts, however, strike everybody with incontrovertible authority. The war broke out, over an extensive territory, between the two factions of the Union, and has sustained an equilibrium for four years, kept up by large regular armies obeying constituted governments. It was impossible for foreign powers not to recognize the parties engaged in such a conflict as belligerents, and to grant them such characters allowed by the law of nations.

The government of the Emperor could not then hesitate to proclaim his consequent duty of strict neutrality. Held responsible for his deeds, he abstained from every resolution tending to prejudge the issue of a struggle to be decided by the force of arms and the will of God.

It was not his place to say, without meddling in affairs that concerned the people of the United States alone, what should be the terms of reconciliation, the object we so ardently desired. Without expressing any opinion on the subject, he has continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the federal government, and abstained from all official intercourse with the power existing in Richmond. The government of the Emperor has therefore conformed in all its acts to a strict and loyal observance of its declarations of neutrality by giving a friendly character to its attitude towards the Union.

We do not doubt but the good sense of the American people, laying aside the passions of the struggle they are maintaining, will do justice to our intentions and our conduct towards them. It is the duty of the government to enlighten the people as much as possible, and direct their judgment. We, too, must beware of false impressions, and defend public opinion against ill-founded suggestions. While it is represented in the United States that France advocates disunion, it is repeated in Europe that the United States are only waiting for the end of their civil war to pounce upon Mexico and tear down a flag, the accidental vicinity of which, it seems to us, ought to inspire different sentiments in those who are now defending the work of the founders of the American republic. We reject such suppositions; we expect a complete reciprocity of amicable proceedings from the cabinet at Washington, and a similar observance of the rules of neutrality. We are pleased with the assurances that Mr. Seward has given us on that point. The exalted intelligence of that great statesman protects him, we are sure, from the prepossessions and prejudices that events in Mexico may have excited in some minds. We trust that these false impressions will disappear before a more calm and sound consideration of the true interests of the American people.

We went to Mexico to obtain redress and satisfaction for grievous wrongs, denying from the first, as we have always done since on all occasions, every intention of a settlement or of territorial acquisition. Our intervention has permitted reconstruction in that country, on conditions much more favorable than the former governments, to the development of its social life and prosperity. We presume there is nothing in that to alarm the United States, and therefore we refuse to believe the designs attributed to them. Whatever may be the result of this struggle in the United States, we think the best employment the States of North America can make of their forces and available resources will be to repair the ravages of war. We cannot believe they are thinking of using them in an expensive and unjust war against a country that has never given them cause of complaint—in a war, in fact, (and we say it now because we do not wish to repeat it,) in which circumstances will force the United States to meet and oppose a power that was once their ancient ally.

We reject, then, these suppositions, condemned by our reason. We hope that the resolutions of the cabinet at Washington, in regard to the Mexican government, will continue to confirm our confidence in their wisdom. As we are neutral in the politico-military struggle in the United States, we expect their neutrality in our affairs in Mexico. As we will help to dissipate the doubts that exist in America in regard to our sentiments towards the United States, we would be pleased to see the federal government give us grounds to enlighten European opinion in regard to the intentions attributed to it by prejudiced minds.

Accept the assurances, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to Marquis Montholon, French minister to the United States.

PARIS, *2d of May*, 1865.

MARQUIS: In a conversation with the United States minister a few days ago, he made known to me the dispositions of his government in regard to Mexico, and read me several passages from despatches addressed to him by Mr. Seward, Secretary of State.

Mr. Bigelow said the people of the United States were attached to republican institutions, and regarding them from their own experience as most suited to assure the prosperity and greatness of a nation, could not favorably look upon the establishment of a monarchy among their neighbors. The cabinet at Washington had to adopt the same opinion; yet they understood that peculiar conditions of races, climate, geography, past habits and traditions, might incline another people to prefer for themselves a government different from that which was thought the best in the United States. But we must confess, added Mr. Bigelow, that the trial of democratic republican institutions for half a century in Mexico is far from being favorable, and has done more harm than good to that unfortunate country. The United States government, therefore, has no intention to oppose the experiment now to be made with full liberty there: nothing could be more contrary to its principles than to prevent a neighboring nation from choosing at pleasure any form of government; resolved to observe a scrupulous and impartial neutrality in regard to what is passing in Mexico, we hope the attitude will prevent any difficulty between us.

The anxiety caused in America by our intervention originated from the fear to see us inaugurate a system of monarchical propagandism in the New World, and was increased by the idea that we entertained hostile feelings towards the cabinet at Washington during the dreadful crisis that was rending the United States. The federal government will not be deceived by these hypotheses, nor deviate from the line of conduct it has traced out, as long as the honor and interests of the republic are not injured.

I thanked the United States minister for the assurances he gave me in the name of his government, and congratulating him on the wisdom of the act, I took a note of his declarations. I reminded him that our Mexican expedition was solely to sustain the just claims of our citizens, which the government then existing in Mexico had neither the will nor the power to sustain. That government having really no foundation, though some provincial brigands carried its colors, fell at our approach.

With our assistance a new government has been formed, which is conscientiously laboring to effect a new political reorganization, promising protection to all interests, and a peace and security long unknown in that wealthy country. There was no absolute system of monarchical restoration in our conduct, nor the least shadow of intentions of conquest or propagandism. Towards the United States, during her four years of painful trials, we have constantly remained faithful to the duties of exact neutrality; and we have always shown our desire for peace in a country that has shown sympathy for us since its foundation. The few slight disagreements that have unavoidably risen, despite our scrupulous impartiality, show how hard it is in practice not to deviate from promised neutrality with the most loyal intentions.

We are pleased to hope, I said to Mr. Bigelow, that the government of the United States will soon be induced to establish friendly relations with the new government in Mexico. Commercial interests, moreover, require a closer relation between the two countries, and we hope this also will soon be accomplished in the political domain.

Such, marquis, is the substance of my answer to Mr. Bigelow's communications.

Accept the assurances, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington.

PARIS, 30*th of May*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have seen with pleasure the assurances which the President of the United States gave to you of his personal desire to keep the best relations with us. I am pleased in thinking that we shall find the proof of those sentiments, so conformable to ours, in the measures which the federal government will take in order to stop the announced enlistments in behalf of Juarez, and to discourage all attempts of that kind.

Accept, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington.

PARIS, 1*st of June*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: In the course of an interview which I had with Mr. Bigelow on the subject of raising the restrictive measures resulting from the neutrality of France, I reminded the United States minister that France had reason to reckon on the vigilance and firmness of his government to prevent or repress all acts which might, with respect to Mexico, weaken the cordiality of our relations. I also spoke to him of the reception accorded to you by President Johnson. I repeated, as I informed you on the 30th of last month, that we had heard with pleasure of the assurances given to you by the President of the friendly dispositions of the people of the United States towards us, and of the intention of that government to preserve the tradition of them. I added that the language addressed to you by Mr. Johnson, nevertheless, called for an observation on my part. I could not, indeed, abstain from expressing some astonishment at seeing the President inaugurate the relations of his government with the representative of the Emperor by referring to an anxiety about events of a nature calculated to disturb them. That concern to "anticipate beyond all ordinary prevision eventualities quite unlikely," and which might compromise *the good relations which, it is affirmed, there is a sincere desire to maintain, did not appear to me the best means of assuring their duration.* I could therefore but regret the expression of that excessive aforethought, especially in the circumstance when it had occurred. That portion of President Johnson's speech is no doubt addressed, as you remark, to a portion of the American public, and has been suggested by the desire of conciliating certain national susceptibilities. I understand it as such; but the fact must not be forgotten, as my duty was to remark it to Mr. Bigelow, that the French nation also has its susceptibilities, which are not less respectable, and to avoid wounding which is equally important.

Receive, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

United States Minister in Paris to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, June 12, 1865.

SIR: In the official report of a speech made by his excellency the minister of state on the 9th instant, I find an erroneous statement, which, to prevent any possible misapprehension between your excellency and myself, I hasten to bring to your notice.

After speaking of the declarations made at Boston by General Rosecrans in reference to the alleged recruiting of American soldiers for the Mexican army, M. Rouher is reported to have said: "Pendant que ces declarations se faisaient à Washington et à New York, elles recevaient ici leur sanction et leur consecration formelle; le minister des Etats Unis se presentait a notre ministre des affaires ètrangères et lui disait: Sans doute nous ne voyons pas d'un œil favorable une monarchie s'etablir au Mexico. Sans doute nous preferons les formes republicaines; mais nous respectons la volontè des peoples, et des nations; nous comprenons que le Mexique, qui a ètà longtemps regi par la forme monarchique venille revenir à cet ètat de choses; et nous n'irons pas faire la guerre pour une question de forme de gouvernement."

[Translation.]

"While these declarations were being made at Washington and at New York, they received here their sanction and formal consecration. The minister of the United States presented himself also to our minister of foreign affairs, and said to him: Without doubt we do not behold with a favorable eye a monarchy established in Mexico. Without doubt we prefer the republican form, but we respect the will of peoples and of nations. We understand that Mexico, which had been long governed by the monarchical form, may desire to return to that state of things, and we are not going to make war upon a question of the form of government."

Mr. Rouher has probably misapprehended your excellency, for I am persuaded that you could never have so entirely misunderstood my language as to have reported me as saying that the people of the United States understand that Mexico, after having been so long subject to a monarchical form of government, may desire to return to it. What I stated that may have given the impression which has misled the minister of state was this, in brief: that now that the experiment had been begun, the Americans wished to be fully tried, under circumstances best calculated to determine, finally and forever, whether European systems of government suited the Mexican people best. If it should appear that they did, and public tranquillity was restored, no nation was more interested in such a result than her immediate neighbors. I added, that the success of republican institutions in the Spanish-American states had not been such as to encourage us to attempt the propagation of them there otherwise than by our example, and that whatever government was acceptable to the Mexican people would be satisfactory to us.

I trust to your excellency's memory to confirm me in the assertion that I never expressed to you any opinion or impression importing that the Mexican people desired a monarchical government. In saying that the success of republican institutions in Spanish-America had not been such as to justify us in becoming their armed propagandists, I did not countenance the inference that the Mexicans themselves were dissatisfied with the form of government under which they had been living prior to the occupation of their capital by French troops.

I beg your excellency will take such measures as may seem to you proper to correct the error into which the minister secretary of state, in common with his hearers, appears to have been betrayed.

I desire to avail myself of this occasion to correct another misapprehension which has become accredited by publication in the official journal.

The Moniteur, of the 10th instant, speaking of the neutrality of France between the United States and the late insurgents in the slave States, says:

"La situation étant aujourdhui changèe et le gouvernement federal ayant fait connaitre son intention de ne plus exercer à l'egard des neutres les droits qui resultaient pour lui de l'état de guerre, le gouvernemeut de l'Emperor n'a pas crue devoir plus, longtemps reconnaître de belligerants dans les Etas Unis d'Amerique."

[Translation.]

"The situation being to-day changed, and the federal government having made known its intention no longer to exercise towards neutrals the rights which were imposed upon it as a consequence of the state of war, the government of the Emperor has not deemed it its duty longer to recognize belligerents in the United States of America."

I presume reference is here made to the communication which I had the honor to submit to your excellency on the 29th ultimo, extracts from which were quoted by your excellency in a subsequent communication to me, announcing the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the insurgents. Assuming such to be the authority from which the Moniteur makes the statement which I have cited, I feel it my duty to say that, thus far, the federal government of the United States has made no renunciation of any rights which belonged to it as a belligerent. It has ceased to exercise such rights, I presume, but I am not aware that it has renounced them.

The communication to your excellency of the 29th ultimo was in reply to a previous declaration of your excellency that a renunciation by us of the belligerent right of visit and capture of neutral ships must be a condition precedent to the withdrawal of belligerent rights from the American insurgents by France.

In arguing the inconveniences of making these measures dependent one upon the other, I stated that "the United States government, in applying for a repeal of the declaration of June, 1861, abandoned any of the rights of belligerents *which it is presumed to have claimed*, and become directly responsible for anything it might do in the character of a belligerent. If, after the withdrawal of the imperial declaration, it were to visit and search a neutral vessel, it would at once expose itself to reprisals, the same as for any other violation of international comity." That is to say, we abandoned any belligerent rights which, upon the theory of your excellency, we only shared in common with the insurgents, and, upon that theory, would be responsible for anything we might do in our proper character as belligerents.

These observations were based upon the doctrine of belligerent rights propounded in the communication to which I was replying without either admitting or denying its correctness. Should my government be of the opinion that a nation may be entitled to the privileges of belligerent in suppressing a rebellion, without thereby conferring belligerent rights upon the rebels, it might not be prepared to renounce the practice of visiting and searching neutral vessels so long as that remedy was necessary for the national security. Your excellency will remember that I made no concealment of the fact that I had no instructions from my government to offer or accept any conditions to be attached to the withdrawal of the declaration of June, 1865. I merely argued the inconvenience and unreasonableness of the conditions attached to its withdrawal upon premises assumed by your excellency. The final suppression of the rebellion in the United States, of which intelligence has reached us since the correspondence under consideration took place, deprives the matter to which I have invited your excellency's attention of much of its practical importance, at the same time it is as well that the communications, both oral and written, which I had the honor to submit on the 27th ultimo, should not acquire in their re-statement any importance not properly belonging to them.

I beg, therefore, that nothing I have written or said to your excellency may be regarded as an acceptance of the principle that the assertion of belligerent rights by a nation against its rebellious subjects necessarily confers upon the latter belligerent rights.

I beg to renew to your excellency assurances of the very high consideration with which I have the honor to be your excellency's very obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

His Excellency Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the United States Minister in Paris.

Paris, *17th of June,* 1865.

Sir: I received the letter which you did me the honor of addressing me on the 12th of this month. You were so kind on the occasion of some remarks that were made in the corps legislatif, during the session on the 9th, by the minister of state, and of a note published in the Moniteur of the 10th, to recall to me the declarations which you had formerly made with regard to Mexico, and the withdrawal of the quality of belligerents from the seceded States.

"What I did write," you say respecting Mexico, "was, that now that the experiment had been begun, the Americans wished it to be fully tried under circumstances best calculated to determine finally and forever whether European systems of government suited the Mexican people best. If it should appear that they did, and public tranquillity was restored, no nation was more interested in such a result than her immediate neighbors. I added, that the success of republican institutions in the Spanish American states had thus far not been such as to encourage us to attempt the propagation of them there, otherwise than by our example, and that whatever government was acceptable to the Mexican people would be satisfactory to us."

In the matter of withdrawing from the confederates the quality of belligerents, the following is, you tell me, the language which you employed in your letter of the 29th of May:

"The United States government, in applying for a repeal of the declaration of June, 1861, abandoned any of the rights of a belligerent which it is presumed to have claimed, and became directly responsible for anything it might do, in the character of a belligerent.

"If, after the withdrawal of the imperial declaration, it were to visit and search a neutral vessel, it would at once expose itself to reprisals, the same as for any other violation of international comity."

Feeling as you do, sir, that a theoretic discussion of these two points would now be of no practical interest, I thank you for having recalled to me the exact language of those declarations which you have had the goodness to make me.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Mr. Bigelow,
Minister of the United States at Paris.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *6th of July*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have seen with satisfaction, by your last despatches, that the efforts made in the United States to organize an armed emigration into Mexico continue to lose their importance, and I approve of the terms in which you proposed to treat that question with Mr. Seward, when it shall be possible for you to open your relations with him in a regular and consecutive manner. It was a matter of great interest to us, in presence of the projected expeditions to Mexico so loudly announced in the United States, to remind the cabinet at Washington that the legislation of the country afforded it the means of opposing an obstacle, if such were its wish, to enterprises of that kind. But, having done this, our further measures must depend on circumstances, and you rightly thought the present moment inopportune for demanding that the federal government should publish a new proclamation in conformity with that of 1818.

With feelings with which the cabinet of Washington showed itself animated on this point, and of which I have recently received further proof, are moreover of a nature to satisfy us. On the 29th of last month Mr. Bigelow communicated to me a letter which he had just received from Mr. Seward, and the first which that minister had written, or rather dictated, since the events of which he was one of the victims. In it Mr. Seward protests against the apprehensions which the hasty language of certain American journals had given birth to in France. He affirms, in the most formal terms, that the existing government maintains the policy adopted by the previous administration relative to Mexico, and on which the representative of the Union had been many times charged to transmit explanations to me. The Washington cabinet is still resolved to observe neutrality in this matter. It is persuaded that the instructions given by the Attorney General to the district attorneys will suffice to prevent illicit armaments; and that if, in spite of the efforts of the government, some few irregular acts should occur, such acts would have no importance, and could not trouble either France or Mexico. I have received these declarations with pleasure, and I am happy to know that the facts related in your correspondence confirm the assurances which were spontaneously given by Mr. Seward.

Accept, &c,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington.

PARIS, *20th of July*, 1865.

MARQUIS: News from the United States shows us the particular importance attached to confederate immigration to Mexico, in that country, and how much the public mind is now occupied with the pretended territorial or mining grants that the government of the Emperor seeks to claim.

The fall of the southern confederacy has hastened the time for the Mexican government to open relations of good-fellowship with the cabinet at Washington. The very delicate question of confederate emigration is, in my opinion, the first step towards an alliance, if it be frankly and openly considered. It could not then fail to attract the attention of the emperor Maximilian. From what our minister in Mexico writes me, his Majesty intends to welcome emigrants to his territory under the following conditions: If they are armed and organized, they must lay down their arms at the frontier; they must take an oath of obedience to the Mexican government, with a promise not to engage in any attempt against a friendly or neighboring government. If they wish to settle as planters, they shall repair to designated localities, and not establish themselves upon the frontier of the United States, nor upon the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Generals Almonte and Robles are to be sent to the United States by the Emperor to ask for the acceptance of these conditions.

According to my information, they will express themselves about in these terms at Washington: "We have not," they will say to the federal government, "neither created nor desired the situation imposed upon us. Remnants of confederate armies or exiled citizens ask an asylum of us; the consequence for us is various obligations which we do not wish to avoid. We wish to fulfil the duties of humanity towards the conquered that the fate of war has compelled to quit their country. We wish to take advantage of this for ourselves and make Mexico profit by the activity and energy of men who come to seek a new country among us; in fine, we do not wish to quarrel with our neighbors, but our hope, on the contrary, is to form and keep up good and profitable relations with the American Union. To reconcile these different necessities, we will welcome the confederates; but we propose to disarm them on their arrival into Mexican territory, if they come with arms; to remove them from the frontier into the interior of the country, where we will give them lands and facilitate their definitive settlement according to their capabilities."

We can but approve of this conduct in general. It has suggested to me, however, one observation. If it is necessary to remove the Americans from the territory of the Union, it would not seem to me wise to interdict every American emigrant the faculty of establishing himself in the mining districts, and I do not think the federal government, in case it did happen, should be offended at it. No matter about the details of the emperor Maximilian's plans; this seems to us the proper time to carry them out. Such language, clear, plain, practical, I think would be heard and understood at Washington.

As to the recent report newly propagated in the United States, attributing to us the project of seeking territorial acquisitions or privileges for working mining districts, you know they have absolutely no foundation. You know better than anybody else what are our intentions in that particular, for it was to you I communicated them on the 30th of November last, and you gave notice of them to the Mexican government. The views of the government of the Emperor have not varied since that time. It is firmly resolved not to accept the cession of any portion of Mexican territory, and to decline all proposals for concession of mines in Sonora. You must say this openly everywhere, so as to leave no doubt in minds, and to remove every pretext for similar allegations.

Accept, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The United States Minister in Paris to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, *August* 1, 1865.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has the honor to transmit to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs copies of four letters which have been recently submitted to the State Department at Washington.

The first, dated Mexico, May 16, 1865, is addressed by William M. Gwin, the son of Doctor and Mrs. William M. Gwin, followed by the second from Doctor Gwin himself, on the same sheet, without date, addressed to his wife and daughter in Paris. The third, in the well known handwriting of the doctor, dated Mexico, May 18, 1865, is addressed to "My Dear Colonel," and was contained in an envelope addressed to "Colonel John Winthrop." The fourth, signed "Massey," and dated Mexico, 18th May, 1865, was addressed, "To the Hon. B. Wood," (now a prisoner of state for alleged treasonable practices,) enclosing a communication to the editor of the New York Daily News, dated at the city of Mexico, 19th May, 1865, upon the subject of Mexican affairs.

By these letters it appears—

First. That Doctor William M. Gwin and family, though citizens of the United States, are disloyal to its government.

Second. That they are engaged in obtaining from Maximilian, titular emperor of Mexico, grants of mineral lands in the States of that republic, adjoining the United States, and that Doctor Gwin is to be the chief directing agent in working these mines.

Third. That a large accession of capitalists and emigrants into these States from parties in rebellion against the United States is expected.

Fourth. That they assure the said Maximilian and the Emperor of France that their contemplated proceedings will tend at once to promote the projects of Maximilian in Mexico, and inure to the injury of the United States.

Fifth. That they claim to have the patronage of the Emperor of the French, with assurances of military aid.

In submitting to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs copies of this correspondence, the undersigned is instructed frankly to state that the sympathies of the American people for the republicans of Mexico are very lively, and that they are disposed to regard with impatience the continued intervention of France in that country; that any favor shown to the speculations of Dr. Gwin by the titular emperor of Mexico, or by the imperial government of France, will tend greatly to increase the popular impatience, because it will be regarded, perhaps justly, as importing danger, or, at least, a menace to the United States.

Could the government of the undersigned be brought to believe that the state of these speculations were worthy of entire confidence, the President of the United States would be forced to the conclusion that his Majesty the Emperor of France was pursuing towards Mexico a policy materially at variance with that of neutrality in regard to the political institutions of the country, which he avowed at the commencement of his war with that republic. The President, on the contrary, confidently and sincerely expects in some form an assurance that all the pretences of Dr. Gwin, and of his associates, are destitute of any sanction from the Emperor of France.

It is unnecessary for the undersigned to say, that after having expelled insurgents from our own borders, the United States could not look with satisfaction upon their reorganization as martial or political enemies on the opposite banks of the Rio Grande.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs assurances of the distinguished consideration with which he has the honor to be, his excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

His Excellency Drouyn de Lhuys,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the United States Minister in Paris.

Paris, *7th of August*, 1865.

Sir: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to address to me, dated August 1st. In it you mention to me some plans for the colonization of Mexico, deemed to have been conceived with intentions hostile to the government of the United States, and you desire to know if it is true that the emperor Maximilian and France lend their support to these undertakings.

We shall always be ready, sir, to respond frankly to demands for explanations coming to us from an allied nation when they are inspired by a conciliatory spirit, presented in an amicable tone, and based upon authentic documents or positive facts. But I must add that the Emperor is resolved to reject all interpolations which may come to us in a comminatory tone about vague allegations, and based upon documents of a dubious character.

You will understand, sir, that it is not for me to enlighten you concerning the speculations of such or such person who has emigrated to Mexico; but what I know of the intentions of the Mexican government enables me to say to you that it proposes to let the emigrants from the southern States enter upon its territory only individually and without arms. They will receive such help as humanity requires, but will be immediately dispersed through the provinces of the empire, and bound to abstain in their conduct from everything which might awaken the just susceptibility of neighboring nations. I have, moreover, reason to believe that these dispositions of emperor Maximilian are by this time as well known to the cabinet at Washington as they are to us.

As for France, she has on several occasions, sir, and with entire frankness, stated her resolution to observe, in all the internal questions which may agitate or divide the Union—an impartial and scrupulous neutrality. We have nothing to offer as a pledge of our intentions but our word, but we deem the word of France a guarantee which will satisfy any friendly power, as we ourselves are satisfied with the word pledged to us by the federal government to remain strictly neutral with regard to affairs in Mexico. I take pleasure in recalling here, sir, the assurances which I had the satisfaction to receive from you on that subject, especially in your letter of the 12th of June last, and which I have stated in my answer, dated the 17th.

The Emperor trusts with confidence to the sentiments of which you were the interpeter; and although certain recent manifestations may seem difficult to reconcile with these declarations, his Majesty does not hesitate to rely always on the honorableness of the American people.

Accept assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Monsieur BIGELOW,
Minister of the United States, &c., Paris.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *17th of August,* 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: The minister of the United States addressed to me on the 1st instant the note of which you will find a copy annexed. In the answer, of which a copy is also given, which I sent by the Emperor's command to this communication, I felt bound to declare to Mr. Bigelow that, always ready to reply to demands for explanations addressed to us in a friendly manner, *we could not think of responding to interpellations expressed in a threatening tone relative to vague allegations founded on equivocal documents.* At the same time I took the opportunity afforded by the communication of the minister of the United States, to remind him that, as observers of a scrupulous neutrality in all the internal questions which may agitate or divide the American Union, we were entitled to rely on the exact and loyal reciprocity promised to us on his part with regard to the affairs of Mexico. We do rely on it, in fact, and yet we are unable to conceal from ourselves that there is some difficulty in conciliating certain recent facts and manifestations, of which we cannot mistake the character, with the assurances we have received.

We know that our expedition, its consequences, the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico, have been viewed with displeasure in the United States; we have been told this, and we regret it. But a displeasure does not constitute a grievance, a sentiment does not create a right; and the peace of the world would be exposed to continual dangers if each state, in its relations with its neighbors, were to conduct itself solely to suit its own conveniences or preferences. In a free country *par excellence*, like the United States, it should be known that the liberty and the right of each—State or individual—have for limits the liberty and right of others.

I have not here to justify our expedition to Mexico. Obliged to do ourselves justice, we went to Mexico to seek the satisfaction which had been obstinately refused us. *We yielded to a necessity of the same nature as that which had, at another epoch, conducted the American arms to the capital of Mexico. The Union exercised the rights of victory in all their plentitude by annexing a new State. France does not go so far; we shall leave Mexico without acquiring an inch of soil,* and without reserving to ourselves any advantage not common to all other powers. After our formal declarations on this subject, and the categorical denials we have opposed to all contrary allegations, we are dispensed from replying to the persistent rumors of territorial cessions, by means of which endeavors are made to keep up irritation against us in the United States. The semblance of a government against which we made war disappeared at our approach. Far from pretending to dispose of the country, we invited and encouraged it to dispose of itself.

In a communication which Mr. Bigelow did me the honor to address to me on the 12th June last, he was pleased to acknowledge that the success of republican institutions in Spanish America had not been such as to encourage the United States to attempt propagating them otherwise than by example, and that, *in fine, any government which should be acceptable to the Mexicans would satisfy the United States.* There is no reason to be astonished, therefore, that Mexico, enlightened by disastrous experience, should endeavor, under a system better adapted to its instincts, to escape from the anarchical chaos into which it had been plunged by an interminable series of revolutions.

A movement took place in the sense of monarchical ideas in favor of a liberal prince, belonging to a dynasty certainly illustrious among all, but attached to us by no bond, and with which we had just been at war. The Archduke Maximilian, called by the suffrages of the country, and proclaimed emperor, now exercises the sovereign rights conferred on him by the Mexican nation. No other constituted power exists on Mexican soil. An ex-President, flying from village to village, is no more a head of a government than a few bands of guerillas, pillaging and infesting the high roads, are armies. Can the cabinet of Washington be ignorant of that state of things? It has itself, during four years, contested the character of a regular power to the government residing at Richmond. Are we not allowed to ask by what signs it recognizes in the person of M. Juarez the attributes of sovereignty?

Our right, resulting from injury done to our interests, took us to Mexico. We are unwilling to leave anarchy behind us, because we do not wish to have fresh wrongs to avenge, or interests again compromised to defend. We have already withdrawn some of our troops, and we shall recall them all gradually, according to the re-establishment of order and the pacification of the country. We look forward with the sincerest wishes to the day when the last French soldier shall quit Mexico. Those whom our presence disturbs or incommodes may contribute to the approach of that moment. There can be no doubt that excitements from outside keep up agitation. Let those encouragements cease;

let them allow that unfortunate country, weary of anarchy, to become tranquil and organize itself under a government calculated to heal the wounds inflicted; order and tranquillity will soon be established, and the term assigned for our occupation will be greatly abridged. But the fact should be well borne in mind that we are not in the habit of hastening our steps on account of haughty injunctions or threatening insinuations.

You will have the goodness, Monsieur le Marquis, to take in the full meaning of this despatch, and to communicate those explanations to the federal government. They have for object, and we desire that they should have for effect, to clear up the situations and remove all doubts as to our intentions. We hope for a reply in the same spirit of frankness and conciliation that has dictated our own language. It is not worthy of two great nations to allow anything equivocal to subsist between them, and their governments would incur a severe blame in history, and a grave responsibility at the present time, if, in default of preliminary explanation, they were to abandon to the chance of circumstances and unforeseen incidents the maintenance of their good relations and the preservation of peace. Confident in the straightforward common sense of the American people and the enlightened sagacity of its government, we are unwilling to believe that temporary impulses can, against all that is common to us both in old reminiscences, against present interests and future prospects, prevent a truly solid and durable basis for the alliance between the two countries.

Receive, &c.,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *17th of August*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have received the despatch which you addressed to me, dated the 18th July, informing me that the mission confided to M. Degollado by the Mexican government had completely failed, and that the President, on refusing to receive the letter of the emperor Maximilian, of which that emissary was a bearer, had declined all kind of relations with him. I have naturally noticed that the Secretary of State, on notifying you of this decision, took the occasion to declare that the intention of the cabinet of Washington was to continue their policy of not recognizing in Mexico but the Mexican republic and its president, Mr. Juarez. If this declaration of the federal government is to be regretted on every account, it is not less so to have it provoked by an attempt which was at least premature. The cabinet of Mexico, before engaging itself in such a course, should have been sure of the opportunity and probabilities of its overtures, and procure better informations about the disposition with which they would be met in Washington. So it would have spared itself a disobliging reply, and prevented the occurrence of an incident annoying in every point of view.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington.

PARIS, *2d of September*, 1865.

MARQUIS: I have had no official conversation with the United States minister since my answer of the 7th of August to his preceding communication. Mr. Bigelow did me the honor to call to see me yesterday. He did not come, he said, to answer my letter, leaving that case to his government if it thought proper to answer it; but he wanted to tell me personally that he desired to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, and avoided every cause of irritation; that, in showing me documents of the authenticity of which he had no doubt, he had only thought to elicit friendly explanations between us; and that he thought he had not departed from the regard that representatives of governments that respect and honor each other owe to each other in all discussions in the note he addressed to me on the 1st of August. I said to Mr. Bigelow that, doing full justice to his intentions, I had never intended to draw him personally into an official debate between our two governments. He had done his duty in transmitting to me the communication he was charged to deliver, and I had done mine by answering it in the name of the government of the Emperor. For my part, I was conscious of having assumed no exaggerated susceptibility on the occasion. As I had to place Mr. Bigelow's note of the 1st of August before the eyes of his Majesty and his ministers, my colleagues, it was their unanimous impression that I had translated in the answer I made to it.

We could not admit, in fact that, haughty demurrer, supported by documents I did not care to dispute, but whose diplomatic value I denied. I added that I would never refuse to take cognizance of all papers the United States minister would communicate to me as confidential, as means to explain facts concerning the relations of the two countries. He would find me, on the contrary, always ready to furnish him with any explanations he might desire or need, either from the minister of war or the Mexican government, as complementary of the information it would be necessary for me to have, in order to answer his questions.

The conversation on this point being exhausted, Mr. Bigelow spoke to me of the general disposition of opinion in the United States in regard to Mexico, and of the necessity of the federal government to leave the question till the meeting of Congress, the policy of which he could not determine beforehand. He read me some extracts from a despatch lately received from Mr. Seward. The Secretary of State approves of the language of the United States minister at Paris, as far as belligerents are concerned, but he does not find it explicit enough in explaining the dispositions of the American people in regard to Mexican affairs. Mr. Seward is afraid it will be inferred that the people and government are indifferent to the future of republican institutions in America, and particularly in Mexico.

Such is not the sentiment of the United States, and the Secretary of State expresses his confidence that American nations will continue to prosper under republican rule. He desires and hopes to see that form of government strengthened and perpetuated particularly in Mexico. He recognizes no other, and in his eyes Juarez is the personification of it. He recognizes a state of war existing between France and the Mexican republic; he will not examine the causes, nor express an opinion upon the wrongs that have brought it on, and the federal government is resolved to observe a strict neutrality between the billigerents; but he hopes, when the war is over, republican institutions will be revived in Mexico.

I replied to the United States minister that I would not enter into a dogmatic dissertation upon the comparative merits of monarchical and republican institutions; but I was very much astonished to see existing and indisputable facts, recognized by legal authority and confirmed by the free suffrage of the Mexican nation, ignored by the United States. Time, good sense and reflection, I had no doubt, would have their influence upon the American people, and banish their systematic prejudices. I could not refrain from entering a formal protest, however, against the persistence of the Secretary of State in considering Juarez and his wandering bands not only as belligerents, but as the recognized chief of a regular government.

I could not here refrain from quoting an example that came aptly into my mind.

When we recognized the south as belligerents, the federal government protested against it; and yet a constituted power resided in Richmond, was obeyed over vast territories, levied taxes, was defended by a large and valiant army, commanded by acknowledged chieftains, that was surely a belligerent; yet we only acknowledged the fact, and not the government that used these imposing forces, and we had no intercourse with it. Now I can find no similarity in the situation of Mexico. There I saw an ex-president flying from village to village, and I asked myself by what mistake they could suppose him to be invested with the rights of a belligerent and the attributes of a government chief.

But in this particular we are not to discuss the opinion and preference of the United States government; all we have to consider is, how the United States, acknowledging two belligerents in Mexico, can keep out of the quarrel, and observe an exact neutrality between them. This is what I said to Mr. Bigelow. He, however, called my attention to the irritation caused to his government by the relation that he supposes has existed or does still exist between certain confederate chiefs and some of the Mexican authorities.

New attempts to trouble the American Union could only come now from Texas, and public opinion, already suspicious, could easily be deceived by simple appearances, if they thought that the attempts were organized in Mexico, where there is such toleration of government agents. It was, therefore, necessary to be very prudent on both sides, and to examine every incident in order to prevent bitterness and causes of serious conflict.

I answered Mr. Bigelow that the government of the emperor Maximilian had anticipated his wish, and had ordered the greatest circumspection and the strictest vigilance among his military authorities on the Texas frontier; that they must know that in Washington; and we advised the Mexican government to execute those provisions with vigor, promising to do all we could to assist them in it. I added that Mr. Bigelow's observations, the wisdom of which I recognized, gave me the occasion to repeat our recommendations and advice to Mexico on this important point.

In the course of our conversation Mr. Bigelow asked me of the state of affairs in Mexico, and if the results obtained augured favorably for the consolidation of the new government, and if we could foresee the time when we could withdraw our troops and leave her to attend to her own affairs. I told him we looked with confidence upon the future of the Mexican monarchy, but it was impossible to say when our assistance would cease to be necessary; power had been organized and order re-established, and we had actually withdrawn some of our troops. They must know that we wished to withdraw them all as soon as possible; but at the same time they must know that we were determined not to quit Mexico till we had secured the interests that had brought us there, and insured ourselves against the return of disorder and violence, for which we had, like others, to call the former government to account.

As I told you, marquis, in a previous dispatch—and I repeated it to Mr. Bigelow—the federal government can contribute greatly to hasten the moment when the last French soldier is to quit the soil of Mexico.

Accept, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The United States Minister in Paris to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PARIS, 12*th of September*, 1865.

SIR: I have received the note which your excellency wrote to me on the 7th ultimo in answer to a communication I had the honor to address you on the 1st of said month, with respect to the alleged projects of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico.

I have the honor to transmit to your excellency the enclosed copy of a despatch which I have just received from my government.

I avail myself of this occasion, &c.

JOHN BIGELOW.

[Annexed.]

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to the United States Minister.

No. 231.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 24, 1865.

SIR: Your despatch of August 10, No. 157, has been received. It is accompanied by a correspondence between yourself and Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys in relation to the alleged schemes of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico.

It gives me pleasure to say, that information which was received from that country while that correspondence was going on, and which information seems to be authentic, induces the belief that the speculations referred to have altogether failed. I observe with still more pleasure that Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, in the communication which he addressed to you of the 7th of August, authorized us to expect that those schemes and speculations, so far as they were hostile to the United States, would be disapproved by the authorities acting in Mexico under the direction of, or in co-operation with, the Emperor of France. It is perceived with regret, that either in substance or in manner the representation which you addressed to Mr Drouyn de Lhuys, and which elicited his communication, before referred to, in reply, was regarded by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys as exceptionable. It becomes proper for me, under these circumstances, to say that your representation was made in conformity with instructions given you by this department, and that on reviewing these instructions we are not able to discover any ground for criticism. They were given under the belief that a seasonable attention to the reports and rumors that were in circulation in regard to schemes of Dr. Gwin and other rebel emissaries in Mexico was necessary to prevent difficulties and to allay apprehensions, the indulgence of which was prejudicial to a good understanding between the United States and France. The President is gratified with the renewed assurance which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys has given us of the Emperor's resolution to observe an impartial and scrupulous neutrality upon all internal questions which may agitate or divide the United States.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq, *&c., Paris.*

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, 18*th of October*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have taken several occasions since two months to advise you of the dispositions of the imperial government concerning the duration of the occupation of Mexico by the French troops. I told you, in my despatch of August 17, that we called with our most sincere wishes for the day when the last French soldier should leave the country, and that the cabinet of Washington could contribute to hasten that moment. On the 2d of September I renewed to you the assurance of our strong desire to withdraw our auxiliary corps so soon as circumstances should allow it. At last, following the same ideas more fully, in a private letter of the 10th of the same month' I added that it greatly depended upon the United States to facilitate the departure of our troops. If they would adopt toward the Mexican government an amicable attitude which would aid to the consolidation of order, and in which we could find motives of security for the interests which obliged us to carry arms beyond the Atlantic, we would be ready to adopt, without delay, the bases of an understanding on this subject with the cabinet of Washington; and I wish to make fully known to you now the views of the government of his Majesty.

What we ask of the United States is to be assured that their intention is not to impede the consolidation of the new order of things founded in Mexico; and the best guarantee we could receive of their intention would be the recognition of the emperor Maximilian by the federal government.

The American Union should not, it seems to us, be kept back by the difference of institutions, for the United States have official intercourse with all the monarchies of Europe and the New World. It is in conformity with their own principles of public law to regard the monarchy established in Mexico as being, at least, a government "*de facto*," without particular regard to its nature or its origin, which has been consecrated by the suffrage of the people of that country; and in thus acting the cabinet of Washington would only be inspired with the same feelings of sympathy which President Johnson expressed recently to the envoy of Brazil, as guiding the policy of the United States towards the younger states of the American continent.

Mexico, it is true, is still occupied at this moment by the French army, and we can readily see that this objection will arise. But the acknowledgment of the emperor Maximilian by the United States would, in our opinion, have sufficient influence upon the state of the country to allow us to take in consideration their susceptibilities on this subject; and should the cabinet of Washington decide to open diplomatic relations with the court of Mexico, we would see no difficulty to enter in arrangement for the recall of our troops within a reasonable period of which we would—might consent to fix the termination.

In consequence of the vicinage and immense extent of the common frontier, the United States are, more than any other power, interested to see their trade with Mexico placed under the safeguard of stipulations in harmony with the mutual wants of both countries. We would most readily offer our good offices to facilitate the conclusion of a commercial treaty, thereby cementing the political "rapprochement," the bases of which I have just made known to you.

By order of the Emperor, I invite you to make known to Mr. Seward the dispositions of his Majesty's government.

You are authorized, if you think it proper, to read him the contents of this despatch.

I remain, DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *18th of October*, 1865.

M. LE MARQUIS: The Emperor recommends you very particularly the contents of my despatch to you of this date.

In writing to you this despatch I have entered upon a course which Mr. Bigelow himself inaugurated some days ago. At the end of a conversation upon other subjects, that minister asked me, in his own name and without prejudging the opinion of his government, if I did not think that the recognition of the Mexican empire by the United States would facilitate and hasten the recall of our troops. The instructions which I forward you are the answer to that question.

Receive, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister at Washington.

PARIS, 29*th of November,* 1865.

M. LE MARQUIS: I have had a conversation recently with Mr. Bigelow, of which I think it well to give you the substance. In that conversation the United States minister enumerated the reasons the cabinet at Washington had for not establishing diplomatic relations with the Mexican government. The origin of that government, the antagonism between its form and the republican institutions of the neighboring country, and the small progress the emperor Maximilian would make in the affection and confidence of his subjects, these are the three motives that oppose, according to Mr. Bigelow, the relations we desire.

The representative of the federal government at the same time criticised certain measures adopted in Mexico. He quoted to me particularly the decree relative to the suppression of brigandage, and one other concerning the introduction of blacks; then he mentioned the sinister interpretations that might be given to the honors accorded to the Iturbide family, and expressed to me the unfavorable sentiments that all these resolutions would cause in the American people.

Although the greater portion of this question was not new, I thought I had better answer it. I will not return, I said to Mr. Bigelow, to the causes that determined the Mexican expedition. These causes are the same that carried the federal flag to Mexico some years ago. A double question of interest and dignity forced us to resort to arms, after uselessly exhausting all other means to have justice done to our citizens. Finding neither reparations for the past nor guarantees for the future in Mr. Juarez's administration, we were happy to see the Mexican people assume a new government, and faithful to the maxims of our public law we applauded that manifestation of the national will. Our army has not exercised the least force upon that great act, and the new government once established, we have made ourselves an absolute law to respect its independence.

The monarchical form, far from constituting an innovation, is rooted in the traditions of the country, and the other system of government did not assure the Mexican nation enough strength, comfort, and stability to cause us to blame it for the resolution it has taken. We do not dispute the greatness and prosperity that republican institutions have given to the United States; but there is nothing absolute in politics, and a government that suits one country may not suit another. It is very certain that there was nothing but disorder and anarchy in Mexico previous to the new rule. Was not the cabinet at Washington the first to complain of that violent and troubled situation? Was not its interest, like that of all other powers, to see a more normal order of things, and more in harmony with the conditions of vitality of modern societies, established in that country? A monarchical form is certainly a menace to nobody. An empire in Mexico is certainly not more incompatible with the dignity of the United States than an empire in Brazil. There is, besides, in this affair a principle that governs all others—the privilege of every nation to choose its own political rule, and the United States have certainly too just a sentiment of their own independence to wish to control that of their neighbors.

As to the degree of confidence and affection that the Mexican nation feels for its sovereign, the reports that reach us do not agree with those received by the cabinet at Washington. I understand that the new government is daily growing stronger; that Juarez, whose term has just expired, represents nothing, not even in the eyes of his few followers; that constantly changing his residence, having neither army nor finances, nor administration, he is, in fact as well as in law, clothed with no characters that constitute the chief of a State. Can the emperor Maximilian, then, under these circumstances, accord the rights of belligerents to bands still in the field? Did not the federal government deny that quality to the confederates of the south? And yet the confederacy had a vast territory, powers obeyed everywhere, generals of rare talent, armies that the federal troops could only conquer by patience and courage. The pretended authority of Juarez, on the contrary, is but a fiction. Where is the seat of his government? Who knows the names of his functionaries or of his officers? What province or what city is subject to him? Where are the regular traces of his administration? What remains of it but undisciplined bands that live by robbery? If the remnants of the southern armies were to form to-day bands to overrun the federal territory, would the United States treat them as belligerents? In such a situation there is no question of international law, the question is internal, and the first duty of a government well organized is to maintain order in the country.

As to the Iturbide family, I have nothing to say to the reasons that influenced the spontaneous decision of the emperor Maximilian. He might have desired to raise the once illustrious name from obscurity, and his resolution might have been inspired by a sentiment of benevolence and respect for the historic recollections of the Mexican nation. I will say, by the way, that it is untrue that the rights of succession have been conferred upon young Iturbide.

Moreover, if certain measures adopted in Mexico provoke the criticism of the cabinet at Washington, they ought not to call us to account for it. Autonomical and independent, the Mexican government is responsible for its own acts. True, our troops are still in Mexico; but the aid we lend to the Emperor Maximilian constitutes in no manner a bond of vassalism.

In giving you this summary of my conversation with Mr. Bigelow, I desire, now that Congress is about to meet, to enable you to rectify the erroneous opinions that might be conceived around you, and I authorize you to make use of the present despatch in your conversations with Mr. Seward and the political personages of the Union.

Accept, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, 8*th of December*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have received the despatch in which you relate me the conversation which you had with Mr. Seward in reference to the appointment of General Logan as minister of the United States to the Mexican republic, and the explanations which the Secretary of State thought necessary to give you concerning that measure in order to attenuate its disagreeable impression. We could not conceal our regret at the determination taken by the federal government, and the opinions publicly expressed by General Logan on our expedition to Mexico make it appear to us still more inopportune. The Emperor's government, in extending to Mexico the protection expected from him by all his subjects, has only pursued the fulfilment of an imperative duty; he ought to secure for the French subjects both legitimate reparations for the past and guarantees for the future. When this work is accomplished, his action will be withdrawn, for no second thought of conquest or domination will retain our arms beyond the ocean. It would then be painful to see, in the moment we look for the means of hastening the end of our expedition, some misunderstanding, endangering our traditional relations with the United States, and that from a situation essentially transitory there might grow a serious risk for the permanent interests which unite the two countries.

Receive, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The French Minister in Washington to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

WASHINGTON, 11*th of December*, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE: On the 20th of November I transmitted to the Secretary of State a copy and translation of your excellency's despatch dated the 18th of October last. I have the honor now to make you know the note just addressed to me on that subject by the Secretary of State. I have confined myself to answer him that it had duly reached me, and that I should not fail to submit it at once to the appreciation of the Emperor's government, whose instructions I would wait to discuss its contents.

Please accept, &c.

MONTHOLON.

[Enclosure.]

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to the French Minister in Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 6, 1865.

SIR: Having made known to the President the Emperor's views on Mexican affairs which you communicated to me on the 29th ultimo, I have now the honor to inform you of the disposition of this government in regard to the same subject. It seems proper, however, for me to say, in the first place, that what I have to communicate has been already fully made known to Mr. Bigelow, with authority, in his discretion, to impart the same to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

The effect of the Emperor's suggestions when they are reduced to a practical shape seems to be this: that France is willing to retire from Mexico as soon as she may, but that it would be inconvenient for her without first receiving from the United States an assurance of a friendly or tolerant disposition to the power which has assumed to itself an imperial form in the capital city of Mexico. The President is gratified with the assurance you have thus given of the Emperor's good disposition. I regret, however, to be obliged to say that the condition the Emperor suggests is one which seems quite impracticable.

It is true, indeed, that the presence of foreign armies in an adjacent country could not, under any circumstances, but cause uneasiness and anxiety on the part of this government. It creates for us expenses which are inconvenient, not to speak of dangers of collision. Nevertheless, I cannot but infer from the tenor of your communication, that the principal cause of the discontent prevailing in the United States in regard to Mexico is not fully apprehended by the Emperor's government. The chief cause is not that there is a foreign army in Mexico; much less does that discontent arise from the circumstance that that foreign army is a French one. We recognize the right of sovereign nations to carry on war with each other if they do not invade our right or menace our safety or just influence. The real cause of our national discontent is, that the French army which is now in Mexico is invading a domestic republican government there which was established by her people, and with whom the United States sympathize most profoundly, for the avowed purpose of suppressing it and establishing upon its ruins a foreign monarchical government, whose presence there, so long as it should endure, could not but be regarded by the people of the United States as injurious and menacing to their own chosen and endeared republican institutions.

I admit that the United States do not feel themselves called upon to make a war of propagandism throughout the world, or even on this continent, in the republican cause. We have sufficient faith in the eventual success of that cause on this continent, through the operation of existing material and moral causes, to induce us to acquiesce in the condition of things which we found existing here, while our own republic was receiving its shape and development. On the other hand we have constantly maintained, and still feel bound to maintain, that the people of every State on the American continent have a right to secure for themselves a republican government if they choose, and that interference by foreign states to prevent the enjoyment of such institutions deliberately established is wrongful, and in its effects antagonistical to the free and popular form of government existing in the United States. We should think it wrong as well as unwise, on the part of the United States, to attempt to subvert by force monarchical governments in Europe for the purpose of replacing them with republican institutions. It seems to us equally objectionable that European states should forcibly intervene in states situated on this continent to overthrow republican institutions, and replace them with monarchies or empires.

Having thus frankly stated our position, I leave the question for the consideration of France, sincerely hoping that that great nation may find it compatible with its best interests and its high honor to withdraw from its aggressive attitude in Mexico, within some convenient and reasonable time, and thus leave the people of that country to the free enjoyment of the system of republican government which they have established for themselves, and of their adherence to which they have given what seems to the United States to be decisive and conclusive, as well as very touching proofs. I am, sir, the more inclined to hope for such a solution of the difficulty for the reason that when, at any time within the last four years, the question has been asked of any American statesman, or even of any American citizen, what country in Europe was the one which was least likely to experience an alienation of the friendship of the United States, the answer was promptly given, France. Friendship with France has always been deemed important and peculiarly agreeable by the American people. Every American citizen deems it no less important and desirable for the future than for the past.

The President will be pleased to be informed of the reception which the Emperor gives to the suggestions which I have now made.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my very high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, 26*th of December*, 1865.

M. LE MARQUIS: I have read with interest the message his excellency President Johnson has addressed to the Congress of the United States, of which you have forwarded me a copy. My attention has been more especially directed to the portions of this document which might bear upon questions interesting at once the policy of the cabinet at Washington and ours. Mr. Johnson, in a passage which seems to allude to our expedition to Mexico, dwells upon considerations this is not the place to discuss—upon the vicissitudes of monarchical and republican constitutions in the two hemispheres. I will merely point out to you that the pursuit of our complaints against Mexico has no connexion with the existence in that country of this or that form of government, and that it did not any more depend upon a question of geography. If at the time we required just reparation for our fellow-subjects the power which refused it had been a monarchy, that circumstance would certainly not have caused us to abandon claiming our right; and in whatever part of the world a nation might dwell which had injured French interests, the protection of the Emperor, due to all his subjects, would have been legitimately extended all the same. I cannot think that the Chief Magistrate of the Union has entertained an idea of raising doubts upon points so evident.

The same passage of the presidential manifesto speaks of the provocation which would compel the American people to defend republicanism against foreign intervention, "of designs hostile to the form of government of the United States," and lastly, of aggression upon the part of the European powers. We cannot feel ourselves affected by these expressions, for they in no way apply to the policy we have followed It would be superfluous to remind you that the sentiments of constant friendship testified by the Emperor towards the United States exclude every supposition of provocation or aggression upon our part. As for threatening the form of government that country has adopted, and which France herself has contributed to establish at the price of her blood, nothing could be more foreign than such an undertaking to the traditions and principles of the imperial government.

I see, therefore, nothing in the language of Mr. Johnson really of a nature to arouse uneasiness as to the duration of friendly relations between France and the United States; and if some ambiguity prevails in terms employed with regard to the questions that preoccupy the two peoples, other portions of the message, by settling the bearing of the President's words, happily dissipate all uncertainty. The placing of the federal army upon a peace footing, and the considerable reduction of its *cadres*, at the same time with the diminution of the naval forces of the Union, prove the peaceful intentions of the cabinet of Washington, and the announcement of these measures by President Johnson is a pledge to us of the reciprocal confidence which must continue to animate our two governments.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *9th of January*, 1866.

M. LE MARQUIS: I had desired you, by the Emperor's order, to make known to the cabinet of Washington the views of his Majesty's government upon the affairs of Mexico, and conformably to my instructions you have brought to Mr. Seward's knowledge the despatch I had the honor to forward you on the 18th of October. The Secretary of State replied to that despatch by a communication he was good enough to address to you on the 6th of December, of which I think it advisable to recapitulate here the principal points.

According to Mr. Seward, the presence of a foreign force in a country adjacent to the Union cannot but be a cause of uneasiness and disquiet. This state of things entails upon the federal government inconvenient expenses, and may bring about collisions. The chief reason for the displeasure of the United States, however, is not the fact of there being a foreign army in Mexico, still less that the army is French. The cabinet of Washington recognizes the right of every sovereign nation to make war, provided the exercise of that right does not threaten the security and legitimate influence of the Union. But the French army has gone to Mexico to overthrow a national republican government, and with the avowed object of establishing upon the ruins a foreign monarchical government. Mr. Seward sets forth in this respect how much the people of the United States are attached to the institutions they have adopted, and repudiating all ideas of propagandism in favor of those institutions, he claims for the various peoples of the New World the right of securing to themselves this form of government according to their convenience. He would consider it inadmissible that European powers should intervene in those countries with the idea of destroying the republican form to substitute kingdoms and empires in its stead.

"Having thus frankly defined our position," adds Mr. Seward, "I submit the question to the judgment of France, while sincerely wishing that great nation may find it compatible with its true interests and its high honor to abandon the aggressive attitude it has taken up in Mexico."

In concluding, Mr. Seward recalls, as a reason for his hope of arriving at a happy solution, the ancient affection of the United States for France, and the value every American citizen has always attached to our friendship in past times, and continues to attach to it in future.

I have not failed to submit this communication to the Emperor, and after having maturely examined the considerations laid down by Mr. Seward, his Majesty's government remains convinced that the divergence of views between the two cabinets is, above all, the result of an erroneous appreciation of our intentions.

Our expedition, I need hardly say, was not intended as hostile to the peoples of the New World, and assuredly still less to those of the Union. France cannot forget that she has contributed to establish them with her blood, and among the number of glorious recollections the old monarchy bequeathed to us, there was not one of which Napoleon I was prouder, and which Napoleon III is less disposed to repudiate. If, on the other hand, we had been actuated by an idea of ill-will towards that republic, would we have endeavored from the beginning to obtain the assistance of the federal government, which, like ourselves, had claims to advance? Would we have observed neutrality in the great crisis the United States have passed through? And now would we be disposed, as we declare with the greatest frankness, to hasten as much as may be possible the time of recalling our troops?

Our only object has been to claim the satisfaction to which we had a right by resorting to coercive measures after having exhausted all others. It is known how numerous and legitimate were the demands of French subjects. We took up arms in presence of a series of flagrant injuries and striking denials of justice. The complaints of the United States were certainly less numerous and less important when they, too, were induced some years ago to employ force against Mexico.

The French army did not bring monarchical traditions upon Mexican soil in the folds of its flag. The cabinet of Washington is not unaware that there have been for a certain number of years a considerable group of men in that country who, despairing of finding order under the conditions of the system then existing, cherished the idea of returning to monarchy. Their opinions had been shared by one of the late presidents of that republic, who had even offered to use his power to favor the establishment of royalty. Seeing the degree of anarchy to which the government of Juarez had fallen, they thought the time had come to appeal to the sentiment of the nation, tired like themselves of the state of dissolution in which its resources were exhausted. We did not think we ought to discourage this last effort of a powerful party, whose origin is of prior date to our expedition; but, faithful to the maxims of public right we hold in common with the United States, we declared that this question must be referred solely to the suffrages of the Mexican people.

The idea of the Emperor's government was defined by his Majesty himself, in a letter addressed to the commander-in-chief of our army after the capture of Puebla. "Our object, you are aware," said the Emperor, "is not to impose upon the Mexicans a government contrary to their wishes, nor to make our successes subserve the triumph of any party. I desire that Mexico should be born into new life, and that, speedily regenerated by a government based upon the national will, upon the principles of order and progress, upon respect for the law of nations, she may recognize by friendly relations that she owes to France her repose and her prosperity."

The Mexican people uttered its decision. The emperor Maximilian was summoned by the wish of the country. This government appeared to us of a nature to bring about peace at home and good faith in international relations We granted it our support.

We went, therefore, to Mexico to carry out the right of war which Mr. Seward fully admits that we possess, and not by virtue of a principle of intervention, upon which we profess the same doctrine as the United States. We went there, not to make proselytes to monarchy, but to obtain reparation and guarantees we were entitled to claim, and we support the government founded with the assent of the populations, because we expect from it the satisfaction of our complaints with indispensable securities for the future.

As we seek neither an exclusive interest nor the realization of an ambitious idea. our sincerest wish is to hasten as much as possible the time when we shall be able, with security to our fellow-subjects and dignity to ourselves, to recall what remains in that country of the *corps d'armée* we sent there. As I informed you in the despatch to which Mr. Seward's communication replies, it depends greatly upon the federal government to facilitate in this respect the accomplishment of its desire. The doctrine of the United States, resting, like our own, upon the principle of the national will, is not incompatible with the existence of monarchical institutions; and President Johnson in his message, like Mr. Seward in his despatch, repudiates all idea of propagandism, even upon the American continent, in favor of republican institutions. The cabinet of Washington entertains friendly relations with the court of the Brazils, and it did not refuse to enter into relations with the Mexican empire in 1822. No fundamental maxim, no precedent of the diplomatic history of the Union, therefore, creates a necessary antagonism between the United States and the system which in Mexico has replaced a power which has continually and systematically violated its most positive obligations towards other nations.

Mr. Seward seems to make the government of the emperor Maximilian a twofold reproach as to the difficulties it meets with and the aid it borrows from foreign forces. But the resistance against which it has found itself compelled to struggle has no particular reference to the form of its institutions. It suffers the ordinary fate of new authorities, and its chief misfortune is to have to endure the consequences of the disorders which have arisen under previous governments. Which of those governments, in fact, has not found armed competitors and has enjoyed undisputed authority in peace? Revolts and intestine wars were then the normal state of the country, and the opposition raised by some military chiefs to the establishment of the empire is only the natural consequence of the habits of want of discipline and anarchy, of which the authorities to which it succeeds have been the victims.

As for the support the Mexican government receives from our army, and which Belgian and Austrian volunteers give it also, no attack is thereby made upon the independence of its resolutions or upon the perfect liberty of its acts. What state is there which has not had need of allies, either to constitute or defend it? And have not great powers, like France and England, for instance, almost constantly maintained foreign troops in their armies? *When the United States fought for their emancipation, did the assistance given by France to their efforts prevent that great popular movement from being truly national? Will any one say that the struggle against the south was not equally a national war because thousands of Irish and Germans fought under the Union flags?* It would be impossible, therefore, to dispute the character of the Mexican government, and to consider as a motive of dislike towards it either the resistance it must conquer to consolidate itself, or the foreign troops who will have aided it to cause security and order to revive in a country so long and so deeply agitated.

Such an undertaking is assuredly worthy of being appreciated by a nation so enlightened as the United States, especially calculated to reap advantage from it. In place of a country incessantly troubled, which has given them so many subjects of complaint, and upon which they themselves have even been obliged to make war, they would find a pacified country, henceforth offering guarantees of security and vast outlets to their commerce. Far from injuring their rights or impairing their influence, it is they in especial who ought to profit by the work of reorganization being carried out in Mexico.

To sum up, M. le Marquis, *the United States recognize the right we had to make war in Mexico; upon the other hand, like them, we admit the principle of non-intervention. This two-fold admission seems to me to offer the elements of an agreement.* The right of making war, which belongs, as Mr. Seward states, to every sovereign nation, implies the right of securing the results of war. We have not crossed the ocean solely with the intention of displaying our power and of inflicting chastisement upon the Mexican government. After a series of useless reclamations, we must demand guarantees against the return of the violence from which our fellow subjects have suffered so cruelly, and we cannot expect these guarantees from a government whose bad faith we had so often experienced. We find them now in the establishment of a regular power, which shows itself disposed honestly to keep its engagements. Under these circumstances we hope that the legitimate object of our expedition will soon be attained, *and we are hastening to make arrangements with the emperor Maximilian which, while satisfying our interests and our dignity, allow us to consider the part of our army upon Mexican soil at an end. The Emperor has ordered me to write in this sense to his minister in Mexico.*

We return after that period to the principle of non-intervention, and from the moment we accept it as our rule of conduct, our interest and honor require us to demand its equal application by all. Relying upon the equitable spirit of the Washington cabinet, we expect from it the assurance that the American people will conform to the law they invoke by maintaining a strict neutrality with regard to Mexico. When you shall have informed me of the resolution of the American government in this matter I shall be in a position to acquaint you with the result of our negotiation with the emperor Maximilian for the return of our troops.

I request you to hand Mr. Seward a copy of this despatch, in reply to his communication of the 6th of December last, asking him to bring it to the knowledge of President Johnson; and I rest with confidence for the examination of the arguments it contains upon the traditional sentiments recalled by the note of the Secretary of State of the Union.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the United States Minister in Paris.

PARIS, *15th of January,* 1866.

SIR: You did me the honor to communicate to me in the course of the month of November a letter addressed to Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, by the Attorney General of the United States, on the subject of the decrees issued by the emperor Maximilian concerning immigration and colonization in Mexico. That document constituting a judgment upon interior acts of the Mexican government, I could only receive it as a piece of information. I was careful to point this out to you at the time, declining also any discussion upon measures to which the Emperor's government was absolutely foreign. In acknowledging receipt, therefore, according to your desire, of your letter of the 22d November, I consider myself bound to state the verbal reply which I had to make thereto.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The United States Minister to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

PARIS, *16th of January*, 1866.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's communication, dated the 15th instant, relative to certain decrees recently promulgated in Mexico upon the subject of immigration and colonization. Your excellency refuses all explanation of the inadmissible passages of one of these decrees, to which I had the honor to call your attention in a note of the 22d of November last, upon the plea that they relate to measures of internal administration, with which the Emperor's government had nothing to do.

Although the line separating the responsibility of the imperial government from that of the political organization it has planted in Mexico is traced with some indistinctness, I am certain my government will learn with satisfaction that France, which was one of the first powers to hold up slavery to the execration of mankind, declines all responsibility as to the attempt (although made under protection of her flag) to re-establish that institution in a country which had expressly stigmatized and abolished it.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

JOHN BIGELOW.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *25th of January*, 1866.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: The United States minister desired that the communication which he made to me of the Attorney General's letter to Mr. Seward relative to the decrees of the emperor Maximilian concerning immigration and colonization in Mexico should be acknowledged in writing. I consequently addressed such an acknowledgment to Mr. Bigelow. He replied thereto by the letter of which a copy is appended. It would have been easy for me in my turn to continue the correspondence by discussing his reply. I did not consider it necessary to do so. I confined myself, in the verbal explanations which I had on this subject with the United States minister, to dwelling upon two points which I could not allow to pass without observation. I said, first, to Mr. Bigelow that I did not admit the expression "planted" applied to the part taken by the French government in the events which have modified the political system in Mexico. He was sufficiently acquainted with the causes which led us to that country to render it unnecessary for me to revert to them; and as to the present organization of that state, the Mexican people had themselves settled it according to their wishes and interests.

In the second place, I observed to the United States minister that I had declined all discussion with him upon the decrees of the emperor Maximilian in our interview, and that he was not, therefore, justified in attributing to me any opinion whatever upon the subject, as he appeared to do in the last sentence in his letter. I added that if he, however, wished to know my manner of viewing the question, I did not hesitate to say that the measures of the emperor Maximilian so strongly incriminated had not, in our opinion, the character and object attributed to them. It appeared to me advisable that you should not be ignorant the manner in which this incident terminated.

Receive, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister in Washington.

PARIS, *25th of January*, 1866.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: The American newspapers bring us extracts from diplomatic documents published in the United States, in which are related some conversations that I have had with Mr. Bigelow on the subject of certain measures adopted by the emperor Maximilian's government. The observations of the United States minister, and my replies, relate particularly to the decrees of the Mexican government concerning the admission of blacks as colonists, to the suppression of brigandage, and to the position in which the Iturbide family were placed. I have not the official and complete text of the American documents before me, and it is therefore under the reservation of the ulterior reflections which they may suggest that I deem it expedient to define the sense of the explanations to which the questions I have just mentioned have given rise between Mr. Bigelow and myself. These explanations are, besides, stated in the despatch which I had the honor to address to you on the 29th of November last, and I shall confine myself, in my reference thereto, to reviewing that part of the despatch relative to these questions.

When the United States minister came to acquaint me with the opinions of the Washington cabinet, I had to state that I declined all official controversy upon the acts of a foreign government acting with full independence, and that I could only receive as simple information any communication he might wish to make on the subject.

It would not become us, in fact, to accept the responsibility for resolutions emanating from the free initiative of the Mexican government. To admit such a discussion would justify its being said, contrary to all our declarations and the attitude we have rigorously observed, that we consider ourselves invested in Mexico with sovereign rights. Now, the support we afford to the emperor Maximilian and the Mexican nation is precisely intended to aid them to constitute, according to their wishes, an independent power responsible for its acts. This reservation very clearly established, I observed to Mr. Bigelow, in the course of ordinary conversation, that the measures pointed out to him were of a purely administrative order, and did not appear to me to constitute any of those exceptional derogations from general principles which may sometimes, perhaps, authorize a government to intervene in the interior affairs of a neighboring country. Every State regulates as it thinks fit the admission of emigrants upon its territory, whether black or white, and the conditions of the colonization of its soil. It is evident that these conditions, offered to strangers, only apply to the persons who have freely accepted them. So also the Mexican government has only exercised a right incontestably belonging to it in declaring that in its eyes civil war no longer existed on its territory; and ceasing to recognize in wandering bands the character of belligerents, it has promulgated against them the severe penalties which have been applied in every country for the suppression of brigandage. Still less, in my opinion, can it be questioned respecting an act assigning in the state a particular rank to a particular family. In any case the effect of these measures did not go beyond the Mexican frontiers, and did not, therefore, appear to me to constitute any grievance of which a foreign government could complain. If, however, an opposite opinion should be entertained at Washington, I can understand that some uncertainty might be felt as to the means of causing the reclamations it might be thought proper to draw up to reach the right quarter. But, definitively, *because it does not suit the federal government to recognize the de facto government of the emperor Maximilian as existing by right*, and as, upon the other hand, it would seem to it ridiculous to address itself to the power it considers as legal, but which has in fact disappeared, I could not admit as a consequence that there was ground for finding fault with us to escape embarrassment, and for demanding at our hands explanations of acts emanating from the sovereign authority of a foreign government.

Receive, &c.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON,
Minister of France at Washington.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 27th of February, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you a statement of the foreign debt of the Mexican republic, and the pecuniary responsibilities the French government wishes to impose upon that republic, as a consequence of its iniquitous intervention in the internal affairs of Mexico. This statement has been made out from correct data by an old employé of the Mexican treasury. It also comprises a comparison of the annual expenditures of the national government of the republic, with those of the so-called empire of the usurper Maximilian.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

The following tables, compiled from authentic information recently received from the city of Mexico, show the following facts:

First. That the French government has charged Mexico for the expenses of invasion of her territory and other acts of intervention, up to July 1, 1864, the sum of *fifty millions of dollars.* Of this sum ten millions have been paid out of a loan subsequently made, and the remainder (forty millions) has been funded as a claim due by Mexico *to the French government itself.*

Second. That besides the above forty millions, loans have been negotiated for Maximilian, in France, to the amount of more than *one hundred and fifty millions of dollars,* which loans France is seeking to foist on the Mexican people as a legitimate debt, although every dollar realized therefrom has been used not for the welfare or benefit of Mexico, but to meet the expenses which have been incurred in this iniquitous attempt to overthrow republican institutions and establish a monarchy on American soil.

Third. That while the claims of France against Mexico, as admitted by the constitutional government before the intervention began, amounted to *less than three millions of dollars,* the claims of France as now put forward under Maximilian, and as recognized by him, already amount to *over one hundred and ninety-three millions of dollars.* This is apart from what may still be added under General Forey's recent and very significant reminder on the part of France, that it may be necessary "to make further pecuniary outlays in Mexico."

Fourth. That while the entire foreign debt of Mexico, before the French intervention commenced, amounted to but a little over *eighty millions of dollars,* that debt, if Maximilian is allowed to succeed, will be increased, even if no further addition is made to it, to over *two hundred and seventy millions of dollars.*

Fifth. That the annual expenses of Mexico under the republic were less than *twelve millions of dollars,* while under Maximilian they have already reached the sum of *forty-nine millions.* Of this sum over *ten millions* per annum is due for interest from Maximilian to France.

Comparative statement of the legitimate foreign debt of Mexico, as recognized by the constitutional government of the republic, with the annual expenditures as established by act of Congress, August 16, 1861, *and the debt which the French intervention seeks to impose upon the country, with the annual expenditures under the so-called empire of Maximilian.*

FOREIGN DEBT AS RECOGNIZED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN 1862.

To English Subjects:

Funded debt.—Debts contracted in London £10,241,650, (interest at 3 per cent., at $5 per £)	$51,208,250
English convention debt, (interest at 6 per cent.)	4,175,000
Pending claims.—Back interest unpaid and other acknowledged claims	13,231,793
Various reclamations	696,614
Total debt due to English subjects June 30, 1862	69,311,657

To Spanish subjects:

Funded debt.—Admitted convention debt	$4,205,481	
Additional amount in dispute	2,427,942	
(Interest at 3 per cent.)		$6,633,423
Pending claims.—Back interest unpaid and other acknowledged claims		1,549,563
Various reclamations		1,278,000
Total debt due to Spanish subjects June 30, 1862		9,460,986

To French subjects:

Funded debt.—Balance of convention debt	$190,000
Pending claims.—To Juan B. Jecker for capital expended in his scandalous claim, and interest	1,984,000
Other claims	685,917
Total debt due to French subjects	2,859,917

RECAPITULATION.

Debt due to English subjects	$69,311,657
Debt due to Spanish subjects	9,460,986
Debt due to French subjects	2,859,917
Total foreign debt as recognized in 1862	81,632,560

ANNUAL INTEREST.

On debt contracted in London......	$51, 208, 250	at 3 per cent.	$1, 536, 247
On English convention debt........	4, 175, 000	at 6 per cent.	250, 500
On other English claims, if capitalized	13, 928, 407	at 3 per cent.	517, 852
On Spanish convention debt.......	6, 633, 423	at 3 per cent.	199, 002
On other Spanish claims, if capitalized	2, 827, 563	at 3 per cent.	84, 826
On French claims, if capitalized....	2, 859, 917	at 6 per cent.	171, 595
Total debt................	81, 632, 560		2, 760, 022

Total interest to English creditors	$2, 304, 599
Total interest to Spanish creditors...........................	283, 828
Total interest to French creditors...........................	171, 595
Total annual interest...............................	2, 760, 022

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC AS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS AUGUST 16, 1861.

Interest on the foreign debt		$2, 760, 022
For foreign relations	$210, 340	
For home departments..........................	1, 798, 059	
For finance..................................	1, 573, 624	
For war..................................	4, 745, 395	
		8, 327, 418
Total annual expenditures of the national government....		11, 087, 440

The interior debt of Mexico has been nearly extinguished by sales of church property made under the constitutional government.

UNDER MAXIMILIAN.—DEBT WHICH THE FRENCH INTERVENTION SEEKS TO IMPOSE UPON MEXICO.

Indebtedness acknowledged to France by Maximilian, as part of the expenses of the intervention, to July 1, 1864, 270,000,000 of francs, or $50,000,000, of which $10,000,000 were paid out of the first loan, and the balance funded at 3 per cent., viz...	$40, 000, 000
First loan put out for account of Maximilian, 216,000,000 of francs, at 6 per cent. interest............................	40, 000, 000
To pay France the above $10,000,000, or 54,000,000 of francs, and 12,000,000 of francs more on account of reclamations to French subjects, further bonds, as an additional loan, were put in circulation to the amount of 110,000,000 of francs, at 6 per cent.......................................	20, 370, 370
Second loan put out for account of Maximilian in Paris, being the *lottery loan* of two series of bonds at 6 per cent. interest, amounting to 500,000,000 of francs, negotiated at 340......	92, 592, 592
Total debt recognized by Maximilian in favor of France.	192, 962, 962

The debt in favor of France, as recognized by the constitutional government, is	2,859,917
Amount that Maximilian desires to augment the debt to France	190,103,045

The debt to English subjects remains the same under Maximilian as before, the back interest only having been capitalized.

The debt to Spanish subjects remains nearly as before, the interest unpaid.

ANNUAL INTEREST UNDER MAXIMILIAN.

On the debt to the French government for account of intervention, $40,000,000 at 3 per cent	$1,200,000
On the first loan, $40,000,000 at 6 per cent	2,400,000
On additional amount issued to pay French government and claims, $20,370,370 at 6 per cent	1,222,222
On second loan put out in Paris, or *lottery loan*, $92,592,592 at 6 per cent	5,555,555
Total annual interest on French claims under Maximilian.	10,377,777
Interest on debt due to English subjects, same as under the constitutional government	2,304,599
Interest on debt due to Spanish subjects, same as under the constitutional government	283,828
Total annual interest on the foreign debt under Maximilian.	12,966,204

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES OF THE SO-CALLED EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN.

Interest on his foreign debt, (of which $10,377,777 is to France,	$12,966,204
Annual cost of his lottery scheme in Paris	1,391,237
Personal expenses and civil list of Maximilian, $10,500 per day, *paid daily*	3,832,500
25,000,000 francs per annum on account expenses French contingent, according to treaty of Miramar	4,629,629
400,000 francs per voyage subvention to the French line of transport steamers from St. Nazaire	888,888
Ministers, legations, consulates, agents, employés, pensions, gifts, travelling expenses, military and civil expenses, and charges of his foreign armed force	26,220,868
Total annual expenditures under Maximilian	49,929,326

COMPARISONS.

Foreign debt as attempted to be recognized by Maximilian	$271,735,605
Foreign debt as recognized by the constitutional government	81,632,560
Attempted increase by Maximilian	190,103,045

Annual interest required to be paid by Maximilian	$12,966,204
Annual interest under the government of the republic	2,760,022
Attempted increase by Maximilian	10,206,182

Annual expenditures under Maximilian	$49, 929, 326
Annual expenditures as fixed by the national congress under the republic	11, 087, 440
Annual increase under Maximilian	38, 841, 886
Annual salary of Maximilian, so-called emperor of Mexico	$1, 500, 000
Annual salary of the President of the republic	30, 000

WASHINGTON, *February* 27, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

WASHINGTON, *9th of March,* 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to remit to you copy, so far as touches the matter, of a letter which I have received to-day from Paris, dated 19th of February last past, in which important advices are given to me respecting the policy which the French government proposes to follow in the affairs of Mexico. The person who writes the letter is worthy in all respects of confidence, and the sources from which his knowledge is derived are also authentic.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Translation.]

PARIS, *February* 19, 1866.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Still in bed, and without strength, I nevertheless take up the pen to communicate to you some information I have derived from a person connected with a high functionary of the empire. He assures me that at the last two conferences of the council of ministers it was resolved to try a middle course on the Mexican question, which gives those ministers disquiet who have been for the simple withdrawal of the army. It seems that this middle course consists in forming in Mexico a Franco-Mexican party, which is to hoist as a new standard the departure of Maximilian, and the re-establishment of the republic with Bazaine as president *ad interim.* Thus it is thought to tie the hands and stop the mouths of the United States. Absurd as this project may appear, there is no room to doubt fully of its existence. The news comes borne out by various antecedents—the invincible repugnance which Napoleon feels to withdraw his forces, without concealing that he was mistaken, that Bazaine is working for himself in Mexico, and the project being the theme of all the French employés and functionaries, who for some time have been informing Napoleon that the French army is looked on favorably by the Mexicans, and that what they dislike is the manarchy and the incompetency of Maximilian. So I have read for some time in the private letters from the Abbé ———. I am assured that this was the idea that Barrés tried to inculcate in the interviews which he had with Napoleon; and of myself many times questions have been asked in this sense. By the last packet a chief of staff and an employé of the finance department have gone out, and perhaps they go to modify, in accordance with this idea, the instructions of Saillard, for the packet was even delayed to wait for them. * * * *

It is stated that the minister of that republic here is condescending to this government even to weakness. He is flattered and praised incessantly with real recklessness. * * * *

Your friend,

——— ————.

Señor M. ROMERO, *Washington.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 14, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several communications, dated, respectively, July 12, 1864; May 10, June 12, 25, and 28, August 12, October 10, November 20, and December 7, 15, and 24, 1865; also of those of February 14, 21, 22, 26, and 27, and March 9, 1866, with their accompanying documents, all of them relating to the political condition of the Mexican republic, and which have contributed largely to my knowledge of the events transpiring in that country.

Thanking you for the information thus imparted, I beg to assure you of my high appreciation of the zeal and ability with which, from time to time, you have impressed this government as to the actual condition of affairs in the Mexican republic

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 12th of March, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you the annexed copy of a convention signed in the city of Mexico, on the 27th of September last, by the so-called assistant secretary of the treasury of the usurper Maximilian and M. A. Dano, minister of France, for the purpose of fixing the condition of the French officials sent to Mexico.

Two important facts are shown by this document:

1st. That the so-called government of Maximilian is not at all a national one, but essentially French, inasmuch as it is not only sustained by French bayonets and money, but even the minor officials are French; and they are so numerous that it has been thought necessary to secure their interests by means of a diplomatic convention.

2d. That the arrangements made by the French government with its agent in Mexico, embracing several years to come, show it is not disposed to withdraw its forces nor its influence from that republic, as it seems to wish the United States to believe.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

CONVENTION.

The Mexican and French governments, desiring to fix the position of the French officials placed at the disposal of his Majesty the emperor Maximilian, the following diplomatic convention has been agreed upon between Don Francisco de P. Cesar, under-secretary of the treasury and public credit, and his excellency Don Alfonso Dano, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of France to Mexico, commander of the imperial order of the Legion of Honor, &c., &c., both duly authorized by their respective governments:

ARTICLE 1 Those agents of the administrations of the French empire who are or may be placed at the disposal of the government of his Majesty the emperor Maximilian shall be assigned to the offices and grades in which the minister under whose direction they may serve may think them most useful.

ARTICLE 2. The government of his Majesty reserves the right of determining the number and the qualifications of the French officials he may need in the different public departments.

ARTICLE 3. The said agents shall have the right to a salary equivalent to that which they receive in France, and to a daily compensation at the following rates: Three dollars per day to those who receive fixed salaries of fifteen hundred francs a year; four dollars to those who get from sixteen hundred to twenty-four hundred francs; five dollars to those who have from twenty-five hundred to five thousand francs; six dollars to those who get from five thousand one hundred to eight thousand francs, and so on, increasing one dollar a day for every two thousand francs of fixed salary; but the French agents employed in Mexico previous to the 1st of January, 1865, shall continue to receive the salaries and perquisites they had before that date.

ARTICLE 4. The official Mexican salary is considered as composed of the European salary and the compensation mentioned in article 3. The payment of the ordinary salary proper is charged upon the Mexican treasury, as well as the contingent expenses mentioned in articles 8, 10, and 12.

ARTICLE 5. Whatever position the French agents may have in Mexico, they shall continue to belong to their former administrations. They shall be entitled to gradual promotion, according to the rules of the service to which they belong. In case an agent is promoted in France, he shall immediately enjoy the emoluments corresponding tohis new rank in Mexico, according to article 3 of the present convention.

ARTICLE 6. The commission or patent granted to a French agent by the Mexican government shall give him no right of merit in France.

ARTICLE 7. To entitle him to a pension his term of service in Mexico shall be increased fifty per cent. above its actual duration.

ARTICLE 8. French agents sent to Mexico shall only receive their European salary from the time they leave off duty in France till they land in Mexico; but they shall receive for travelling expenses a sum equal to half of their year's pay in Europe; and in no case shall it be less than one thousand francs. The half of this sum shall be paid him before he embarks, and the other half after his arrival in Mexico. The government shall also pay his travelling expenses from the landing place to his place of residence in Mexico. The Mexican government reserves the mode of recompensing the services of the French agents, by increasing their salaries, or by honorific distinctions, as it finds most convenient.

ARTICLE 9. The salaries of the French agents, according to their grade in Europe, shall be subject to the discounts ordered by the law of the 9th of June, 1853, on civil pensions in France. The Mexican treasury shall have charge of the sums discounted in the offices at the time the salaries are to be paid, and shall deliver the amount to the French treasurer at the end of each month, together with a minute account certified by the chief agent appointed for that purpose by the minister of the Mexican treasury.

ARTICLE 10. After three years' residence in Mexico the French agent shall have a right to six months' leave of absence and a free passage to and from France. During the time of the leave of absence and the voyage he shall only receive the salary of his office in Europe.

ARTICLE 11. The agent who wishes to return to France before the completion of his term of five years shall contribute to the expenses of his return in proportion to the remaining term of service, except in case of delicate health or for other reasons independent of the agent's will.

ARTICLE 12. The Mexican government shall place at the disposal of the French government those agents it deems unfit for the service in Mexico, in which case they shall have their travelling expenses back to France paid by Mexico, together with their European salary, from the day of their embarcation to their arrival in France. And they shall also have a right to compensation equivalent to three months of their pay in Europe.

Done in duplicate, in Mexico, on the 29th of September, 1865.

F. DE P. CESAR.
ALFONSO DANO.

[A wax seal with the motto, "French legation in Mexico."]
[Another seal with the legend, department of the treasury and public credit.]

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 12, 1866.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant, transmitting a copy of a convention concluded at the city of Mexico on the 29th of September, 1865, between the minister of France and the assistant secretary of the treasury of the so-called emperor of Mexico, for the purpose of fixing the position and pay of such French agents as may hereafter be employed in Mexico.

In reply, I have to inform you that the subject will receive the attention of this department, and, while thanking you for your courtesy, I avail myself of the occasion to renew the assurance of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 13th of March, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you the English translation of a speech delivered in the French senate by General Forey, on the debate of the reply to the Emperor's discourse, on the 10th of February last, in relation to Mexican affairs, and also M. Rouher the minister of state's subsequent reply.

You will likewise find a printed letter, published in London by the Mexican General Don Francisco Paz, ex-prisoner of the French army, in reply to calumnies uttered by General Forey in his speech against the Mexican army, and particularly against the chiefs and officers who were sent to France as prisoners of war.

General Forey's remarks upon the necessity of continuing French intervention in Mexico have a meaning obvious to everybody, as they are mere echoes of the opinions and sentiments of his Emperor. This opinion is strengthened when we see that the object of the project of an answer presented in both houses was to put off indefinitely the withdrawal of the French forces from Mexico.

After this, not much confidence can be put in M. Rouher's words, which in themselves cannot be taken as a promise of a speedy withdrawal.

As to General Paz's letter, it clearly demonstrates by itself that the senator's assertions against the Mexican officers are as groundless as many other statements made in his speech, in which he repeats the same arguments which have been very often refuted, and the calumnies proved to be unfounded.

I accept this favored opportunity to repeat to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Marshal Forey's speech in the French Senate.

[From he Paris Constitutionnel, February 12.]

MESSIEURS: Last year you permitted me to say a couple of words concerning Mexico. I will not trespass longer on your time this year. I will, perhaps, say a few words more than then. You know the interest which this Mexican question has for me, who commanded the expeditionary corps charged with the duty of obtaining reparation for the outrages of which our compatriots had been the victims. Let it not be thought that the government which we overturned maintained itself in Mexico by popular sympathy. No. It maintained itself only by the fear which it inspired; and it was for this reason that the presence of our flag was sufficient to overthrow it; that flag which, in the beautiful language of the Emperor, everywhere represents the cause of the people and of civilization. Once delivered from the rule of Juarez, the Mexican people, free to exercise the elective franchise, decided for Maximilian. I have no pretension of here discussing the letter written by Mr. Seward to M. de Montholon on the 6th of December, 1865; but let me say that the popular suffrage was by no means exercised under stress of force or under the pressure of our arms. No. A thousand times, No! It was the people themselves who, fatigued with a sanguinary anarchy, proclaimed that the empire was more in harmony with their wishes and their needs. One must have a very slight knowledge of Mexico to believe that a republican form of government was desired by the population there. For a long time power had been successively confiscated by the more audacious, if not by the more honest. It cannot be repeated too often: No, the French army did not go to Mexico to overturn a government to which the Mexican people had accorded, as is pretended by the letter I have mentioned, their sympathy and submission. No. We went to Mexico to obtain reparation for spoliations for outrages of which our fellow-countrymen had been the victims on the part of the Juarez government, and the Mexican nation seized that occasion to throw off an oppressive yoke by overturning the presidential chair wherein so many tyrants had sat, and erecting a monarchical throne, where there came to sit a wise and enlightened prince, who has already given Mexico useful and liberal institutions which will lead to the efficient prosperity of the country. I come to the question of the return of our troops. At what time ought they to come back? Many whom I believe sincere, but who do not seem to me to be sufficiently sensitive as to our national honor, would wish that return immediate. As to myself, I would wish our troops to come back, if not immediately, at least as soon as possible; but still it must be looked to when this will be possible. I foresee the objection that will be made. You pretend, it will be said, that the emperor Maximilian has been spontaneously, unanimously proclaimed, and consequently he has no further need of the support of our arms to keep him on his throne. My answer will be easy; and although at first it may appear paradoxical, it will at bottom prove perfectly right. Yes. The government of Maximilian is the expression of the popular wish. I affirm it; and those who know Mexico, who have visited it, will affirm it with me, if they are sincere. Yet that government has need of our support, and I will explain myself. All those who have taken any interest in the subject know that since the declaration of independence an innumerable number of governments have succeeded each other in Mexico, and as there was no sufficiently strong central power, all of them found their authority disregarded. Anarchy has never ceased to reign in that unhappy country. There is nothing astonishing in the fact that that anarchy led to the formation of troops of bandits who lived in this disorder, instead of seeking in labor the means of subsistence, and preferred to rob travellers, pillage plantations, and oppress and exact tribute from peaceful, timid communities, who knew not how to defend themselves. It must be said that fear is the grand misfortune of Mexico. It is this which has rendered its people incapable of defending themselves and of resisting their oppressors. I have seen in Mexico villages, towns, and cities, whose inhabitants, although provided with arms and ammunition, and able to make a resistance, suffered themselves to be robbed and their houses to be burned by bands of guerillas, and yet it was a matter which concerned their fortunes and the lives of themselves, their wives, and their children. It is thus that hundreds of communities, a thousand times more powerful than their assailants, permit themselves to be disarmed, plundered, and murdered without resistance. Are they more to pity than to blame? I will not say. Yet it should not be forgotten that the tendency of anarchy is to cause honest men to yield too easily. We do not need to go so far to find examples of this weakness in our own history. [Applause.] We must allow these people time to regenerate their moral character by contact with our soldiers, so that they may acquire a sense of order, honesty, and the courage which animates them, and which all are bound to respect. [Hear, hear.] When the Emperor undertook the Mexican expedition he was impelled by a grand idea, which he explained in his memorable letter to the officer in command at its outset. When I see the impatience with which the sojourn of our troops in Mexico is regarded in France, I ask myself whether this grand idea of the Emperor's has been well understood by the country, and whether the people should not have encouraged it as they encouraged a former undertaking led by the Emperor himself—the Italian campaign. The object is the same. In the one case a great nation was to be restored to the independence wrested from it by foreign hands. In the present case it is sought to restore to another people their independence, endangered as it was by anarchy. I ask permission to dwell upon this word independence. It has been said that the insurgents are fighting for the independence of their country. But by whom has this independence been compromised if not by the partisans of Juarez, who has been led to despoil foreigners and to plunder the public money, which should have been applied to the necessities of the Mexican nation, in order to enrich his hired assassins? The army of Juarez, fighting for the independence of Mexico, forsooth! Those who talk thus do not think it, or else they are utterly ignorant of the true state of affairs. What was this army of Juarez? With the exception of a few officers who had been specially educated, who had progressed through the various grades—such, for instance, as General Mendoza, the real defender of Puebla, whom the emperor Maximilian had the good sense to appoint prefect of Mexico—with these rare exceptions, I say, all of Juarez's generals, far from possessing any military talent, were briefless barristers, many of them devoid of all sense of honor, such as Gonzales Ortega, or ex-leaders of bands, such as Rosas, Carvajal and Porfirio Diaz. With regard to subaltern officers, you may judge of them by the specimens which have been sent to France. It suffices to see them in the different towns where they are quartered in order to estimate their worth. They are, almost without exception, miserable wretches, decidedly inferior to their soldiers. These soldiers, as you know, are not Mexicans by any means. The Mexicans are all generals or colonels. They are poor enslaved Indians who shouted for the emperor Maximilian from the moment that they were freed. You are aware how they were enlisted. They were torn violently from their families, and dragged off with a rope about their necks. This is what they called a national army. These poor fellows became soldiers because they couldn't help themselves, and at the first opportunity to desert took advantage of it. At Puebla they would have deserted *en masse* had they not been incessantly watched by their officers, who forced them to fight by shutting them up in churches and convents without leaving them any outlet. It was the same at Oajaca. Let no one, therefore, say that the army of Juarez was a national army. The truth is, there is no national spirit in Mexico. Either it never existed or anarchy has destroyed it if it ever did exist, and it cannot be revived save under the shelter of our flag. In my opinion *it would be highly dangerous to recall our troops immediately*. The Emperor has declared that we went to Mexico in order to protect French interests and to defend our fellow-countrymen. Therefore, if our army is recalled from Mexico, all the Frenchmen in the country will be obliged to return with it. Otherwise they will become victims to much greater outrage than they have already experienced. And as we have the interests of our fellow-countrymen to defend, there are others whom we should protect also. Is it not our duty to protect the people who received us with open arms, who compromised themselves for us, and who shouted *vivas* for Maximilian? Is our honor not at stake in this? It may be objected that they shouted for Maximilian, and therefore they ought to take the consequences. But we must reflect that they have not yet sufficient confidence in their own strength; that they have been demoralized by officials who ground them down and made capital of them. They must be allowed time to gain strength and courage. *We must continue to lend them our support and aid them to sustain the power they have chosen.* France cannot wish to incur the reproach of having misunderstood the grand idea of the Emperor. France cannot wish to abandon these unfortunate people to the fury of their former oppressors. At the first news of our withdrawal the fomentors of discord will rise again. The bandits who are now dispersed will rally under the flag of Juarez, and the Mexicans themselves will feel the vengeance of these barbarous hordes who have already given evidence of their atrocity. This is so true that even now, as soon as a town is evacuated by our troops it is abandoned by the inhabitants, so greatly do they dread the cruel reprisals of the partisans of Juarez. What do we see in Mexico? The emperor Maximilian is zealously laboring to regenerate that unfortunate country. He is reorganizing the army and the departments of justice, finance and public education; in fact, all the vital forces of society. He is advised by men in whom our Emperor has confidence, and the Mexicans have before their eyes a model of courage and discipline in our army. It does not befit me to treat of the relations existing between France and the United States, but let me be permitted to state that I have too much esteem for the great American republic to believe that it would prefer a republic of plunderers and bandits in Mexico, instead of a monarchy of honest men based upon the principles of civilization. [Applause from a portion of the house.] What is necessary now to be done to complete the task of improving the moral and material character of the people which we have undertaken in Mexico? The senate will be surprised, but I have to state my opinion, which, moreover, is an entirely individual one. *It may become necessary to send fresh troops to Mexico.* [Sensation.] At least *those which are there must be kept there.* And it may also become necessary to make further pecuniary sacrifices. [Further sensation.] It has been said that France is rich enough to pay for her glory. Will it not then be glorious for us not to leave incomplete the task we have undertaken in that distant country? Money is, certainly, of importance. But should we allow a money consideration to jeopard the success of this undertaking, based, as it is, upon a grand idea of the Emperor? No, messieurs, it should not be allowed; and this is why France has applauded the words uttered by the sovereign, and why she will participate in the sentiments which your address so proudly interprets. [Cries of "Very good," "Hear, hear."]

M. **Rouher**, secretary of state, said:

Messieurs: The senate understands that I do not mean to reply to the Hon. Marshal's speech. He has taken care to indicate that the opinion he expressed is a personal one. The opinion of the government is not modified by the words you have just listened to, and it is completely formulated in the discourse of the throne and in the project of reply (*projet d'adresse*) which you are now called to vote. [Very good.]

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Marshal Forey and the officers of the Mexican army.

3 Golden Square, London, *February* 24, 1866.

To the Editor of the Morning Advertiser:

Sir: I feel assured that you will do me the favor of publishing the following in your widely circulated paper.

You will thereby greatly oblige, sir, yours, &c.,

FRANCISCO PAZ,
Mexican General of Artillery, ex-Prisoner of the French Army.

—

In the sitting of the French senate of the 10th instant Marshal Forey delivered a speech full of insults and calumnies against the generals and officers of the Mexican army, to which I have the honor to belong.

I would have contradicted him at once had I not been in France, where there is no liberty of the press, and where the respective positions of the marshal and myself were so different.

I therefore come to this free country for the sole purpose of defending that army, which has fought, and is still fighting, with so much courage and patriotism for the independence of its country, and which is not yet vanquished, after a four years' struggle and the innumerable conflicts that have taken place.

Can the bravery and discipline of the republican Mexican army be put in question, when the French press itself and the bulletins of the French generals assert that their enemies never give way until they have left half of their number on the ground?

As the marshal neither points out any facts nor produces any proofs, but merely insults us most gratuitously, (which is rather unworthy of the high position he occupies,) I will not follow him in this course, but simply confine myself to declare to him that his malevolent attacks cannot reach those he supposes to be conquered, and dares to call vile and cowards.

That army which he holds so low has taught him what use it made of victory when it had the advantage over the French and their auxiliaries. Instead of shooting and incarcerating their prisoners, they gave them their liberty without any conditions, and even assisted them in spite of their own privations. Instead of dragging the wounded before courts-martial, thence to be shot, they took care of them in their hospitals in preference to their own men, and instead of insulting the vanquished they returned them their decorations, and tried by every means in their power to alleviate their position.

The marshal further insinuates that the conduct of the prisoners transported to France has been very bad. He certainly has not taken the trouble to read the reports of the generals and commanders of the gendarmery in all the towns where we have been confined, which reports exist at the War Office. The justice done to us in those documents singularly contrasts with the calumnies he proffers. A great number of those prisoners have shown how they understand patriotism and military honor in acting in a manner of which history has but rare examples. Threatened by the French government to be deprived of all resources if they did not take the oath of allegiance to the government imposed on our country by the brute force of arms, they preferred the chance of starving rather than submit to that act of dishonor. They started from the different places of residence assigned to them within the twenty-four hours allowed, quitted the French soil, where such a heavy despotism prevails, and went to Spain in search of the means of earning their bread. Many worked as common laborers at the fortifications of San Sebastian.

History will relate with impartiality the respective conduct of the French and Mexican armies. It will record the heroic defence of Puebla, an open town, fortified in a hurry, and only compelled to succumb after sixty-three days of a regular siege, conducted with forces four times superior to the besieged. Its garrison having exhausted all their food and ammunition, destroyed their arms, and asked for no conditions. Was it a triumph for the French arms? Will it not be asked if the military and political capacities of General Forey shown in Mexico did not rather tend to bring him before a court-martial than to receive the staff of a marshal of France?

The senate has shown its subserviency in echoing last year the absurd and ridiculous rumors which the marshal originated against the honorable General Porfiria Dias, as likewise allowing him to utter the insults he has addressed to the whole Mexican nation.

FRANCISCO PAZ,
General of Artillery, ex-Prisoner of the French Army.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 13th instant, with its enclosures, relative to the remarks made in the senate of France by General Forey on the 10th ultimo, and the reply thereto of Mr. Rouher, the minister of state, in reference to the withdrawal of the French army from Mexico.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 3.

MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE ARMIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO, NORTHERN DIVISION.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	April 3, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 2, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with fifteen enclosures)	June 3, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 3, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with six enclosures)	July 10, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 5, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with six enclosures)	Oct. 6, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with six enclosures)	Nov. 12, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with seven enclosures)	Dec. 18, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Jan. 14, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with thirteen enclosures)	Feb. 10, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 17, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 3d of April, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you copies of the numbers 64 and 65 of the "official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic," issued on the 4th and 7th of February last, in which were published several official reports of the advantages obtained by the national forces of Mexico against the French invader.

In No. 64 of said paper you will find the account of the retreat of the French forces from Rio Florida, in the State of Chihuahua, to which point they had advanced with a small force, they having met there a respectable national force ready to dispute their march. General Negrete, the secretary of war, had left Chihuahua with all the available forces to place himself at the head of the national army on the frontier of Durango.

In the same number (64) there is published the official report of the victory which the national forces obtained at Chilapa, in the State of Guerrero, over the enemy, which, to the number of three thousand men, attacked that place.

In No. 65 you will find the official reports of General Corona, who is operating in the State of Sinaloa, of the losses which he caused to the expedition, which marched by the Sierra Madre from Durango to Mazatlan, under General Castagny, and of the victory which he obtained, on the 11th of January last, over a detachment of French troops at the town of Veranos, near Mazatlan, at which place he made prisoners of fifty Frenchmen belonging to the regiment "Chasseurs de Vincennes."

It is very much to be regretted that the highhanded proceedings of the French, who have shot *en masse* the prisoners which they have taken from the forces of General Corona in Sinaloa, and from Gederal Arteaga in the south of Jalisco, and the order of the agent which the French have placed in the city of Mexico, and whom they call emperor, to shoot to death all Mexicans taken with arms in their hands defending the independence of their country, should have placed the court-martial which tried the French prisoners, and General Corona, who approved the sentence before receiving the order of the Mexican government upon this subject, which I communicated to you in my note of the 5th of March last, under the painful necessity of shooting them in retaliation for the atrocities committed by the French, and with a view that they should desist in the future from similar excesses.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, Chihuahua, Saturday, February 4, 1865.—No. 64.]

MILITARY COMMANDANCY OF HIDALGO,
Hidalgo, February 1, 1865.

The municipal president writes from Coronado as follows:

"The French reached this place at 8 o'clock this morning, and left at 6 in the afternoon, because they heard that General Carbajal was at Oro; they said they were going to stay four days, and they would then start for Parral.

"We had just finished shouting for independence, the general government, and the state, with the entire population that are afraid of nothing, when the French entered; they must have known what was passing, for the crowd had not time to disperse.

"Some persons of influence advised me to leave; but I determined to remain, believing in the justice of our cause. The inhabitants remained in groups all day. They imprisoned me, Rufino Espinosa, Jesus Grajeda, and Jesus Ortega, Mr. Pancorbo's clerk. They said this was done because they knew the liberals intended to make an attack that night, and we were taken as hostages, and they wanted us to send messengers to our men, to persuade them not to attack the French, saying they would shoot us at the first gun fired upon them. We refused, and I told the chief he might do as he pleased, that I was going to assume no responsibility.

"When the vanguard arrived, the chief came and said he wished to speak to me alone. He said he knew very well what had been going on in the town, had heard of our shouts for independence and the supreme government, and praised us for defending our country. He said we were right, and he was sorry the Emperor had declared this unjust war against Mexico.

"So you see, general, public opinion is much more powerful than arms, when the people are united; and what has happened here may serve as an example, to show that it is not necessary to shed so much blood in this war. The French here number less than two hundred.

"You will please communicate this to the governor of the State, that he may prefer it to the President of the republic, and assure him of my attentive consideration and esteem.

"RAFAEL SANDOVAL."

In reply, I sent him the following note:

I have received with great pleasure and satisfaction your communication of yesterday relative to the occupation of your town by the French, and their retreat. I am pleased with your bravery and the courageous conduct of the authorities and inhabitants, whom I congratulate in the name of the nation and the President; and I hope, with your able co-operation, the State will be saved from the threatened invasion, and all its citizens sustain the proud name of Mexicans, fighting for the just cause of national independence.

MANUEL RUIZ.

True copies:

ANASTASIO ARANDA.

CHIHUAHUA, *February* 1, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 2, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your communications of March 31st, and April 3d and 7th, 1865, with their respective enclosures, transmitting, for the information of this government, accounts of the condition of affairs in Mexico, and of the events occurring there connected with the operations of the forces contending in that republic.

You will be pleased to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the interesting information you have so kindly communicated, while I avail myself of the occasion to reiterate to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor M. ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 3d of June, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to your department, for the information of the United States government, three numbers of the official paper of the Mexican republic, dated the 4th, 8th, and 29th of April last, containing official despatches of various victories and other important advantages gained by the national forces of Mexico over the foreign invader.

You will learn from these despatches that the city of Saltillo, the capital of the state of Coahuila, was taken by State troops on the 30th of March last; and that Monterey, capital of the state of New Leon, was occupied by the forces of General Negrete, the 12th of April following, the enemy having abandoned it hastily.

With the occupation of these cities and subsequent military operations, the invaders have been driven from the States of Coahuila and New Leon, and they now obey the constitutional government of the republic; thus giving an additional proof that the order of things established in Mexico by the Emperor of the French does not meet the voluntary approbation of the people, and only lasts while supported by bayonets.

You will also observe that General Negrete is preparing to march with the main body of his army on Matamoras, with the intention of driving the invaders out of the State of Tamaulipas.

I also enclose a copy of the proclamation of the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, promulgated in Chihuahua the 29th of April, on account of the aforesaid victories, exhorting anew all true Mexicans, lovers of independence and of the liberty of their country, to unite against the invader.

The United States government does not need of any intimation of mine to comprehend the real condition of the French forces in Mexico; so far from being able to extend their conquests, they cannot even hold the ground they have occupied.

I take advantage of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, Chihuahua, April 4, 1865.—Vol. 1, No. 79.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND OFFICE OF WAR AND NAVY, SECTION 1.—POLITICAL AND MILITARY HEADQUARTERS OF THE DISTRICT OF PARRAS.

On the 15th of this month, a force quartered here by imperial command declared for the republic. This movement was headed by Colonel Francisco A. Aguirre and Commanders Emiliano Laing and Aurelio Labaton. The prefect and other imperial authorities were imprisoned. This force, much enlarged in a few days, invited me to assume the supreme political and military authority of the district. I accepted the invitation for the reasons and purposes expressed in the certified copies of the proclamations, addressed to the people and the troops, and herewith enclosed.

It is useless to dwell upon the difficulty of the undertaking we have just accomplished, because you and the citizen President already know what has happened in these States, and the adverse situation of affairs in the whole extent of the republic. Notwithstanding all this, the supreme government may rest assured that this force will obey the laws of patriotism and honor, and that I will do all I can to promote the movement.

Country and independence! Parras, March 21, 1865.

A. S. VIEZCA,

CITIZEN MINISTER *of War and Navy.*

[Enclosure No. 2.]

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A handful of brave men have hoisted the national standard in this city, and have made me chief of their patriotic act. I have accepted the patriotic honor offered me, because the cause of independence is great to every well-placed heart; because I have loved it all my life, and because the brave sons of Parras, who have just proclaimed it, are worthy of fighting for it.

How could I deny my help when I am a son of the northern border of that classic land of Mexican liberty whose sons are ever animated with the holy fire of patriotism, which foreign soldiers have been forced to admire, though it breaks out to destroy them when they profane our soil?

Men without faith or patriotism, vile and degraded, denied the banner, and sold us to the stranger. Our political and commercial interests, our honor, our name, our race—in a word, our country has been delivered as a prize to the covetousness of ambitious adventurers. How many sincerely love their country, how many know the value of a national government, how many hearts palpitate in true Mexican bosoms, ready to join in the struggle, with one thought and one intent, to destroy the usurpers!

I am aware of the difficulties and perils of this undertaking, but I am not discouraged and never have been, nor can any true Mexican be disheartened. If it is a serious and dangerous thing to face these dangers, endure these privations, it would be a greater shame to shun them. Shall we wear the chains of conquerors like slaves, with calm resignation? Better struggle bravely for a moment and be free, than to waver, be subdued, and wear the fetters of servitude forever.

Fellow-citizens, we have faith in our cause, because it is just; let us contend with decision against our wicked invaders, and Mexico never will be conquered and subjected to a foreign yoke, for it is the cause of independence against conquest, of loyalty against treason, of justice against iniquity.

A true copy: A. S. VIEZCA.

PARRAS, *March* 22, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

SOLDIERS: You have called me to command you, and I accept the call with pride, because the banner that waves over us is the flag of our great and glorious country.

It gives me pleasure to see in your ranks many of the braves who fought for the honor and glory of the nation, against the odious banner of our invaders, whom we have to meet again.

Soldiers: when the sons of the border saw the independence and liberty of the republic in danger, they did not hesitate a moment, but ran to her rescue and saved her from disgrace. The whole nation will remember the glorious deeds of which you have given such good examples.

Soldiers: to be great once more in war, you have but to imitate yourselves. The time has come again to gird on your arms and courageously resist the vile invaders. You were born to fight and defend the holy banner of our nationality; you cannot bear to be the serfs of a strange master. The traitors who have sold our country, have also tried to cover our flag with opprobrium and our military honor with disgrace. Shame on them! How much they were mistaken when they supposed that patriotism and the love of liberty had been deadened in your hearts!

Firm and resolute, let us gather round the flag of the republic which we have now raised; it is the emblem of our interests, the symbol of our glory, the sign of our independence, the beloved and sacred type of our unfortunate country. Look well on every side; wherever there is treason, selfishness and meanness and foreign influence, there you will see danger, there you are wanted to do your duty.

Soldiers: whatever may have been your antecedents, come rally round the tri-colored banner of the republic, and with arms in our hands and confidence in our hearts, we will write these comely words upon it—*liberty or death!* Victory, sooner or later, will be faithful to our cause, because it is just, and the justice of a cause is more powerful than the armies of tyrants and usurpers.

A true copy: A. S. VIESCA.

PARRAS, *March* 21, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The citizen President has been informed of your despatch of the 21st instant, in which you say that the garrison quartered in this city declared against the empire on the 15th, and that the prefect and other authorities were imprisoned. He has also learned with satisfaction that the force that carried out this act has considerably increased within the last few days, and that you have been chosen as political and military commander of the district.

Knowing all this, the citizen President orders me to say in answer, as I now do, that he approves of all the proceedings and confirms you as commander of the district of Parras, and I communicate this resolution to the department of the interior, that the corresponding commissions may be transmitted to you.

Independence and liberty! Chihuahua, March 31, 1865.

In the absence of the citizen minister,

A. ARANDA, *Chief Officer*.

Citizen A. S. VIESCA,
Military Commander of the District of Parras.

True copies: A. ARANDA.
CHIHUAHUA, *March* 31, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic—Vol. 1, No. 80.—Chihuahua, April 8, 1865.]

The latest news—very important.—The supreme government has received the following by to-day's mail:

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT.

Minister of war and general-in-chief of the division in the field:

Citizen Colonel Jesus G. Herrera, writes me this day, from the town of Viesca as follows:

"After having sent you the documents by express from here last night, between 11 and day-break, I received Colonel Orduño's despatch from the *hacienda de Patos*, stating that he had taken Saltillo in a brilliant manner. I send the originals of this document and the despatch of the citizen political and military chief of Parras to you for your information. You will please return them to me here, with those I sent last night, that I may publish them and keep them in my possession."

The documents alluded to above are literally as follows:

"SECTION OF LAGUNA.

"COMMANDER: At one o'clock this morning, 30th March, I received the report of citizen Colonel Francisco A. Aguirre, who took Saltillo with his own forces and a part of mine. The battle began at 8 o'clock in the morning, and the enemy surrendered at 11 the same day after a stout resistance. We have many prisoners, three pieces of artillery, and all their supplies. Among the prisoners is one of their leaders, badly wounded, and several dead and wounded of the opposite party. We have only a few wounded. All of our officers and soldiers fought bravely and behaved themselves as our border soldiers always do, setting a good example to the inhabitants and the surrounding country.

"Independence and liberty! Patos, March 30, 1865.

"DARIO S. ORDUÑO."

[Enclosure No. 6.]

"POLITICAL AND MILITARY HEADQUARTERS OF THE DISTRICT.

"The arms of the brave sons of the district of Parras have gained them great glory: a handful of soldiers from this town and Viesca took Saltillo, at 11 o'clock yesterday morning, with one hundred and thirty prisoners, three pieces of artillery and all the small-arms. I congratulate you on this brillian ttriumph, the prelude to others more splendid against the invaders of our country. Honor and glory to the valiant sons of Coahuila, who with so much courage have taken up arms in defence of the sacred cause of the nation.

"Independence or death! Parras, March 30, 1865.

"A. S. VIESCA.

"Citizen Colonel JESUS GONZALES HERRERA, *Viesca*."

All of which I have the satisfaction of transmitting to you, for the information of the citizen President, assuring him I will continue to labor with the forces that have triumphed over the traitors in the capital of the State of Coahuila, will encourage the patriotic movement begun in Laguna, and will not lose sight of the enemy now in Durango.

I will communicate the particulars of the capture of Saltillo as soon as I receive them.

Independence and liberty! Headquarters at San Fernando, March 31, 1865.

NEGRETE.

MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 7.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT,
BUREAU OF GOVERNMENT, SECTION FIRST.

The citizen President of the republic was pleased to receive your despatch of the 31st of March last, containing the documents relating to the fight at Saltillo of the 29th, and the occupation of that city by the national forces.

The citizen President requests you to inform the forces of Parras and Laguna, of Matamoras, of the pleasure he had in hearing of their triumph in Saltillo, and of his delight to see this new proof of patriotism and valor, which will often be of important service to the national cause.

In expectation of the circumstantial report promised, the citizen President grants the customary rewards.

Independence and liberty! Chihuahua, April 8, 1865.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

Citizen General of Division MIGUEL NEGRETE,
Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Division of Operations at San Fernando.

[Enclosure No. 8.--Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic—Vol. I, No. 86.—Chihuahua, April 29, 1865.]

Minister of War and General-in-Chief of the Division of Operations:

My continued march from San Fernando has prevented me from giving the citizen President a more early report of my operations. I now give a full account of my operations up to the present time, the results of which have all been very satisfactory.

On the 1st, Captain Miguel Valdes informed me that he had attacked Cuencame the night before, and after fighting one hour, routed the enemy, took sixteen prisoners, with all their arms and horses. Their commander made his escape.

On the 2d I left San Fernando, with the division, for Saltillo, then held by

Colonel Francisco A. Aguirre, to march from there on Monterey. We harassed the enemy encamped at Sobaco and in the vicinity.

At Viezca Colonel J. G. Herrera joined me with 150 men from Laguna, and we proceeded on to Parras, where I arrived the 6th. There the other portion of the section that had taken part in the capture of that city, on the 29th of March, joined me also.

On the 7th the division started for Parras, and on the 8th the Laguna section went back to their town to watch the enemy in that quarter. I soon learned that the French had retreated to Durango after threatening Mapimi.

Colonel Aguirre was forced to abandon Saltillo, because he had not enough men to defend it against two of Mejia's brigades, consisting of a thousand men, of all arms, under the command of the traitor generals Rafael Olvera and the Spaniard Florentino Lopez, that took possession of it.

At Patos, General Mariano Escobeda joined me with 200 men, which with my cavalry completed the brigade under Colonel Aguirre.

On the 9th I assembled all the generals and principal officers of my division, at Eucautada, to lay before them my plans of attack, in case the traitors did not yield the place without resistence I took the lead, and General Escobedo followed with the cavalry and 100 men of the Bravos battalion, of Chihuahua.

Orders were given to attack. I heard at Buena Vista that the enemy had evacuated the place completely, and were retreating to Monterey, three hours before General Escobedo could come up with them. I sent my cavalry in pursuit, and occupied the town with my infantry, at half past three, on the morning of the 10th. There I learned that Olvera had left with a part of his troops that evening, and that Lopez had extorted a forced loan of $60,000 from the merchants, but had not time to collect it, and accused the people of having aided Aguirre to take the place.

Re-enforced by the Bravos battalion of Chihuahua, the cavalry pursued the enemy as far as Alto Hill, where they had only 27 horses left, the rest having broken down or died, after a hard journey of 27 leagues, the distance they had to make.

They caught up with the enemy at Muertos Hill, and began to skirmish with them. We lost one man taken prisoner, and captured one from the enemy. The traitor Olvera countermarched to enforce Lopez and cover his retreat.

On the 11th I marched my infantry to San Gregorio, and left there at midnight for Santa Catarina. I overtook General Escobedo, of the advanced guard, at Carvajal, and from him I learned that the enemy had not appeared in Monterey, but kept on their course to Matamoras. A committee from the town council of Monterey came to me at Santa Catarina and offered me the city. I immediately set out with General Escobedo, the governor and military commander of the State, and arrived in the city at 9 o'clock this morning.

The enemy were so frightened, in their hurried flight, they left behind most of their artillery and all their supplies. I have ordered an account to be taken of them. Many of their soldiers deserted and came over to our side.

Our cavalry is so used up we cannot follow the fugitives; yet, if they get away from us, they will certainly fall into the hands of the forces in the State of Tamaulipas, as I ordered them to cut the enemy's retreat, and they will surely be cut to pieces before they can get to Matamoras.

I am much pleased to see myself surrounded by the people of this city, who were surprised at my sudden arrival. But few made their appearance at first; yet in a short time San Carlos square was crowded with citizens, shouting for the republic, the supreme government, and their deliverers, in the midst of music, bell-ringing, and rockets, which greatly enlivened this spontaneous expression of patriotism.

The governor and military commander of the State heard of Colonel Francisco Naranjo's great triumph of the 4th, between Gigedo and Norva, in the district of

Rio Grande, over the traitor Tabachinski, who lost his life. Naranjo took 200 prisoners and one piece of mountain artillery, and then marched for Piedras Negras, which is undoubtedly in his power by this time.

Peace now reigns in the States of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon; the efforts of their brave sons have at last been crowned with success. The division of operations contributed much to this, and its hardy men, who marched 150 leagues to defend their country's border, deserve the praises of the world. The Bravos battalion, of Chihuahua, merits particular mention in pursuing the enemy almost as fast as the cavalry they were assisting. The division of operations gained this victory without the loss of a drop of blood.

Please have this report made known to the chief magistrate of the republic.

Independence and liberty! Headquarters in Monterey, April 12, 1865.

MIGUEL NEGRETE.

CITIZEN MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, *in Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 9.]

HEADQUARTERS, MONTEREY, *April* 13, 1865.

Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Army Corps of Operations:

I enclose you an account of the artillery, gun-carriages, and mining tools left in this place by the enemy.

The quantity of ordnance in the warehouses is so great that it has not yet been thoroughly examined, and therefore it is impossible to give a proper account of it.

Independence and liberty!

NEGRETE.

C. MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 10.]

List of field-pieces and siege guns, mounted and dismounted, remaining in the citadel of this place, together with other implements of war not in the warehouses:

FIELD ARTILLERY.

Irregular howitzers, field-pieces, 22-pounders, of bronze, mounted	2
Long howitzers, 24-pounders, of bronze, mounted	3
Long howitzers, 24-pounder, iron, mounted	1
Cannons, 12-pounders, of bronze, mounted	3
Field-pieces, rifled, of bronze, mounted, 12-pounders	1
Field-pieces, 6-pounders, bronze, mounted	2
Total	12

Bronze pieces mounted and one iron piece mounted.

MOUNTAIN ARTILLERY.

Mountain howitzers, 12 pounder, of bronze, and mounted	1
Mountain cannon, 4-pounder, of bronze, and mounted	1
Total	2

SIEGE ARTILLERY.

Irregular mortar, 68 lbs., iron	1
Culverines, 16 lbs , iron, mounted	3
Culverines, unmounted, and of bronze	5
Culverines, unmounted, of iron	27
Cannon, 24-pounders, bronze, mounted	2
Cannon, iron, mounted	9

TOTALS.

Bronze pieces, mounted	16
Iron pieces, mounted	14
Bronze, dismounted	5
Iron, dismounted	27

GUN-CARRIAGES.

Strong carts for munitions	2
Siege carriages, unarmed	8
Field forge, not set up	1
Wheel harness, new	10
Harness for leaders	10
Pairs of rope traces, garrison	6
Cartridge-boxes, new	46
Lance thongs	77
Bridles, new, garrison	16
Harness collars, new	14
Shields, for hunters, brass, new	130
Brass bombs, for artillerymen	49
Wad-screws, 15 drams	14
Bayonets	5
Ramrods, useless	6

SAPPERS' TOOLS.

Crowbars, used	50
Iron shovels, used	66
Pickaxes	5
Hoes	2
Shovels, useless	28
Powder, coarse cannon, American, 100 lbs	8

JOSÉ M. MENDOZA.

MONTEREY, *April* 13, 1865.

(Countersigned,) NEGRETE.

[Enclosure No. 11.]

HEADQUARTERS IN MONTEREY, *April* 13, 1865.

Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Army Corps of Operations:

The division under my command entered this place to-day, and was heartily welcomed by the people.

Now that the States of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila enjoy peace under the legitimate government of the nation, it is hoped that Tamaulipas may soon have the same good fortune, as the traitor Mejia is opposed by the forces of the citizen General José M. Carvajal, and disliked by the people. Colonel Pedro Mendez went to attack Victoria on the 5th, with all probability of success.

As this is an auspicious time to free Tamaulipas of traitors, and seize on Matamoras, the great storehouse for war materials, I propose to remain in this place long enough to gather recruits and drill them properly, and then march to attack Mejia.

The troops I now have are organized into one army corps, composed of one division of infantry, one of cavalry, and three batteries. I have appointed General Lazaro Garza Ayala chief of the first division, General Augustin Villagra, of the second, Colonel Manuel J. Loera, quartermaster, and Captain Francisco Mendez, commanding general of the artillery.

You will please make this known to the President.

Independence and liberty!

MIGUEL NEGRETE.

MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 12.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT,
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT, SECTION 1ST,
Chihuahua, April 28, 1865.

The citizen President of the republic has had the pleasure to receive your reports of the 12th and 13th of this month, informing him of the occupation of Monterey, as the result of your march on the 2d from San Fernando, with the division of operations.

The efforts to form this division in the very patriotic State of Chihuahua have been crowned with the greatest success, as is shown in the aid they gave to the brave sons of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon when they rid these States of the enemy.

The citizen President of the republic congratulates the valiant sons of Chihuahua, Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, now forming the army corps under your command, and looks forward with confidence to the new and important services he expects you to render to the cause of independence and republican institutions.

Independence and liberty!

LERDO DE TEJADA.

Citizen General of Division MIGUEL NEGRETE,
Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Army Corps of Operations, Monterey.

[Enclosure No. 13.]

General of Division Miguel Negrete, Minister of War and Chief of the Division of Operations, to the inhabitants of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas.

SALTILLO, *April* 10, 1865.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Time has shown by facts that we have nothing good to expect from the strangers who are oppressing our country.

French intervention at first flattered the party opposed to reform in order to use it as an instrument to ruin the republic; and when it no longer needed it, the party was scorned and the opposing party was adopted. Is not this exemplified in the conduct of the invaders, who at first pretended to protect the clergy and then turned against it, and the so-called emperor of Mexico, who is only the ward of the French despot, who is repaying services by base ingratitude?

Such inconsistency shows the real intentions of Napoleon III, which might have been seen from the beginning. He intends to humiliate us Mexicans, of all political parties; he will decide the destinies of Mexico as he pleases, and then take possession of our territory. The results of intervention and the empire have not been, nor will ever be, anything than general discontent, prolongation of the war, with all its horrors, poverty and distress of families. According to the confession of an imperial paper, the foreign barbarian has already assassinated 53,000 of our brothers.

The iniquous policy of intervention has drawn upon itself the enmity of its own partisans; it has now no defenders but the criminals who see with indifference, and even with joy, the calamities of their country, if it is to their personal profit.

The example of those who have shaken off the yoke will be followed by all who compose the Mexican nation, because they all comprehend that the benefits of intervention are illusory, as well as those of the empire of Maximilian, its effigy. It is a sad reality—the ruin and disgrace of Mexico—and makes the union of all parties an imperious necessity, to drive the oppressors from our soil. Union is my greatest wish. I invite all who have Mexican hearts beating in their bosoms. In union we will be strong, and we will show the world that some of us may be mistaken, as persons may be everywhere, but there is no treason in Mexico. The adventurers of Napoleon III have taken advantage of our disunion, but they are not stronger and braver than patriots who love their liberty.

I, bearing the immaculate flag of Iguala in my hands, and proclaiming my loyalty, now come again to these States, not to recall past errors, not to revenge supposed injuries, but to beg you all, in the name of the supreme government of the republic, to lend your aid to vindicate the honor of the country, preserve its independence, and exterminate the enemies of Mexico.

The troops that are with me are mostly from the loyal and valiant sons of Chihuahua, full of spirit for the fight, and they promise us victory. We are your brothers, in the defence of the same holy cause. Let the enemies of our country tremble. They do fear, for they fled precipitately, together with the traitor garrison of this place, at the approach of my soldiers.

We will soon deliver our brothers of Monterey from the yoke under which they groan, and this new triumph of the republic will bring on others, till our independence is completely regained. You shall share in this glory.

Though the fortunes of war may offer us new misfortunes, if all Mexicans be united they cannot fail to cover themselves with glory. Long live national independence and the supreme government of the republic!

MIGUEL NEGRETE.

[Enclosure No. 14.]

Documents of the enemy intercepted.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, FIRST DIVISION,
Mexico, March 25, 1865.

I have informed his Majesty the emperor of the contents of your communications of the 1st and 8th instant, and he says that recent events in New Leon and Coahuila must not be considered separately, but connected with other combinations in favor of the dissidents, which is most probably the work of the enemies of the empire in the neighboring United States of the north. His Majesty has, therefore, ordered the prefects to make every effort to raise, arm, and equip all the forces they possibly can, and with all the haste required by the danger of the situation, to put a stop to treason on the frontier, and quell the tempest that is brewing. His Majesty, knowing the worth of your energy, loyalty and zeal, has ordered me to tell you to assist the chief authorities of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila in all their operations. Marshal Bazaine has already been requested to send a portion of the French army to your frontier, to join the expedition against Chihuahua, and to secure that territory, of so much strategic importance to operations in the department. Proper orders have been sent by the secretary of the treasury to revenue collectors to furnish you with the necessary means, considering the urgency of circumstances, to carry on your operations. Superior prefects are also to be supplied in the same manner.

All of which I communicate to you, advising you to report to this department whatever is done towards organizing forces, and everything else that the sovereign should know.

Minister of War PEZA.

General THOMAS MEJIA,
Chief of the division of his name, Port of Matamoras.

[Enclosure No. 15.]

MEXICAN EMPIRE, SUPERIOR POLITICAL PREFECTURE
OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NUEVO LEON,
No. 32.] *Monterey, April* 9, 1865

EXCELLENCY: I have written as follows, this day, to the minister of government:

I have the honor to inform your excellency that you may make it known to his Majesty the emperor that the chief events since I wrote last, the 30th of March, despatch No. 86, are these:

The Tamaulipas marauders, to the number of forty or sixty, entered Ojo de Agua, twenty leagues from China, on the road to Matamoras, and took twenty-eight horses, robbed Mr. Abram's stage coach; then went to Laguna, where they took horses to the number of fifty. This took place the 20th of March, and the 31st they retired to Laja, where the rest of the dissenters, under Julian Cerda, were camped. This was one of Carvajal's bands.

Cerda made another incursion on the 1st, with a larger number of his gang, in the vicinity of China, taking all the horses from Pichiquaro, and eight more from the stage stables along the road; they then took the Toro road towards China, but turned off to their old camp.

On the 3d, Cerda's gang again robbed Abram's diligence, which runs between this city and Matamoras. The stage passengers lost $17,000 in gold. The gang had increased to three hundred men, most of them herdsmen and fugitives from the farms about China, and had fixed itself at Ojo de Agua to collect double toll on passengers from Matamoras.

I received a despatch lately from China informing me that Cerda had joined Francisco de Leon's band; he is nephew and chief aid of Carvajal, and had gone north towards Camargo. The whole number of men were six hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry. I learn from the same source that some cavalry remained on the Matamoras road. This movement took place yesterday. The account of the number of dissidents seems exaggerated.

The city of Saltillo, which, as I informed you in my last despatch, had been occupied by the dissenters from Parras, under Francisco A. Aguirre, has again returned to order, having been occupied yesterday by Generals Rafael Olvera and Florentino Lopez, who left this city with their brigades on the 6th instant.

I must inform your excellency that dangers threatening this department made it necessary to organize auxiliary forces for the aid of the superior commander of this prefecture. A fixed guard of five hundred citizens and one hundred and fifty foreigners has been raised and armed for that purpose in this city.

The prefect of Villaldama informs me that on the 3d he sent a force of thirty to pursue a band near Santa Rita, jurisdiction of Candela; the marauders were not found, but it was said they were led by Francisco Gonzales Leon, owner of the Carrizal farm, who armed his laborers to protect Escobedo, who passed through Lampazos and Candela, instead of coming to attack Bustamente and Villaldama, as was supposed.

I have ordered the prefect of that district to catch Gonzales Leon, and send him to this city to be tried. His brother, Lazaro, has been caught as a spy for Escobedo, and given to the military commander, to suffer condign punishment if found guilty of the accusation.

The same prefect informed me that a traveller was attacked by forty Indians, on the 4th, near Paloblanco, on his way to this place, and only escaped by hiding in the woods. The stage was attacked by the same party, but the passengers defended themselves so bravely, the robbers took to flight. Forty-five men left Villaldama immediately in pursuit of the Indians; the result is not yet known. A stranger from Piedras Negras told me yesterday that Lieutenant Colonel Tabachinski, chief of the forces, left by Lopez in the Rio Grande district, went out from Nava, the 4th instant, with over one hundred men, to attack Naranjo in Gigedo; he fell into an ambush laid for him, was killed, and all his forces dispersed. This news has been subsequently confirmed, with the addition that Tabachinski lost one piece of artillery.

I have just received a communication from the prefect of Montemorelos dated this day, in which I am informed that twenty-five men entered Rayones at ten o'clock yesterday, reporting that a force of three hundred dissenters under Geronimo Treviño and Pedro Martinez were in Galeana, on their way to Montemorelos.

I reported this news immediately to the superior commander in Saltillo, and gave orders for a force of seventy cavalry at Oadereita Jimenes, to watch the guerillas on the plains of China, and move to Montemorelos as soon as possible to defend it in case it should be attacked.

All of which I have the honor to send you for your information, repeating the assurances of my high consideration and respect.

JESUS MA. DE AGUILAR, *Superior Prefect.*

His Excellency the MINISTER OF WAR, *Mexico.*

[Enclosure No. 16.]

The Constitutional President of the republic to its inhabitants.

CHIHUAHUA, *April* 29, 1865.

MEXICANS: The restoration of the national flag to the cities of Saltillo and Monterey is the simple fulfilment of the presentiment of all of us who have faith in the triumph of the country's cause.

I rejoice at this event from the bottom of my heart, for it delights with the sight of a military victory, and the blessing of the reconciliation of brothers who jointly overcame the obstacles that prevented them from embracing each other with true natural affection.

To poison our friendship, to destroy or pervert our affections, to substitute party hate for parental love, we have been represented as impious and sacrilegious, as enemies of God and religious faith; our forces have been called bands of assassins and highway robbers; and our cause (a cause of life and honor for all nations) as the cause of infamy, sustained by the monstrous enemies to the good of Mexico.

And they, the believers, have welcomed the church, to subject it to laws, and give a salary to priests; they have ruined the country with high taxes, have decimated our people by court-martials, their instruments of assassination; they betray treason itself by converting refugees into traitors; and stupid, dead to all good, overwhelmed with contempt, they only show power where they shed our blood, and are only fit to be annihilated, as the weak abortion of infamy and ridicule.

As the government hoped, time is now deciding the two causes; the triumph of independence, is daily more evident, for it is unnatural for man to abjure his dignity, his blood and all the social advantages.

The government has no memory but for good; it defends the rights of all Mexicans, and wants them to abide by the laws, without distinction of political colors; it sustains all liberties, and even that of thought and opinion have been guaranteed by the enemy; worship and creeds have profited by this independence granted by law, and religious sentiment has prevailed throughout the land * * * and it could not be otherwise, for the cause of the national government is that of all the people of the republic, and the principles it sustains are those of all men, without distinction of nationality or color.

The government remembers the people of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, because it remembers Zaragoza and his companions, and cannot forget the brave soldiers of Carbajal, Naranjo, Cerda, Mendez and others, now under the flag they should never have deserted.

The brave General Negrete, a worthy and faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the government, has announced his presence by the proclamation of union among you; union, because we are children of the same country; union to prevent a foreigner from seizing it; union to elevate it to the rank in the world destined for it by Providence, when it bestowed its most precious gifts upon it; union with all Mexicans, because thousands of those who now groan under foreign bayonets love their country and would be glad to come into our ranks. If the deceived have been many, few have continued so; they are not real traitors; they do not wish to be separated from our family and to fight against it, with the strangers who are trying to destroy us.

The children of the heroic State of Chihuahua are the true representatives of our people; they left their workshops and their families, shouting war against the invader; they have added to their glorious records the enthusiasm of heroes and their patriotic suffering upon the frontier, and, as the reward of their fatigues, not a drop of their brother's blood has been spilled.

Their courageous efforts, united with the dauntless courage of those who fought in Sinaloa, Sonora, Guerrero, Mexico, Michoacan, and all over the republic, will expel the stranger who has polluted our soil, where reconciled brothers, free and happy Mexicans only, should be found.

Courage, Mexicans! sons of the border, the dawn of revenge is now breaking upon the horizon of your country. Faithful followers of the holy cause, soldiers of independence! If misfortune and rout found you proud, let conquest find you generous to your brethren who had gone astray, but have now returned, submissive to the laws.

Unite, Mexicans, all of you; make one united effort, and the remembrance of the attempt of foreigners to subjugate us will only serve to strengthen our family ties and make us appreciate the blessings of peace, and the independence of the country.

BENITO JUAREZ.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 3, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 3d of June last, communicating, for the information of this government, three numbers of the official organ of the Mexican republic, published at Chihuahua, during the month of April, 1865, and containing the official reports of General Negrete, of the military operations in the States of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, which resulted in the reoccupation of the cities of Saltillo and Monterey, previously held by the French forces operating in Mexico.

You are also pleased to accompany your despatch with the proclamation of President Juarez, of the 29th April, congratulating the Mexican nation upon these favorable results to the national arms of the republic.

Thanking you for those interesting documents, I have the honor to repeat the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, July 10, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send with this note an extra to No. 89 of the official newspaper of the Mexican government, which is published in the city of Chihuahua, and No. 90 of the same. The first, which is of the 10th May last, contains a communication from General Don Mariano Escobedo, governor and military commander of the State of New Leon, addressed from Monterey on the 27th April previous to the executive branch of the government of the Mexican republic, informing it that he had occupied the city of Monterey, the capital of that State, which, as well as that of Coahuila, according to said communication, was entirely freed from the invading forces. It is also to be noted that the spirit of the people of that frontier is so favorable to the national government of Mexico and so hostile to intervention, that in a very few days the said General Escobedo had been able to provide what was needed for an army corps by the voluntary contributions of the said people. The said paper contains also the official report of the occupation of Victoria city, in the State of Tamaulipas, by Colonel Don Pedro Mendez, who at that important point compelled the interventionist garrison to capitulate, and obtained possession of some arms and artillery.

Finally, appears by said paper the report of the triumph gained at Piedras Negras, by Colonel Naranjo, over an imperialist force which he put to rout, obliging those who composed it to throw themselves into the river at a ford where many were taken and made prisoners.

I take the liberty of calling your special attention that the fact mentioned in Colonel Naranjo's report, to wit: that almost all the ammunitions of the enemy in small boats, which carried them over to the Texas side of the Rio Grande, where they had the open protection of the confederate forces stationed there, who went so far as to open fire upon Colonel Naranjo's soldiers while they were attacking their enemies.

This fact is a new confirmation of the proofs existing of connivance between the interventionist force and the French, who make war on the government of Mexico on the one hand, and the confederates of this country on the other.

No. 90 of the said paper contains the official report which General Cortina gives of having disavowed, with the force under his command, the so-called Mexican empire, with explanations as to his seeming recognition of it, which amounts to saying that he made such recognition under the compulsion of necessity, in order not to surrender his force and the munitions of war at his disposal, and to be able to avail of them anew and opportunely in the service of the republic.

My wish to keep the government of the United States advised of the principal events relative to the intervention in Mexico decides me to send you these documents, as I have done with others like them, which I have thought would be looked on with interest by the government of the United States.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the supplement to No. 89 of the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic.—Chihuahua, May 10, 1865.]

GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY COMMANDANCY
OF THE STATE OF NEW LEON,
Monterey, April 27, 1865.

I have the honor to inform your excellency that since the 12th instant, when I entered this city, I have been at the head of the government, which I am now promptly organizing. After a series of successes it is entirely free from interventionist troops, as well as the State of Coahuila.

I communicate to the war department to-day all that relates to military movements and successes, and in a few more days I can send the result of General Negrete's expedition to Matamoras, whither he started on the 21st, reenforced, abundantly provisioned, and with twenty pieces of artillery.

I have the pleasure to inform you that all the border inhabitants are very loyal. They have unanimously and spontaneously met and expressed their adhesion to the national cause, resolving to support it at all risk. Subsequent facts go to prove the sincerity of these expressions; for, in a very few days the army corps that marched to Matamoras was provided with every necessary by the people, and at the slightest hint that it was needed.

You will please communicate this to the citizen President of the republic, and congratulate him on our success in this frontier, assuring him of the loyalty of all the inhabitants.

I repeat the protests of my distinguished consideration.

Independence and liberty!

M. ESCOBEDO.

MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 2.]

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT,
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT, SECTION 1ST,
Chihuahua, May 9, 1865.

The citizen President of the republic is informed by your official note of the 12th of April, when you took possession of the capital of the State, that you have discharged the duties of governor and military commander of the same, and is pleased to hear of the unanimous and spontaneous action of the inhabitants in favor of the national cause, and the convincing proofs they have given of it, by fitting out General Negrete's expedition to Matamoras in such a short time.

Independence and liberty!

LERDO DE TEJADA.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Governor, Military Com'r of the State of New Leon, Monterey.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

We copy from the Boletin, of Monterey, the following official despatches and remarks:

THE LIBERAL ARMY.—MENDEZ BRIGADE.—COLONEL-IN-CHIEF.

VICTORIA, *April* 23, 1865.

With this date I address the following communication to the general minister of war and chief of the division of operations:

"The brigade under my command captured this place to-day, defended by more than three hundred men. The arms, artillery, and provisions of the hostile force fell into our hands. The commander, the officers and soldiers, all disarmed, left the State to-day and marched into the interior, according to their articles of surrender. On communicating to you this new triumph of the forces defending the independence of the republic, I am pleased to say that, in the nineteen days of siege to this capital, all of my officers and men conducted themselves with great gallantry in defence of the holy cause of their country. I will transmit the circumstantial report of all that occurred as soon as I can obtain it, and repeat the assurance of my distinguished consideration."

I send you this for your intelligence and satisfaction, with expressions of my distinguished consideration.

Independence, liberty, and reform!

PEDRO J. MENDEZ.

The CITIZEN GOVERNOR
of the State of New Leon, Monterey.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

REPUBLICAN FORCE OF THE NORTH.—NARANJO SECTION.—COLONEL-IN-CHIEF.

PIEDRAS NEGRAS, *April* 23, 1865.

At 12 o'clock to-day I set out with the forces under my command to attack this place, garrisoned by two hundred traitors. On the way, I heard that the enemy had tried to cross the Bravo at the chief landing in front of the "Eagle," by permission of the confederate leader on the left bank. I immediately detached Nicanor Valdes, my brave squadron commander, with fifty picked men, to seize the ford and prevent the enemy's flight, while I continued the march with the rest of my men.

Commander Valdes reached the river at six, just as the enemy were trying to cross, the greater part of them being in the ford. Our men charged with such bravery that the enemy did not wait for the ferry-boats, but plunged into the river. Seventy men were captured, two mountain pieces and one pack-mule. The rest managed to escape us.

To-morrow I will demand explanations from the chief across the river, and request him to return the artillery that was taken over in boats, and ask why he would not let the boatman return, and why the confederates threatened to kill him, and why they fired upon our men when they were taking prisoners.

I will send you a detailed report of the action in due time.

Independence, liberty, and reform!

F. NARANJO.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Governor of the State of New Leon,
and Military Commander of Coahuila, Monterey.

[Enclosure No. 5.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic—Vol. 1, No. 90.—Chihuahua, May 13, 1865.]

Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Army Corps of Operations:

I have received the official report of the 18th, a copy of which is enclosed.

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—CORTINA BRIGADE.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

HEADQUARTERS IN CHINA, *April* 24, 1864.

CITIZEN MINISTER: On the 1st instant I disavowed the imperial government, sustained by French intervention in the town of San Fernando, in this State, which I had been compelled to accept at first in order to save my arms and protect the inhabitants, determined to resume my natural character as soon as an opportunity should offer. This I was forced to do for the good of the inhabitants.

The brigade at present under my command consists of 400 cavalry and seventy infantry, which I took from the enemy at the time I pronounced. I marched to Matamoras the same day to attack that place, and see if I could not recover my artillery hidden there, as I had need for it on this occasion.

I entered the town on the night of the 11th with forty men, and could find the enemy nowhere but in the public square. I held the streets for more than two hours, securing the artillery and caps, of which I was so much in need. I furnished many citizens who joined me with horses, and then returned to Santa Rosalia, where my brigade remained.

I lost one sergeant in the attack, and the enemy two officers and a chief, whose names were not learned. The enemy did not come out to reconnoitre till the next day. I also secured the artillery and provisions I had concealed there for future use.

As my brigade had not been paid for two months, I had to come here to have that done. I arrived here to-day, and will return to Matamoras to-morrow, to continue my operations there.

Since the enemy first took possession of Matamoras I have not abated my efforts one moment in trying to dislodge the French and traitors that support the empire; but it is impossible to give you an account of all I have done in this note. Colonel José M. Cortina is on the way to your place, and will give you a full account of all that has occurred. All of which I communicate to you for the information of C. Benito Juarez, the chief magistrate of the republic.

In answer to the above I write as follows:

"I see with much pleasure in your note of the 18th that you recognize no legitimate government except the constitutional government of the republic, held by citizen Benito Juarez, and you explain the reasons of your pretended submission to the empire which they have endeavored to establish in Mexico against the national will.

"This act of yours, which I had anticipated, is worthy of your antecedents, and I will hasten to make it known to the President, whose answer, which I have no doubt will be satisfactory, I will transmit to you when received.

"I congratulate you on joining the true Mexicans, who are fighting for national independence, and hope your help will be of great service to the country."

I transcribe this to you that you may communicate it to the President to act upon as he sees proper.

Independence and liberty!

MIGUEL NEGRETE.

Minister of Foreign Relations and Government.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

Department of Foreign Relations and Government,
Office of Government, Section 1st,
Chihuahua, May 12, 1865.

I have received your note of the 24th April, from China, containing that of General Juan N. Cortina, of the 18th, to you, and have communicated it to the President of the republic. He approves what you have done, is pleased with General Cortina's protests of patriotism, and the proofs he has given of it by returning with his forces to the service of the national cause.

Independence and liberty!

LERDO DE TEJADA.

General of Division, Miguel Negrete,
Minister of War and General-in-chief of the Army of Operations, (wherever it maybe.)

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

Department of State,
Washington, November 5, 1865.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of July 10, 1865, enclosing two numbers of the official organ of the constitutional government of Mexico, of May, 1865, which contain the reports of the officers in command of the forces of that republic during the month of April, 1865, in the States of Nueva Leon, Tamaulipas, and Coahuila, giving full accounts of their successful military operations in the occupation of Monterey, Victoria, and Piedras Negras.

Thanking you for the interesting information you have communicated to me, I have the honor to renew to you, sir, my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor Matias Romero, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

Mexican Legation in the United States of America,
Washington, October 6, 1865.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to remit to you copy of a note which, as No. 304, and dated 31st of August last, was addressed to me from Paso del Norte by Mr. Lerdo de Tejada, minister for foreign relations of the Mexican republic, enclosing to me the official report of the important triumph which, on the 8th of that month, General Villagra's brigade obtained over a French force which occupied the city of Hidalgo, (El Parral,) in the State of Chihuahua.

I enclose to you a copy of No. 113 of the official newspaper of the government of Mexico, in which is published the official report from General Villagra. In that you will see that Hidalgo was taken by assault by the Mexican forces, who caused the enemy a loss of two officers and eighteen soldiers killed, eight wounded, and twenty-four prisoners.

While the French agents in Mexico attempt to have it believed that they have occupied the State of Chihuahua, wresting from that the control of the national government, facts such as that at Hidalgo, which is one of the various episodes that are taking place throughout the extent of the Mexican territory, prove the inaccuracy of the assurances of such agents, who already give out as consummated the conquest of Mexico. With reference to the occupation of Chihuahua by the French army, I have received the account which I copy here, and which comes from an entirely trustworthy person:

"The French entered Chihuahua on the 13th and 14th days of August, to the number of 1,500 or 1,800 men. The reception by the people was exceedingly cold; the invaders found no demonstration of satisfaction. Their chief, General Brincourt, did not find in the house in which the presidency had been a chair to sit down upon. Irritated without doubt by these facts, and by the defeat his troops had suffered at Hidalgo, he changed the tone of a proclamation which he had carried about in print since July, and issued on St. Napoleon's fete day (15th of August) a kind of decree, declaring the State of Chihuahua in a state of siege, fixing a time on the 1st of October next for the ministers, councillors, and functionaries of the 'ex-President Juarez,' as well as his generals, chiefs, officers, and soldiers to submit themselves to the intervention, in which case safe conduct would be given them, and even means, if they needed, to return to their homes, and threatening those who might not avail of the terms granted with trial by courts-martial as soon as they should be arrested. Neither flatteries nor threats will influence the minds of those who defend the independence of their country."

It is pleasant to me to enjoy this opportunity to repeat to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

No. 304.] DEP'T OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND OF GOVERNMENT,
Paso del Norte, August 31, 1865.

Because the printing establishment of the government, which accompanies it, is not yet arranged here, the official report of the triumph obtained on the 8th of this month over the force of the enemy which occupied El Parral (city of Hidalgo) in the State of Chihuahua. For this reason I obtained from the war department a copy of that official report, which I enclose for your information.

I protest to you my very respectful consideration.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

C. MATIAS ROMERO, *Envoy Extraordinary and*
Minister Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, at Washington.

Copy:

F. D. MACIN.

WASHINGTON, *October* 6, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic—Vol. 1 No. 113.—Paso del Norte, September 7, 1865.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND THE NAVY.—BRIGADE OF THE GUARD OF THE SUPREME POWERS.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

Having had notice from my explorers that the invading enemy, with a number inferior to my force, had occupied Parral, I left Cruz de Villegas, where I then was, and marched forward to offer battle. On the 7th, at 6 o'clock in the evening, I left with my brigade, taking no baggage train, and continued my march till eight next morning, when I reached Parral, then held by the French. Before entering and knowing the strength of the enemy, I agreed with General Pedro Meoqui, second officer of the brigade, to divide our forces into four portions—for the front, rear, and two sides of the quarter occupied by the invaders, taking possession of the heights near the square overlooking the quarters, and to attack at a signal to be given by the cornet, all opening fire at once, with three pieces of mountain artillery in front, to operate at the same time.

This arrangement was all well carried out, and annoyed the enemy exceedingly, so that they fought desperately for four hours, when they had to yield, with the loss of two officers, eighteen soldiers, eight wounded, and twenty-four prisoners, now in my hands. We also picked up fifty guns.

I am grieved to inform you of our loss. The brave and valiant General Pedro Meoqui was attacked by two French soldiers in one of the streets. He fought them hand to hand, and killed one; the other wounded him in the thigh. He was taken into a house and the wound examined; but it was useless; he died in two hours. We also have to lament the loss of Lieutenant Magdaleno Suarez and four soldiers, and three wounded, belonging to the battalion of the Guard of the Supreme Powers.

I learned that the French commander in Parral had asked aid from Allende the day before, and the prisoners assured me there would be three or four hundred men there the next day; so, after appointing proper authorities, I started for Balleza, expecting to touch at Minas-Nuevas.

All the chiefs and officers who had the honor to command on that memorable day behaved like brave soldiers; but I must recommend in particular to the consideration of the supreme government Captains Antonio Cuellar and Telesforo Perez, of the Guardia battalion, and Cornet Feliciano Martinez, and Edward Sierra, lieutenant of artillery. In the name of the supreme government, and for their good conduct, I appointed the two first to act as battalion commanders, and the cornet as corporal.

All of which I communicate to you for the information of the President of the republic, and congratulate him on this new triumph of the national arms.

Independence and liberty! Parral, 8th August, 1865.

AUGUSTIN VILLAGRA.

The CHIEF CLERK *of the Department of War,*
(wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 3.]

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The citizen President of the republic has had the pleasure of receiving your despatch from Parral of the 8th instant, giving the news of the victory gained by a part of the forces under your command over the enemy at the place above mentioned.

The government laments the death of the valiant General Pedro Meoqui, who fell on that memorable day.

The commissions for the officers you recommend are already made out, as well as rewards for the men who distinguished themselves on that memorable day.

Independence, liberty, and reform! Paso del Norte, 28th August, 1865.

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

General AUGUSTIN VILLAGRA,
Chief of the Brigade of the Guard of the Supreme Powers,
(wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 4.]

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The citizen President of the republic has been pleased to include in the decree of the 7th of May, 1863, Brevet General Pedro Meoqui, colonel of infantry in the Guard of the Supreme Powers, and Second Lieutenant Magdaleno Suarez, of the same corps, who fell gloriously on the 8th instant in the city of Hidalgo, fighting against the invaders. By virtue of article 3 of that decree the families of these citizens shall enjoy life annuities. The first shall have the pay of a general of brigade; the second that of a lieutenant of infantry.

I have the honor of communicating this for your information, and desire that you make it known by a general order of the brigade under your command.

Independence, liberty, and reform! Paso del Norte, 30th August, 1865.

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

General AUGUSTIN VILLAGRA,
Chief of the Brigade of the Supreme Powers,
(wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 5.]

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The citizen President desires you to send to this department a list of the soldiers who fell in the action at Hidalgo on the 8th instant, and of those disabled from service or other work, to be decided by the surgeons of the brigade, who will certify to the fact, that they may obtain the pension granted them by the decree of the 7th of May, 1863. I have the honor to communicate this, that you may have it executed and made known by general order of your brigade.

Independence, liberty, and reform! Paso del Norte, 30th August, 1865.

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

General AUGUSTIN VILLAGRA,
Chief of the Brigade of the Guard of the Supreme Powers,
(wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 6.]

List of the officers and chiefs of the battalion of the Guard of the Supreme Powers who took part in the glorious feat of arms at Hidalgo on the 8th against the invading forces, with their ranks, and the promotions they have merited:

Commander of battalion, Pedro Yepez, lieutenant colonel.
Captain Antonio Cuellar, commander of battalion.
Captain Telesforo Perez, idem.

Captain Brevet Commandant Blas Ramirez, commandant of battalion in service.
Captain Octaviano Yepez, grade of commander of battalion.
Captain Manuel Arriaga, idem.
Captain Emilio Lojero, idem.
Captain José V. Ramirez, idem.
Captain José M. Perez, idem.
Second Adjutant Manuel Lopez, idem, to captain.
Lieutenant Santos Manriquez, idem.
Lieutenant Gabriel Gonzales, idem.
Lieutenant Juan Delgado, idem.
Lieutenant Daniel Armendariz, idem.
Second Lieutenant Antonio Toledo, idem, to lieutenant.
Second Lieutenant Ramon Larez, idem.
Second Lieutenant Jesus Perez, idem.

Independence, liberty, and reform! Paso del Norte, 28th August, 1865.

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF MEXICO IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, November 12, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the government of the United States, one copy, No. 117, of "the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic," published at El Paso del Norte the 12th of October last, containing official despatches of victories gained over the invaders by the national troops of Mexico: first, at Paso de las Cabras, Tamaulipas, the 16th of August last, by the forces of General Albino Espinoza; and second, at Catorce, in the State of San Luis Potosi, the 21st of August last, by the forces of General Lorenzo Vega.

In the same paper you will see the proclamation of A. S. Viezca, governor of the State of Coahuila, issued in Monclova the 13th of last August, and addressed to the inhabitants of Monclova and Rio Grande, in that State, exhorting them to persevere in their defence of national independence.

I also enclose extracts from the supplement of the same number of the official paper of the 13th of October, containing a true account of important and significant events that took place in the city of Chihuahua the 16th of last September, showing indubitably the spirit of the Mexican people, even in places occupied by the French, and the strange cruelty of the invaders towards patriotic youths and defenceless women.

I believe it my duty also to inform you that Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, the citizen who behaved so gallantly the 16th of September, and who subsequently repelled the unjust stigma that General Brincourt sought to attribute to him, and who has thus written a beautiful page in his country's history, is the same person of that name who was attached to my legation in the year 1862 and part of 1863, and who returned to the Mexican republic with me in May, 1863, when I left this country.

I am gratified at this opportunity of renewing to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Official from the Ministry of War and Marine.

Despatch from the commander-in-chief of the republican forces in Coahuila and New Leon.

Under date of the 16th of the present month, General Albino Espinosa, commanding officer of the division of operations, writes to me as follows:

"ARMY CORPS OF THE NORTH, HEADQUARTERS OF THE QUARTERMASTER.

"According to instructions received from these headquarters I have the pleasure of informing you that yesterday at three o'clock in the evening I began my march from the hamlet of Mojarras with a column of cavalry, composed of two hundred men of the first brigade of Tamaulipas, under the command of Colonels Servando Canales and Julian Cerdo, one hundred and sixty men of the second New Leon under the command of Colonel Francisco Naranjo, and a battery of artillery attached to the legion of the north; and, making a forced march of fifteen leagues, to-day at six o'clock in the morning I came up with the enemy, who, to the number of nine hundred men of all arms, had taken possession of the left bank of the river San Juan at the pass of Las Cabras. After six hours of hottest firing I put the enemy to complete flight, leaving in our possession two ambulances, three wagons filled with provisions, arms, and other military stores; to which fortunate result greatly contributed the appearance at the scene of conflict of Major Garza, who with his force of cavalry flanked the left wing of the enemy.

"As is natural, we have lost some men, both officers and soldiers; but they died in the performance of their duty, and their conduct throughout the action, as well as that of all the officers and men engaged without distinction, was highly honorable and worthy of all consideration.

"The losses of our traitorous foe are very considerable, judging from the numbers of dead and wounded who were abandoned on the field, as well as from the declarations of the prisoners captured.

"As our camp has not yet been pitched and I have not received the reports of the brigade commanders, I reserve a detailed statement of the affair for a more favorable occasion.

"I congratulate you, general, on the victory gained by the national arms, and beg leave to assure you of my highest consideration and esteem.

"Independence and liberty! Dated camp near the hamlet of Laja, August 16, 1865.

"ALBINO ESPINOSA.

"MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
"*General-in-chief of the Republican forces in*
"*New Leon and Coahuila,* (wherever he is to be found.")

I transcribe this document for the information of your excellency, and in order that you may be pleased to lay it before the President, whom you will congratulate in my name for the triumph which the arms of the republic have obtained over the enemies of our country.

Independence and liberty! China, August 17, 1865.

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

The MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE,
Of the Mexican Republic.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE,
Paso del Norte, October 8, 1865.

The President of the republic has perused the communication addressed to him by you from China under date of the 17th of August last past, in which you enclosed one addressed to you under date of the 16th of the same month by General Albino Espinosa, communicating the complete triumph obtained on that day at the pass of Las Cabras over a force of nine hundred men of the enemy.

The President commissions me to request you to be pleased to declare for him and in his name to the officers and soldiers that were engaged in that battle, the satisfaction with which he has viewed this new feat of arms by which they have distinguished themselves and demonstrated once more the patriotism, valor, and decision with which the valiant sons of the frontier have sustained the cause of independence and of their country.

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Commander-in-chief of the forces of the States of Coahuila and New Leon, (wherever he is to be found.)

[Enclosure No. 3.]

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN FORCES OF COAHUILA AND NEW LEON.

Under date of the 21st of last month General Lorenzo Vega, in command of the district of the south, reports to me from Mineral de Catorce as follows:

"REPUBLICAN FORCES OF COAHUILA, NEW LEON, AND
"SAN LUIS POTOSI, DISTRICT OF THE SOUTH.

"At five o'clock this morning I occupied this position with the forces under my command. The traitorous garrison, composed of two hundred men, which presumed to dispute our passage, paid dearly for its boldness in a few moments; for the brave Colonel Martinez, with a body of one hundred and fifty cavalry, rolled them back completely; and, in consequence, Lieutenant Colonel Macias, on the right side of the town, with fifty men, and Captain Martinez, on the left, with as many more, occupied it in the best order possible. There were left in my hands some hundred percussion firelocks, eleven cartridge-boxes, two military chests, and twenty-eight prisoners, whom I immediately ordered to be set at liberty.

"Moreover, the trade of the town yielded me eighteen thousand dollars for the wants of the force under my command.

"At the present moment I am occupied with pitching my camp and collecting my scattered troops, in order to profit by the arms captured, which are what I most need; and as soon as a favorable opportunity offers, I will communicate to you a detailed account of this feat of arms accomplished by a part of the forces under your command.

"LORENZO VEGA, *General Commanding.*"

I enclose this communication to you for your information, and that of the President, whom I congratulate on this triumph obtained by the forces under my command over the traitors.

Independence and liberty! Camargo, September 1, 1865.

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

The MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE,
Paso del Norte, October 8, 1865.

The President of the republic has perused your despatch from Camargo, of the date of the 1st September last, enclosing one to yourself from General Lorenzo Vega, dated August 21, previous from Mineral de Catorce, in the State of San Luis Potosi, in which he informs you of his having occupied that town on the same day, after routing the force of the enemy that garrisoned it.

The President has learned with great satisfaction of this triumph obtained by that part of the forces of your command, and requests you to be pleased to manifest to General Vega and the officers and men of the force that occupied Mineral de Catorce the just appreciation in which the government holds the patriotism, valor, and decision with which they are sustaining the cause of the republic.

Independence and liberty!

MARIANO DIAZ, *Chief Clerk.*

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Commander-in-chief of the forces of the State of Coahuila and New Leon, (wherever he is to be found.)

[Enclosure No. 5.]

The governor and military commander of Coahuila de Zaragoza to the inhabitants of the districts of Monclova and Rio Grande.

MONCLOVA, *August* 13, 1865.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: When the unforeseen exigencies of war obliged me to abandon the capital of the State, the first thought of this government was to direct itself to those districts of whose valor and patriotism it had the most advantageous reminiscences. The results have demonstrated that my expectations were not unfounded; and now it gives me pleasure to render to your eminent civic virtues the tribute of my most sincere esteem and acknowledgment, because you have answered the call of your country, because, comprehending your sacred duties towards that mother, as beloved as she is unfortunate, you have thoroughly fulfilled them, and entitled yourselves to the gratitude of the public. In a short time you will march to the field, and will prove to the haughty invader that the cause of Mexico is not yet decided, and is very far from succumbing, whilst it reckons among its champions valiant warriors, generous and magnanimous souls, disposed to sacrifice themselves and to sacrifice everything for the national honor and dignity.

It is in great national crises that it behooves a people to show themselves great and resolute. The people that sees unmoved the domination over it of a foreign race, and regards with indifference the usurpation of its rights and of its autonomy, would be unworthy to be numbered among free and civilized nations. When the pride of a tyrant and the covetousness and ambition of a few foreign adventurers have dared to invade our country, rudely and deeply tarnishing its honor and dignity, without other pretext than brute force, and availing themselves of our misfortunes, it is the duty of every Mexican, and an all-controlling duty, to take up arms to defend themselves. Let us do so, fellow-citizens, and sooner or later the victory will crown our cause, and alight upon our beautiful and beloved banner of Iguala, because it is just, and the justice of a cause is as potent or more potent than the armies of tyrants and usurpers.

Your courage recognized in a hundred battles, and your constancy in suffering, assure you the triumph; have faith in it. Soon this classic land of patriotism, the asylum of liberty, and the cradle of the principles of reform, shall see itself freed from this abominable foreign oppression, and you will gather the fruits of your noble efforts, and shall inscribe your names honorably on the history of the restoration of the national independence.

If a handful of vile and degraded Mexicans bend their docile necks before the conqueror, the immense majority of the Mexican people arises, strong and proud, to exterminate them. Men of Coahuila, second this noble effort of our brethren, whom the terror of the sacrifice will never restrain. In vain do the conquerors multiply their executions; in vain do they barbarously burn entire towns, and assassinate their unfortunate prisoners; uselessly do they pretend to stigmatize as bandits worthy and generous men who are struggling to resist their infamous domination; because the scaffold becomes an altar of patriotism for the people when it is sanctified and ennobled by the blood of freemen which fertilizes the sacred tree of liberty and multiplies heroes; whilst, at the same time, the world, contemplating with interest this contest provoked by ambition and despotism against the just rights of a free and unfortunate people, has already observed on which side are true glory, moral right, generosity and reason, and for which are barbarism, iniquity, and perfidy.

The United States, that great republic, the admiration of the world and terror of crowned heads, has already manifested in a very explicit manner its disapproval of the imported and ridiculous empire that has been pretended to be erected in Mexico, and its sympathy for our cause, not recognizing as legitimate any other government than that of the republic, and so declaring officially in the face of all the nations. And if these demonstrations so significant do not suffice to make Napoleon desist from his rash and iniquitous design, others more persuasive should suffice; that murmur of disapprobation should suffice which already makes itself heard in France itself, indignant at the waste of its blood and treasures in the furtherance of the unjust and absurd enterprise of its despotic Emperor; and, in fine, this universal commotion of the republic should suffice, agitated as it is to its uttermost limits in its efforts to shake off the ignominious yoke of the foreigner to which it is sought to subject it.

Such is the flattering perspective offered to us by the prompt and happy termination of the bloody war in which we have been involved by the caprice of Napoleon III. But in the mean time, until the consummation of this glorious struggle, the government takes pleasure in rendering its thanks to this valiant sons of these districts, who, with the greatest promptitude and enthusiasm, stand prepared to defend the national independence with their arms and all their resources; full of faith in the future and ready to endure all privations, extending a friendly hand and sharing their bread with their brothers of Chihuahua and of the interior of the State, who have preceded them in the conflict, and with whom they now go in all haste to share in battle their dangers and their glories, animated with the purest and most ardent patriotism, to continue it with indomitable constancy until they conquer or die.

Long live the national independence! Long live the legitimate government of the republic! Long life to the valiant people of the frontier!

A. S. VIESCA.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

Affairs at Chihuahua.

[From the supplement to No. 117 of the Periodico Oficial of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic. Paso del Norte, Friday, October 13, 1865.]

A trustworthy person, an eye-witness of affairs in Chihuahua during the past month, has had the kindness to yield to our solicitations and draw up the following interesting narrative:

"After the municipal election, which was held in accordance with the decree issued for the purpose, and in which few or none of the liberals participated, although in the said decree it was ordered that the authorities then to be elected should make proper preparations for the civic festival of the 16th, a patriotic committee was nominated by Don Tomas Zuloaga, in accord with General Brincourt, wherein were numbered among various conservatives some liberals, such as Juarrieta, Revilla, Campa, Cordero, and others, all of whom, with the exception of Campa, refused to take any part in it. This committee drew up its programme, which was changed by Brincourt in all its parts.

"On the 16th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, a *Te Deum*, in the military style, was sung in the parish church by Padre Terrazas, who regards himself with satisfaction as the chaplain of the French. Brincourt assisted at it with his staff, the municipal chief, and the heads of the corporation. In a quarter of an hour the *Te Deum* was concluded and the general proceeded to the public square of Santa Rita to inspect a review or grand parade of all his soldiers, who numbered therein something over 500 men of all arms and three light pieces of artillery, so that with those on duty they reached to about 600 in all.

"As the celebration of the independence by the invaders who come to destroy it is an insult to common sense and an intolerable irony calculated to irritate and arouse the minds of all true Mexicans, some young men, both from within and without the institute, being called together by that distinguished patriot Don Jesus Escobar y Armendariz, resolved to have a requiem mass celebrated in the chapel of San Francisco, where the immortal Hidalgo and his illustrious companions of 1811 were buried, and several families and citizens were invited to assist at it dressed in mourning; so the mass was said by the curate Corrall at at 9 o'clock, and many ladies and gentlemen and patriotic young men were present in mourning apparel.

"There was no other ornament in the chapel but the national banner placed on the right side of the altar at what is called half-mast, and covered with black crape. The music of the choir was of a mournful and melancholy character. During the ceremony a profound silence reigned in the assemblage, interrupted at times by compressed sobs and sighs from all present, in whose countenances was depicted the emotion of their souls, and it was apparent that all were deeply impressed with the purpose and the circumstances in which this august ceremony was celebrated, at the same time that the sacred memory of Hidalgo and his great achievement were profaned without. On many countenances were seen tears that gushed involuntarily from their eyes. It was a mute and mournful ceremony, but at the same time it was an energetic and eloquent protest against the profanation that was taking place outside of this little enclosure. This the French well understood from subsequent transactions The mass being finished, some flowers were distributed to the ladies and children, who deposited them successively on the altar and on the banner. At mid-day the same young men had prepared a little banquet, to which they contributed among themselves the same as for the mass, in the house wherein resided Don Rodrigo Garcia, and belonging to San Martin, whose son Miguel now resides in it. The hall was adorned for the occasion; in front of it was hung the portrait of Hidalgo, and beside it a black banner with the inscription in letters of gold: '16th of September, 1810.' In front, also, was a picture of Victoria, and beside it the same banner that had served at mass. Moreover, there were over the windows and in various parts of the hall wreaths of willow with white flowers; the saloon was half darkened and the assembled guests were robed in mourning. Four toasts were prepared to be offered in order that they should be replied to by four of the young men appointed for the purpose, one of whom was Don Julio Jaurrieta, and another Don Jesus Perea. The president was Don Francisco Arellano, who represented the person of Señor Juarez. They selected the principal hall in the house, because they did not seek to hide themselves nor to close the windows on the street.

"There these young men celebrated the misfortune that affected the national independence. But this act wounded the pride and provoked the anger of Brincourt, who could not tolerate that these venturesome and audacious youths should refuse to believe that we are independent under the dominion of French bayonets and an Austrian emperor; and at 8 o'clock in the evening he gave orders to the miserable bailiff, who styles himself judge, Don Luz Bustamante, to proceed to have them arrested and taken to the public prison under a guard of French soldiers and the night-watch, who in fact did take them and amused themselves with tormenting them most cruelly. They were placed in solitary confinement in most obscure dungeons, without light, without ventilation, narrow and filthy, almost inundated by the copious rains that fell during those days; and they were not permitted to have any more than one small blanket to cover themselves, or anything to eat but the unclean and disagreeable fare of the prison, being prevented from receiving from their homes even a piece of bread, or a candle to afford them light, or cigars, or anything whatsoever. They were constantly watched by the French and Mexican sentinels, who inspected their cells every half hour of the night; and when they went out to the court they were not allowed to converse with each other even by means of signs, and were treated like the most infamous criminals. A species of trial was prepared for them, without any knowledge as to what law should be the rule of the judge or what the crime was of which they were accused, and without any legal process or formality whatever. They were questioned in reference to the mass, who had instigated it, who had participated in it, what the significance was of the black banner. All unanimously acknowledged the facts as they had really occurred. The preliminary examination being concluded, they were transferred to Brincourt, who ordered that a further investigation should be had and further questions asked, which he himself indicated; and the curate and many others were also interrogated.

"The new examination being finished, and after the prisoners had been held in such sufferings as have been mentioned, without any modification in the slightest degree of the hardship and severity of their treatment for eight days. they were on the 23d, Saturday night, condemned by Brincourt in the following terms: Don Jesus Escobar to labor in the public works for one month without any remission; Don Augustin Terrazas, Don Francisco Arellano, Don Liberato Olivas, and Don Jesus Perea, (the poorest of all,) to pay two hundred dollars fine, or fifteen days in the public works, or one month's imprisonment under the same terms and with the same rigor with which they had already suffered. All preferred the fine except Perea, who immediately accepted the public works; but several Mexicans and friends contributed the two hundred dollars in two hours and paid the fine for him, and he was liberated. All were indignant at the barbarity with which they had been treated; but they were proud and gratified to have suffered for a cause so sacred and so noble, one which honored them and sanctified their sufferings. They were warned, on their departure, not to be found in the streets, nor to assemble among themselves, nor with other persons. The youths, Julio Juarrieta Antonio Yañez, Francisco Ruiz, Manuel Franco, Estanislas Gonzalez, Miguel Salas, Miguel San Martin, Jesus M. Escobar, (brother of Jesus,) Mariano Fuentes, José Maria Pareja, Donato Miramontez, and Urbano Elias, who were likewise of the number of those arrested, were condemned like the others, after enduring imprisonment, to pay a fine of from ten to fifty dollars, in the discretion of Don Tomas Zuloaga, who made himself active in the case as fiscal agent of Brincourt.

"All were, therefore, released except Escobar, who, on the following day, Sunday, commenced to go out with the ordinary prisoners to sweep the streets.

"Nothing can adequately express the indignation felt by all who passed by in seeing him in this condition. Two respectable persons, disregarding the men who guarded him, and filled with various sensations of emotion and anger, ran to embrace him and spoke to him words of congratulation in the enthusiasm to which they were excited by the affair, without any consideration as to who saw them or what might result to themselves from their action. The ladies, by whose houses he passed, scattered flowers at his feet, embraced him, or presented him with bouquets. On the following day they took him through the street on which the government house is situated, in order that Brincourt and his aids might gratify themselves at seeing him humiliated before them.

"A lady proposed to meet and address him on his way, but this was not possible. Then she contented herself with taking some flowers in her muff and scattering them at his feet and throwing him a kiss. Another lady went out with a little girl, elegantly dressed, who gave him a bouquet of flowers. Those of the household of the general called out to the head of the guard and commanded him to ask why she gave him that bouquet. She answered that the flowers were her own; that she was a Mexican, and would give them to whom she pleased, and to whosoever deserved them, and as Escobar was very worthy of them, to him she would give them, and she said no more. Subsequently, a servant maid from another house filled a waiter with flowers and scattered them over the path. Further on, the same preparations were made, but they would not allow him to proceed in that direction. Afterwards, he passed by the *Reforma*, and there they covered him with flowers and entertained him with fruits and other delicacies.

"In fine, these ovations went on increasing, and various ladies prepared to make more significant demonstrations and more honorable to the young patriot; but Brincourt, seeing that he could not avoid having these manifestations of regard without proceeding against the ladies, ordered that every day that these public demonstrations should occur, should be excluded from being reckoned in the term of condemnation of the illustrious convict, or rather, we should say, victim of despotism, until those demonstrations ceased which so much excused him. Don Tomas Zuloaga caused the ladies to be immediately apprised of this, and they were, therefore, compelled to forego the arrangements which they had made to honor and exalt the distinguished patriot who had drawn upon himself the anger and the hatred of the invading despot, as his worthy companions also had done, who have thence become the object of the felicitations of all good Mexicans who understand the sacrifice and the significance of the action of these young and worthy citizens.

"During those days the wife of General Negrete received a letter from that gentleman, in which she was required to proceed to El Norte with the servants who awaited her at San Geronimo, with the adjutant, Captain Andrade; and she was charged to leave Chihuahua as promptly and with as much reserve as possible, which, however, she did not affect. On Monday evening they went out, apparently for the purpose of taking a walk. The wife of Negrete invited Caroline de la Palacios to go with her, and two other persons likewise accompanied her. They all went out in a carriage and took the road to San Geronimo; Andrade and three attendants awaited them at the rancho of Enmedio, beyond Tabalopa. There they remained four hours. They resumed their journey at dawn, stopping again at San Geronimo. Meanwhile the French learned the fact of the departure of the ladies, which they took for a flight, and on the following day, at 8 o'clock in the evening, twenty dragoons started at full speed in pursuit of them, and in the evening eighty more started in the same direction with orders to proceed as far as El Norte. The first detachment was led by a Lieutenant Ramirez, a traitor; and they, in fact, came up with the ladies at the hacienda of Hormigas, a little beyond San Geronimo. They made them descend from the carriage and examined them, because they thought they carried arms, ammunition, and papers. They found none of these. They arrested the adjutant, Andrade, and the attendants; they placed a Frenchman to drive the coach, and brought the whole party back to San Geronimo. There they left the ladies, telling them that they might come whenever they pleased. The other dragoons pursued their march. We all believed that it was their purpose to proceed to El Norte to capture Negrete and Palacios, but we were surprised to see them return at the end of four days, a space of time insufficient even to enable them to reach the above-mentioned place. It followed, therefore, that they did not traverse even half the way, and that they returned because they learned that Negrete was very peaceful and entirely unoccupied with war, and that whatever had been told them and believed by them was a solemn falsehood.

"As these accounts coincided with the affair of the mass and the meeting of the young men on the 16th, they thought that these youths were entering into a conspiracy; that they were in communication with Negrete, who they feared would come and surprise them, as Meoqui had done at El Parral. Subsequently, they put Andrade and the attendants in prison, where they left them in dungeons dying of hunger, until some ladies discovered the fact and procured means to have food conveyed to them, although under a thousand difficulties and precautions. Nobody expected that Andrade would be soon or easily released from imprisonment; but, to the surprise of all, he was liberated on the 26th. He told me that Briincourt had him called before him, questioned him about the purpose for which he came, and what was going on at El Norte, and finally told him that he might go with the ladies, with a passport, whenever he pleased. And, in fact, on this day, the 27th, in the morning, he set out with the ladies above mentioned.

"On the morning of the 27th the 95th and 50th regiments of dragoons entered the town; they do not number 300 men in all—not 600, as it has been reported. They brought with them about twelve or fourteen wagons. It is stated that those recently arrived will remain as a garrison in Chihuahua, and that the others will proceed to El Paso. The 17th regiment has not arrived."

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, December 18, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, some documents, translated into English, recently come into my possession, showing the condition of affairs on the northwestern frontier of the Mexican republic. At the same time I enclose you two very significant documents, both from French sources, clearly showing what is going on in the part of Mexico occupied by the French.

The first of these documents is a letter from Mr. Heym, sergeant major and secretary of the Belgian legion in Mexico, to his parents in Lievre, telling them simply and truthfully what the legion has done in Mexico, the excesses it has committed, and the way the usurped authority it represents is treated by the nation. The whole letter was published in an Antwerp paper, called Le Precurseur.

The second of the documents mentioned is an extract from No. 102 of La Idea Liberal, of the 29th of November last, a paper published in Puebla, and was brought to this country by the last steamer from Vera Cruz. This extract is the report of two Mexicans, denying the official assertion of the usurper's agents, that the amnesty offered in his bloody decree of the 3d of October last, of which I sent a copy in English to your department, with my note of the 25th of the same month, had been willingly accepted by them. The French and their agents have recently tried to make believe that a large number of Mexicans, still defending the independence of their country, have accepted this amnesty; but the representations of the two citizens referred to, Silvestre Aranda and Zeferino Macias, demonstrate very plainly what credit these assurances deserve.

I embrace this occasion to repeat to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mariano Escobedo, general of the Mexican republic, and commanding the division of the north, to the inhabitants of the State of Tamaulipas:

CITIZENS OF TAMAULIPAS: As a soldier of the republic and of the national independence I have had to traverse the territory of this ever-patriotic States with the forces I have the honor to command, in order to combat our common enemy, intrenched in Matamoras. The line of conduct pursued by the braves who have accompanied me through all these populations is the best guarantee of that which they will pursue in the future.

I know your patriotism, generous Tamaulipans. I have not passed through a single city or rancho where I have not received signal proofs of adhesion to the national cause, and therefore doubt not that you will listen to the voice of your country, calling upon you through me in these supreme moments.

Sons of Tamaulipas! Grasp your ever-feared and victorious rifles and join the hundreds of your fellow-citizens who already form our ranks, thus showing to the world that you are worthy of the freedom which you have always enjoyed. A small effort and the heroic city will be free.

Sons of Matamoras! No one in the world will believe that there is among you a single one capable of betraying the republic. You are oppressed—that is all. I come as a friend to help you shake off the yoke of the so-called empire, because we are all interested in the liberation of this port. I offer you all the guarantees which you can desire. The subordination and strict discipline of my command inspires me with the necessary confidence to assure you that all property and persons will be religiously respected.

Those only need fear who shall obstinately try to oppose the passage of my forces, for on them will fall the avenging sword of an indignant republic.

Mexicans, who are sacrilegiously armed against your country, open your eyes! What are you going to do? Against whom do you intend to fire off the guns you have shouldered? Against us? What do you defend against us? Reflect well. For nearly four years the sons of Mexico have fought against a foreign foe who desires to impose upon us the yoke of a foreign monarch—a foe which outrages, humiliates, and despises us, and tramples under foot the sovereignty, dignity, and the independence of our country. We are fighting and always will fight against this army of usurpators. Meditate well, you citizens who are arming against us. Think of our particular situation. You are Mexicans; we also are such. Why are we about to fight against each other? You have placed yourselves by some strange fatality by the side of these foreign enemies, and yet in your bosom beats a Mexican heart Your conscience, then, must tell you, when firing your shots upon us, that you are firing upon your country, because we contend for its honor, its liberty, and its independence. Unite with us, Mexicans, follow the natural impulses of your heart, and together we will save the republic from the domination of foreigners, fighting without rest the forces of the French monarch.

Mexicans all! the standard of independence and the republic calls you! Come cluster under its folds, and, fighting as ought to fight free and generous men, demonstrate to the world that if we Mexicans have always been unfortunte, we are not degraded enough to accept slavery at the hands of a foreign monarch, great and powerful though he may be.

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

HEADQUARTERS AT SANTA ROSALIA, *October* 19, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Mariano Escobedo, general of the Mexican republic, commanding division of the north, to his subordinates:

COMPANIONS: In marching against the city of Matamoras I must tell you that I have faith in our triumph, because I reckon with your bravery and discipline.

Soldiers of the republic! You know that your mission is to fight for the independence of our country, to give its inhabitants all classes of guarantees, and such as are compatible with the circumstances of the war which we are obliged to sustain. A throne has been raised by foreign bayonets in our capital; and this throne, self-degraded, weak, and impotent, and a truly humiliating representation of sovereign nationality, must fall, to enable our country to recover its proper dignity and existence.

It appears incredible, but there exist Mexicans who lend it their support, and such are those whom you will have to encounter in Matamoras. They are misled. But they cannot possibly feel the firm conviction of being in the right, because the country speaks to their heart as the sentiments of maternity speak to that of the child. Their cause is bad, while yours has the sympathy of the world; and the greater the privations, sufferings, and difficulties you have to confront in its defence, so much more glorious is it to uphold it. Continue as you have commenced. In this State, wherever you have passed, you have by your good conduct conquered friends, strong and brave on the field of battle in defence of liberty, who have united, and continue to unite with you, and reflect splendor on the arms of the republic.

Fear nothing! Soon will the national flag wave majestically over this entire frontier, because you sustain it with an arm that knows not how to give way before foreign oppression; but knows how to fall terribly upon those who try to defile it, and also punish those who undertake to cover their transgressions under its folds, who outrage peaceful inhabitants, or deprive them of the free use of their property.

Forward, companions! There are yet thousands of Mexican hearts in the heroic Matamoras whose wishes are propitious to you. It is there you will receive the congratulations of him who with pride calls himself your general and friend,

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

HEADQUARTERS AT SANTA ROSALIA, *October* 19, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, DIVISION OF THE NORTH, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

GENERAL: Nearly four years of a bloody contest to repel the form of government which the French invasion is trying to establish are sufficient to convince you that it is not possible to give our country peace under the imperial government which has been established in some of our principal cities. We Mexicans who are fighting it are using our rights, because we want for our country true independence and sovereignty, and not the simulated one represented by the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. Using this sacred right, I am about militarily to occupy this place, (Matamoras.) But, considering that those who form its garrison are also Mexicans, I think it my duty to invite you to listen to the voice of your country calling upon you to cease your co-operation in its abasement and prostration by the rule of a foreign monarch.

I know that this proceeding is foreign to the usages established in this war, during which time no invitation of this nature has been extended on the part of the imperialists; but I fulfil my duty in order that the responsibility may fall upon others. God and history will judge the Mexicans who in this war have defended causes so opposite.

Do me the favor, general, to answer this communication within two hours, and accept the assurance of my consideration,

M. ESCOBEDO.

Independence and liberty! Camp in sight of Matamoras, October 23, 1865.

General THOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding Garrison in Matamoras.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

IMPERIAL MEXICAN ARMY, DIVISION, MEJIA, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

GENERAL: I have received by your two *parlamentarios* (bearers of a flag of truce) your letter dated to-day, which, in summary, contains an invitation for me to surrender this place to the forces under your command.

Although I could not reckon upon the elements which now are more than sufficient to defend it, yet, as a soldier, it would be my duty to die, after having exhausted all my means of resistance, and my obligations as a Mexican to sacrifice myself and soldiers for a cause upon which depends, according to my sincere convictions, the salvation of my country. But I hold in my hands resources sufficient to defend it, and hope to defend myself with complete success. You can commence your operations as soon as you think convenient. The responsibility will fall upon him who shall have provoked the occurrences.

Accept, general, the assurance of my consideration.

THOMAS MEJIA,
Commander-in-chief of the line of the Rio Grande.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Before Matamoras.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

The following communication was addressed to General Steele by General Escobedo on the day of its date, and before the former had turned over his command to General Weitzel:

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, DIVISION OF THE NORTH, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF,
Santa Rosalia, October 20, 1865.

GENERAL: As it is difficult for me to direct an official communication to the consul of the United States accredited to my government in the port of Matamoras, I have the honor, general, to write to inform you that, within a few days, I shall commence military operations against that place, occupied to-day by forces hostile to the legitimate government of my country. All the pacific inhabitants, without distinction of nationality, will be protected in their persons and property as far as the exigencies of the war will permit; and I can assure you, general, that if, unfortunately, any disorders should be committed they will be severely punished. I beg, general, that you will transmit a copy of this official note to the consul of your nation, recommending to him (if I may so far tax your kindness) that he will give the greatest publicity to its contents among strangers and natives.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

Major General F. STEELE,
Commanding American forces on the Rio Grande.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *October* 30, 1865.

At an early hour yesterday morning, in company with several officers of the United States army, I mounted my horse and started for a visit to the liberal encampment, now established around the city of Matamoras. Although the "communication" is perfectly open between this place and Escobedo's headquarters, and parties are constantly passing upon business or pleasure, yet there is a semblance, or rather affectation, of mystery about it which, if adding little to the zest of the journey, rendered it pleasing to have one of "the initiated" with us to point out the roads, parley with the guards, and afford us the benefit of his experience in swimming our horses across the Rio Grande—as this, among other pleasant experiences, was involved in the trip.

The rain of the past few days had rendered the roads through the chaparral very wet and muddy, and in many places were deep mud-holes, through which our horses made their way with considerable effort. The sky was clear as we started, and the sun beat down with a warmth which would do credit to a midsummer day in your northern climes. The foliage on either hand presented every shade of green with not a single tinge of autumn visible. The leaves, very small and of various and exquisite shapes, were interspersed with beautiful flowers, while from every branch and twig innumerable birds were flitting.

After riding at a furious rate for three or four miles, we turned off from the main road and entered a by-path, which soon brought us to a collection of huts near the bank of the river, and occupied by two or three Mexican families. The women, dressed in a style which if not altogether primitive was certainly approaching it, were squatted around a small wood fire, broiling beef bones, while their numerous progeny ran about in happy ignorance that the conventionalities of any life rendered imperative the use of clothing. These children often have the Moorish type of features, and frequently during youth are very beautiful.

CROSSING THE RIVER.

Upon reaching the river bank we found one small boat, constructed much like a canoe, in which were placed our equipments, the horses, held by a long and strong lariat, swimming after. Once over, and our horses resaddled, we again started through the chaparral, the roads upon the Mexican side being somewhat of an improvement upon the other. After riding a mile or more we met a short, venerable looking Mexican, with full gray whiskers, riding upon a spirited-looking mustang. This gentlemen turned out to be

SEÑOR MANUEL I. GOMEZ,

General Escobedo's private secretary. As I afterwards learned, he formerly resided in the city of Mexico, was a lawyer by profession, and possessed of an immense fortune. Upon the occupation of the country by the French, he abandoned his home and property, attached himself to the liberal cause, and, from a spirit of pure patriotism, has devoted all his energies to the re-establishment of his country's independence. He greeted us with much courtesy, and directed his orderly to return with us and show us the best road to headquarters.

A further ride of three miles brought us to the headquarters of the liberal commander-in-chief. They were established at a ranche about one league from the city, which was for the most part plainly visible, as it is surrounded by an extensive plain. The attacking force is alone covered by the chaparral, which grows to a height of from eight to twelve feet. In glancing over this plain, upon which were encamped between three and four thousand men, not a single evidence of life was discernible, so effectually is everything concealed by the trees and underbrush. The building occupied by the general consists of a low brick structure, having but one room and two or three *hacals*—houses built of cane and plastered with mud—all in an extremely filthy condition. The yard and grounds about the place were overrun by horses, mules, and cattle, in addition to which a number of the latter had been slaughtered near by and the refuse left on the ground, all causing a conglomeration of filth and stench which I have seldom seen paralleled. As we rode into the enclosure we were greeted by a number of staff officers, and requested to dismount. A glass of whiskey was immediately presented us, after which we were ushered into the house or cabin and introduced to

GENERAL MARINO ESCOBEDO.

This officer, as stated in a previous despatch, has been recently appointed to the civil and military command of the States in northern Mexico and of the troops therein stationed, by President Juarez. Though thus clad by an authority which the liberal chiefs everywhere pretend to recognize, he was for some time unable to reconcile and reorganize the conflicting elements composing the liberal army. He has, however, finally succeeded in doing this, and the present investment of Matamoras is the result.

While compelled, from the peculiarities of his position, to perform certain acts and make use of means which would not be considered strictly legitimate, he nevertheless stands very high with his countrymen, and is, I think, justly considered to be honest, sincerely patriotic, and of considerable ability. Before starting for Matamoras he convened the various liberal commanders, some of whom were stationed at quite a distance from his headquarters, and acting for the most part on their own responsibility, and after a long and serious consultation, partly by the authority of his position and partly by persuasion, he induced them to abandon their jealousies and differences and unite under him for an attack upon the city. Before separating, these men embraced each other and pledged themselves to united efforts against the common foe. Having concentrated his forces at Camargo on the 14th, he reached Matamoras on the 20th, and forthwith commenced the investment of the place. General Hinojosa was given the command of the right wing, Canales the centre, and the renowned Cortina the left. I may remark in this connexion that up to this time these officers had worked admirably together and the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed.

As we entered the general arose and came forward to meet us, extending his hand and greeting us with the impressment peculiar to the Spanish race. At his suggestion the party seated themselves about a rough table, on each side of which benches were placed. These, with three camp beds, in as many corners, comprised all the furniture in the room. As the general does not speak English, the conversation was carried on in Spanish, and was mostly of a personal character He is about five feet ten inches in height, with small, keen black eyes, spare in habit and somewhat stooping. This latter defect is more observable when on horseback. His forehead is high and narrow, his mouth large, well formed and indicative of great energy. In manner he is quiet, unassuming, reticent. This latter quality he is said to possess to an eminent degree. He keeps his own counsel remarkably well, the most prominent members of his staff knowing nothing of his plans or purposes. I gather from his remarks that he was confident of success, though nothing was said directly upon the subject. He intimated that he could have been in possession ere this by a great sacrifice of life and a destruction of a portion of the city, which he was anxious to avoid. I thought that he fancied he had "everything his own way," and that he could afford to wait.

His staff for the most part spoke English fluently, and seemed gentlemen of education. His engineer officer, Colonel Piscardo Villanueva, was educated in Europe, and possesses great abilities in this branch of the service. While we were seated at the table he presented the general with a sketch of the works about the city, which I saw at a glance was correct.

Colonel Charles, chief of staff, is an accomplished and indefatigable officer, and performs the varied and laborious duties of his position admirably. Those duties will be the better appreciated when it is considered that the liberal army has no quartermaster or commissary department, and that the providing for the troops is necessarily under the immediate eye of the general.

After remaining in conversation for a time we clambered to the top of the most elevated buildings, where we obtained an excellent view of the city and that portion of the fortifications nearest us. As before stated, the dense chaparral concealed the troops from view. In the occasional open spaces visible animals were seen quietly grazing, and not the slightest evidence was observable that "grim visaged-war" was here holding his accustomed revel of blood. After partaking of a lunch prepared in the Mexican style, it was thought desirable to return, and as our horses were brought up the general announced his intention of accompanying us for a distance, and of showing us

THE LINES.

Mounting, we started off, followed by as motley a crowd as ever the imagination of the great dramatist conceived, moving toward the city. We soon came upon an encampment of reserves, or rather, I should say, a bivouac, as there was no sign of a tent or other covering visible. While the general was in conversation with the commanding officer of the troops, I had an opportunity of observing both officers and men. The only distinguishing mark between the two was a sash worn around the waist, its color denoting rank among the subalterns. Theoretically the Mexicans have the shoulder-straps, with stars of various sizes, leaves, &c., designating marks, but in active service they are seldom seen. While every variety of dress was observable, the predominating one was composed of jackets and pantaloons of dark gray, the cap similar to our forage cap. As will be naturally supposed, these were extremely shabby, although, on the whole, they certainly appeared better than any similar number of rebels I saw during the latter part of our war. I thought the men looked young, though, upon calling the attention of Colonel Charles to this fact, he stated that they were mostly old soldiers. Judging from the expression of their faces, they seemed in most excellent spirits; not enthusiastic, but quiet, good-humored and satisfied. They gathered in groups, and suspended their conversation to look at the general. Numbers waved their hats, and now and then a suppressed *viva* was heard, but nothing more; not much life, or energy, or expectation, but rather what seemed to me a childlike contentment.

Riding forward, we soon came upon the third line of works, which consist of a long pit or ditch, the dirt thrown from which constitutes a breastwork. The other lines were similar, as I was informed, though we did not visit them

Several pieces of artillery were pointed out to me in position in the chaparral. They were mostly small, though an occasional rifled gun of considerable calibre was seen.

As our course carried us towards the left, we moved in that direction, our eyes for the most part turned towards the fortifications, from which an occasional gun was heard, falling, however, far short of us. Observing a group of horsemen at a little distance in the wood, the general turned his horse in that direction. On observing us the party advanced to meet us, and an officer by my side in a low tone said "Cortina."

[Enclosure No. 7.]

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *November* 3, 1865.

The condition of affairs has not materially changed since the date of my last despatch. A constant skirmishing has been kept up outside of Matamoras, and the liberals have dropped an occasional shell into the city, but no material damage has been done.

RE-ENFORCEMENTS EXPECTED.

I was yesterday informed by a staff-officer of General Escobedo that the liberal chief was awaiting re-enforcements, which were confidently expected last evening. He earnestly denied the rumors which have been prevalent for the past few days that the liberal force was about to be withdrawn, and was enthusiastic in his assurances that the city would be eventually taken.

The hospitals established for the care of the liberal wounded are now in full operation, and every attention is paid to their wants. The Mexicans on this side of the river are all republican in sentiment, and are contributing supplies and delicacies for their use.

RUMORS.

There have been rumors of the arrival of French troops at the mouth of the river for the past three days, and some of the Matamoras journals have been loud in their assurances of what would be accomplished when they reached the city. A gentleman who reached here last evening from Bagdad states that no such troops had arrived and no transports were in sight. The liberals, who are usually well-informed, laugh at the idea of the imperialists receiving re-enforcements from Vera Cruz or elsewhere.

A forced loan of two or three thousand dollars has been levied on all persons engaged in business in Bagdad. It is alleged that the money is levied for the purpose of paying the troops, who, it appears, are not disposed to fight for "the empire" without pay, and it was apprehended that, unless it was forthcoming, a revolt would take place.

As protection from forced loans is one among the strongest arguments used by the supporters of Maximilian, it is presumed the money will be paid with but a poor grace.

FROM THE INTERIOR.

A despatch from Colonel Trevino to General Escobedo says that a portion of his command, under Captain D. Jacinto Fragoso, recently encountered a force of the Franco-traitors at Villa de Garcia, on the road between Ceralvo and Monterey, and routed them, killing a number and capturing five prisoners. The fight was a hand-to-hand contest in the streets of the village.

The same party surprised a force of the imperialists at Mesilla, and captured their arms and horses.

Colonel Trevino holds the road between Monterey and Matamoras, and has sufficient force to prevent re-enforcements marching from the former to the relief of the latter, even though they could be spared for that purpose.

[Enclosure No. 8.]

BROWNSVILLE, *November* 14, 1865.

The liberal forces, which, since their withdrawal from the immediate front of Matamoras, have been encamped some six or eight miles up the river, have succeeded in obtaining a liberal supply of ammunition, and, as they say, will resume their old position before the city as soon as the state of the weather—which is now very bad—will permit. Yesterday, owing to the condition of the ground, their encampment was moved to a point nearer the river, and Escobedo now has his headquarters opposite ranche Cortina, the residence of the famous border chief of that name.

THE AMMUNITION.

It is gravely stated that while the commander of the French fleet off the Rio Grande was engaged in writing important letters to the officer commanding the United States forces here—copies of which I forward you—the liberals succeeded in running a vessel loaded with arms and ammunition from the north past his fleet, and landed them on the Mexican coast below Bagdad. This is, however, considered a canard by the better informed, and it is intimated that the vigilance of the detectives engaged in efforts to preserve the neutrality laws has been evaded, and the supply referred to crossed over from this side.

[Enclosure No. 9.]

BROWNSVILLE, *November* 15, 1865.

At about eight o'clock last evening what seemed to be a sharp skirmishing, with an occasional sound of artillery, was heard below this city, and it was supposed the liberals had passed around Matamoras, and were attacking it from the south side. It was known that General Mejia had, during the day, kept a force at work cutting down the chaparral outside of the forts, and that no enemy was in sight. The sound of the guns, therefore, caused much wonderment, and many absurd rumors were rife.

THE MYSTERY EXPLAINED.

This morning the mystery was explained, and in a manner which has caused much merriment, and poured a flood of ridicule upon the imperialists.

It seems that a wood boat, or barge, used in bringing wood from up the river for the use of the government transports, had come down loaded during the day, and had been tied to the bank near the town. The current being very strong, her fastenings were broken, and she floated down the stream. The three men upon her, having no boat, were compelled to let her take her course. When opposite Matamoras she was hailed by the gunboat Antonia, lying at that point. The answer was not heard or not understood, and, fearing she was some diabolical invention of the liberals, the Antonio opened fire upon her, in which the land forces and guns soon after joined. The captain called out her true character at the top of his voice, but to no purpose, and onward past the forts at the lower end of the city moved the fearful craft, until brought up by a sharp bend in the river, when the demoralized but uninjured crew succeeded in tying her to the bank. A bullet passed through the captain's hat, but no other injury was done. That officer, who is an absurd-looking Mexican, with liberal tendencies, hopes that the Juarez government will bear in mind the precedent established by the United States in heaping such liberal rewards upon Admiral Farragut for his success in passing forts.

MONTEREY.

General Escobedo recently received a communication from Colonel Trevino, commanding the liberal troops in the vicinity of Monterey, in which that officer confirmed the evacuation of that city by the French, with the further information that the place was held by five hundred native troops, (imperialists.) He also stated that events had transpired there which rendered the presence of the commanding general of great importance—details of which he did not feel at liberty to commit to paper. Upon the reception of the communication General Escobedo immediately started for Colonel Trevinio's headquarters. He will be absent four or five days. It is shrewdly surmised that the commanding officer of the imperial troops in Monterey, who once belonged to the liberal party, is desirous of a personal interview with the general, and that such interview will result in a compromise which will avoid all bloodshed over the possession of that city.

[Enclosure No. 10.]

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *November* 30, 1865.

Advices from the interior have been received here which confirm the oft-repeated statements of the anarchy and confusion which exist throughout Mexico under the beneficent rule of the emperor Maximilian. The interests, and, indeed, the life and property of the people, under the sway of the officers commanding the foreign legions, are treated as things of no moment, and forced loans of money and other valuables are constantly levied and collected at the point of the bayonet—imprisonment and death being oftimes the penalty of non-payment. Maximilian has recently come to the sage conclusion that he has not troops enough to hold the country, and has therefore commenced a series of concentrations at some of the more important points. In accordance with this programme the French troops were withdrawn from Monterey and marched to Saltillo, where it was given out they were to remain. This place has a population of fifteen thousand. Before his departure Colonel Jeanningros, commanding the French troops, caused fifty thousand rations to be sold at auction in the public square, where they brought small prices. For this and other reasons it is supposed the troops are to be withdrawn some distance in the interior.

At the latest advices they had reached Saltillo, where the people had already been robbed of large sums by forced loans.

The troops were quartered in the city, and a large number of families had been turned from their houses to make room for the French officers and men.

Everywhere the people are treated like dogs, and the most atrocious outrages perpetrated on both men and women.

The French troops are of small stature, and poorly armed, but are seemingly very active. They carry much heavier loads on the march than our soldiers and straggle fearfully. They are miserable horsemen, officers as well as soldiers, and in their operations against the mounted troops of the liberals never leave the broad road, as, should they enter the chaparral, they might fall from their horses, the result of which would be certain death from the sword or dagger of the Mexican, who moves with astonishing celerity through the tangled undergrowth.

MAPS OF THE COUNTRY.

Engineers in the French service are engaged in making maps of the country and studying its condition with reference to the roads, water, and supplies.

DESERTERS.

Large numbers of foreign troops have deserted, and others lose no opportunity to do so. Of the eight thousand Austrian troops which originally came to the country two thousand have died off or deserted. It is thought by the well informed that there are not now more than fifteen thousand foreign troops in the country. As has been stated, there were originally eighteen thousand French troops, and fourteen thousand Austrians, Hungarians, Poles, Egyptians, &c. These were the numbers on paper. It can be safely calculated that one-third less was the actual number present, and that by disease, desertion, and the weapons of the liberals it has been decreased to the present estimate can be easily believed.

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE.

In many places the people have anxiously longed for the arrival of the imperial troops, hoping to be preserved from the exactions of the liberals; but in every case these illusions have been dispelled by their presence, and the universal cry is, "Anything but these foreign robbers and cut-throats."

[Enclosure No. 11.]

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *December* 7, 1865.

Information of the defeat of the liberals in and about Monterey has reached here. As usual, the accounts of the respective parties widely differ, and it is difficult to get at the real truth of the affair.

FORCED LOANS.

Before leaving Monterey the French commander had made forced loans in violation of the decree of Maximilian, and on November 8 the Mexican imperial commander made another assessment on the merchants for money, men, and horses to defend the city against the liberals. Some Americans and others protested against this, but were informed that they must comply with the demand or go to jail.

Drafts on the city of Mexico for previous loans had been dishonored.

THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

of affairs about Monterey had been very tyrannical, and the people everywhere were more dissatisfied with the empire than they had previously been with the republic. Many complaints were made of outrages committed on citizens by the French officers, particularly by Americans and other foreigners. Instances of public flogging of citizens by Jeanningros himself were related by reliable parties.

The officers, with their orderlies and servants, were quartered with the wealthy families, using their rooms, furniture, and provisions at pleasure. The troops were quartered in houses, from most of which the families had been ejected.

On the march from Monterey to Saltillo women and children were turned from their houses in cold weather that the soldiers might occupy them.

All property seized for public use is paid for at such prices as the commanding officer may allow or not at all.

The people are constantly contrasting the course of the French with that of the Americans in 1847, much to the credit of the latter.

The roads through the country travelled are natural, and for the most part good. A scarcity of water is, however, a serious difficulty in the way of travel or of military operations. Much of this might be overcome by digging common or artesian wells. Generally speaking, good water can be obtained at a depth of from thirty to sixty feet in limestone rock, and large tracts of land, now useless, might be cultivated by the aid of irrigation therefrom. In case of military operations within the States mentioned, all supplies except fresh meat must necessarily be from the line of the Rio Grande. A railroad from the river to Monterey would be advisable in such case. To build such a road very little heavy grading would be required. The greatest difficulty would be in procuring ties, there being little timber growing near except palmetto, which is too soft for such purpose. Difficulties in procuring water and grass would prevent any extended cavalry operations.

[Enclosure No. 12.]

MEXICAN IMPERIAL ARMY,
DIVISION OF MEJIA, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF,
Matamoras, November 9, 1865.

GENERAL: I forward you enclosed copy of a communication dated yesterday, sent to me by D. de la Bedolliero, lieutenant in the French marines, and acting commander of the armed gunboat Antonia. You can, by said communication, officially take cognizance of the following occurrences, which include so many flagrant violations of the neutrality which the United States have obligated themselves to keep in Mexican affairs:

First. That the Mexican steamboat Antonia, coming up the river with French troops on board, was attacked from the Texas shore without any provocation whatever. Nor was this insult to the French and Mexican flags, which were both floating on the boat, in any way punished.

Second. That the besiegers of Matamoras detached from their lines to attack, from Mexico, the said steamboat, crossed the Rio Grande under arms, without any opposition being made by the American authorities, officers or soldiers, from whom, on the contrary, they received a hearty welcome.

Third. That the same bandits were in direct communication with the American steamboat Tampico during the action. The relation of M. de la Bedolliero is confirmed by the unequivocal marks left on the Antonia by the projectiles sent from the Texas shore.

Besides this, occurrences of the same character have taken place in the neighborhood of Matamoras during the stay of the enemy. According to the daily reports of the steamers Paisano and Eugenia, a great number of persons, among whom could be distinguished the uniform of the United States and that peculiar to Cortina's robbers, occupy themselves in insulting and even throwing stones from the city of Brownsville at the troops which man said boats, and this in the presence of the American officers and guards stationed on the bank of the river.

Such outrages, which cannot naturally be explained, have been noted, and relation of them will be transmitted to the Mexican government, and to his excellency Marshal Bazaine, in order that they may decide upon the real character of such actions. Accept, general, the assurance of my consideration.

THS. MEJIA,
Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

The following is a copy of the communication referred to in the foregoing:

[Enclosure No. 13.]

IMPERIAL ARMY OF MEXICO,
DIVISION OF MEJIA, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF,
Matamoras, November 8, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that, coming up the river Rio Grande with the Mexican steamboat Antonia, I was attacked by the liberals posted near Ranchito, on the Mexican side of the river. After the engagement I saw two horsemen crossing the river behind us. They landed on the Texas shore, and a few minutes afterwards three shots were fired at us from that side, almost immediately followed by three more, and yet another—altogether seven shots. I had a great deal of trouble to restrain my men, and keep them from firing into the American shore. I gave the order not to fire on the Texas side under any circumstances whatever, and was strictly obeyed.

The two horsemen who had fired upon us were galloping along the bank in the direction of Brownsville, and I am convinced that they were the same who fired upon us during the last affair, which took place about four miles from Matamoras.

When we arrived in front of the American camp, these two horsemen were prancing up and down, exchanging salutations and shaking hands with the American officers. Several men, wearing the same uniform, and who had no doubt crossed the river after the engagement, had rejoined these two, and seemed to be equally well received by the Americans.

During the morning we were continually annoyed by horsemen, who were firing at us under cover of ranches and chaparral. Arriving at a place called, I believe, Lamparena, we saw the American steamboat Tampico tied up to the Mexican shore and loaded with troops. The liberals continued to fire upon us until we were hid from their sight by the Tampico.

In passing they communicated with said steamboat, and again commenced their fire upon us, when we could not answer them without hitting the Tampico; and when a short time afterwards the superiority of our fire obliged them to fly, they went back to the Tampico again, communicated with her and then followed us. I presume they went to the Americans to ask either for ammunition or information as to our armament.

I have thought it my duty to make these facts known to you.

I am, general, your very obedient servant,

D. DE LA BEDOLLIERO,
Ensign, Commanding Steamboat Antonia.

Literal and certified copy: ANSELMO RUBIA.

[Enclosure No. 14.]

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, November 13, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 9th instant, and to say in reply that you, as a soldier, must certainly be aware that it would require all the cavalry of Europe and America combined so to picket this river as to prevent single individuals from committing such outrages as Lieutenant de la Bedolliero complains of, and that it would not be just in you to hold me or my government responsible for the acts of such individuals. All that I can do is to try my utmost to arrest the guilty parties, and dispose of them according to instructions; and this I commenced to do before I received your letter, and as soon as I heard of the occurrence.

The soldiers on the Tampico were sick and disabled men who were mustered out, and were on their way to their homes. What crime there could have been in communicating with the liberals I cannot possibly understand. These sick and disabled soldiers had no ammunition, and they certainly could give them very little information.

The fact that there were bullet-marks on the starboard side of the Antonia does not prove at all that the shots were fired from the American side, because, as you must know, the Rio Grande is so crooked and has so many sharp turns that a boat could be riddled on her starboard side and still every shot be fired from the Mexican shore. You complain that my officers and men affiliate with the liberals and welcome them. This is not strange. The liberals claim that they fight for their freedom. Their cause, then, is one that has awakened the warmest sympathies in every American breast. It would be as impossible for me to prevent this, even if I felt so disposed, as it would be to stop the motion of the earth. But I do not feel so disposed. During our late war the officers and men of French and English men-of-war lying in ports in our military possession affiliated continually and exclusively with our enemies, (as at New Orleans and Norfolk,) and yet it was not thought necessary to communicate with them on the subject. They were permitted to choose their own associates.

I have only heard of a single instance when a mob of Mexicans threw stones at your gunboats, and this mob was promptly dispersed by my guards.

I have never heard of a single soldier making insulting remarks, but have heard that Mexicans frequently make them. It would be impossible for me to stop this, because I have not the force to spare for pickets, though I felt disposed to do it; but I do not feel so disposed, because ever since my arrival here you have allowed a sheet, published in Matamoras and printed in the English and Spanish languages, daily to villify and insult the government, the people, and the army of the United States; and this, too, after your attention and that of Señor Robles had been called to it.

You, general, have no right to complain of my conduct during the recent siege. I permitted the women and children to come here from Matamoras, meat to go over to your citizens who remained, grass for the cows of the same, and wood to enable them to cook their meals. Humanity required this. In return I gave the wounded liberals who were helpless and destitute shelter, medicines and food. I invariably did this for my wounded enemies. For whom have I done the most in this matter? Is it not about an equal thing?

Again, you promised to release American citizens, after my demand was made, from being pressed into military service under you, contrary to the treaty between Mexico and the United States, and yet yesterday I heard of three that were still held. I believe this to be entirely the fault of your subordinate officers, and do not blame you for it.

Again, you have converted an American steamer into a gunboat and hoisted the Mexican flag on her, without first buying her and changing her nationality, according to law; and against this I hereby protest, and if not remedied, will at once lay the matter before my superior officers.

As Monsieur Cloue, commander of the naval division in the Gulf of Mexico, has also addressed me on some of the above subjects, I should be pleased if you would send him a copy of this letter, as I do not wish to correspond with two different commanders.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General Commanding.

General TOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

[Enclosure No. 15.]

The following is the correspondence between the American commander and the officer in command of the French fleet:

First Letter.

NAVAL DIVISION OF THE MEXICAN GULF, ON BOARD
THE FRIGATE MAGELLAN, OFF THE RIO GRANDE,
November 6, 1865.

GENERAL: I have been exactly informed as to the events taking place in the surroundings of Matamoras—that is to say, that I am perfectly cognizant of the assistance which the so-called liberals have received and still receive from Texas, and more especially from Brownsville.

The mess stores and munitions of war are furnished by persons under your command. Escobedo's pieces are worked by gunners from your army who are not mustered out of service.

The wounded are received in the Brownsville hospital

The officers of Escobedo and Cortina daily go to that city (armed) to take their meals or to rest during the leisure hours which the siege of Matamoras leaves them. In a word, Brownsville seems to be the headquarters of the Juarists. And it is undoubted that neither Escobedo nor Cortina could undertake anything if they did not have these continually renewed resources from Texas to sustain them.

I will take the liberty to recall to your memory how very different to what is passing here has been the conduct of France during the recent war which has just torn the American Union. France remained loyally neutral. If it had been otherwise—if we had done the one-hundredth part of what is being done in Brownsville or on the banks of the Rio Grande—the American people would have loudly protested, and they would have been right.

The international laws adopted by all civilized nations are obligatory upon all. As they bound us in honor to remain neutral, so do they bind you also; you cannot pretend to be exempt from rules upon which you have leaned under pretext that they are now useless.

After having presented to your general the preceding observations, I close my letter by protesting in the most formal manner against the flagrant violation of neutrality on this frontier, and particularly in Brownsville.

Accept, general, the assurance of my highest esteem and most perfect consideration.

G. CLOUE,
Commanding the Naval Division of the Mexican Gulf.

The GENERAL COMMANDING *the forces of the U. S. on the Rio Grande.*

[Enclosure No. 16.]

General Weitzel's response.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, November 10, 1865.

SIR: I have received your communication of the 6th instant, and return it herewith, as I cannot receive a document so disrespectful to me and to the government I have the honor to represent.

If you have any complaints to make, they will be duly submitted to higher authority, if said complaints are in proper tone and couched in proper language.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General, Commanding.

Monsieur G. CLOUE,
Commander of the Naval Division, Gulf of Mexico.

[Enclosure No. 17.]

Second Letter.

OFF THE MOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE, FRIGATE MAGELLAN,
November 9, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that some shot were fired from the American side at a detachment of French marines going up the river on the steamboat Antonia.

According to my positive orders, the officer commanding the detachment recommended to his men not to answer any act of hostility whatever coming from the American side. This order was executed, and will continue to be, whatever happens, because we understand our duty as belligerents, and are determined not to swerve from it. According to international laws, the armed Mexicans who cross your frontier should be arrested and disarmed. With stronger reason do these laws require that you should not tolerate any acts of hostility coming from your side. It is failing in respect to the United States to come upon their territory, and from there fire upon our troops without danger.

I am confident, general, that the acts of hostility committed against the Antonia were committed without your knowledge, and I am certain that it is sufficient for me to have called your attention to such deplorable occurrences in order that they be not renewed.

You are probably unaware that the assailants of the Antonia communicated with your troops descending the river on the steamboat Tampico, and, besides, that these same assailants crossed over to Texas in sight of the Antonia, and were seen fraternizing with the United States soldiers.

I had the honor to write to you upon my arrival in regard to the grave occurrences which are taking place on the frontier, and would be happy to learn that you have received my letter.

Accept, general, the assurance of the sentiments of high esteem and consideration with which I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

G. CLOUE,
Commanding the Naval Division of the Mexican Gulf.

The GENERAL COMMANDING THE FORCES OF THE U. S.
on the line of the Rio Grande, Brownsville.

[Enclosure No. 18.]

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, November 12, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 9th instant.

Several days ago I received one from General Mejia on the same subject; but before I had received either I had commenced to investigate the affair, and as soon as I can I will reply to General Mejia, as he signs himself, and is understood to be, commander of the line of the Rio Grande on the other side, and because I have neither the time nor the disposition to correspond with two different commanders on the same subject.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General, Commanding.

Monsieur G. CLOUE,
Commander of the Naval Division of the Mexican Gulf.

[Enclosure No. 19.]

[General Orders No. 3.]

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, November 18, 1865.

The Mexican authorities having officially notified the commanding general that the *Ranchero* has been ordered to cease publishing any articles insulting to our government, people and army, it is hereby ordered that all officers and soldiers of this command shall not allow any person on this bank to insult any person on the other side of the Rio Grande.

By order of Major General Weitzel:

D. D. WHEELER,
Assistant Adjutant General.

[Enclosure No. 20.]

Mejia to General Weitzel.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN ARMY,
Matamoras, December 1, 1865.

GENERAL: In answer to your communication of October 24, I will state that I have taken the necessary information in regard to the detention of the individuals whom you ask me to set at liberty.

In none of the edifices which serve as prisons in this city of Matamoras can there be found the persons of James McElrath, Bartley Quinn, or James Smith; but under the jurisdiction of the court-martial are detained Richard Crawford, or Cranford, Carter Smith, and Joseph King, American soldiers, who deserted from your command on the 16th of September last, and were taken prisoners in the neighborhood of Matamoras on the next day, the 17th, in a skirmish which took place between a few of my soldiers and one of Cortina's bands.

It is, therefore, impossible for me to set them at liberty.

It is true that a few men of color, of American origin, were employed on the public works or fortifications; but this labor was freely given, and they were paid one dollar each daily.

You see that neither the laws nor the treaties have been violated.

It is also certain that during the last operations in this city several negroes and former United States soldiers were arrested, but they were afterwards liberated. Still, the presence of individuals of this class in the enemy's lines, the projectiles of American manufacture which were thrown over Matamoras, and the passing of Escobedo's artillery indiscriminately to and from Texas on United States transports, justify, in the eyes of my government, such measures of security.

Accept, general, the assurances of my highest consideration.

TOMAS MEJIA,
General Commanding, &c.

Major General WEITZEL,
Commanding Western District of Texas.

[Enclosure No. 21.]

General Weitzel's reply.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, November 27, 1865.

GENERAL: In accordance with instructions from Major General P. H. Sheridan, commanding military division of the Gulf, transmitted through Major General H. G. Wright, commanding department of Texas, I hereby notify you that if any such outrages on American citizens as I complained of in my letter to you of the 24th of October last are permitted within your lines, no excuse for such conduct will be accepted; that you will not be permitted to commit acts against the United States which are no accidents, and that the government will not accept your personal apologies for your bad faith.

I am further ordered to say to you that hereafter, when any garrison under your command is in a state of siege no supplies of any kind will be permitted to be sent to such garrison from this side, General Sheridan considering that it would be less a violation of neutrality against the legitimate authority in Mexico to send powder to such garrison.

I am further ordered to stop all intercourse with any garrison during the progress of a siege, except that which humanity shall dictate.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General Commanding.

Major General TOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

[Enclosure No. 22.]

The foregoing communication was returned by General Mejia, with a verbal message, to which General Weitzel returned the following:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, December 4, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 1st instant, in reply to my communication of the 24th of October last.

The three men that cannot now be found in your prisons have long ago been released. If the three men of the twenty-third United States colored troops were captured in the lines of your enemies in arms against you, I have nothing more to say, of course. But for humanity's sake, I ask that, on their trial, your court may take into consideration their ignorance, their ignorance of your language, and the fact that officers and others from the other side induced these men to do what they did under promise of large sums of money. But three pieces of artillery have crossed and recrossed this river; and that only once, and then not on United States transports. But one of my officers, who saw the whole performance, says the guns were dismounted, the carriages taken apart, and the different parts carried over in skiffs. These were brought over to be repaired, and returned as soon as they were repaired.

As I understand you, however, you do not complain of this, nor of projectiles of American manufacture being thrown over Matamoras; but you merely mention them as facts which justified great precautionary measures on your part.

I have also received my communication of the 27th ultimo, returned to me. I must consider it unanswered, as I can receive no verbal reply to a communication written by direction of such high authority as it was.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General Commanding.

Major General TOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, January 14, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to send you the copy of a letter from the Mexican citizen Manuel Saavedra, which I received from Brownsville, dated in that city the 8th of December last, and the documents to which it refers, giving an account of the latest events that have taken place in the States of New Leon and Tamaulipas, of the Mexican republic, by virtue of the French invasion.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

BROWNSVILLE, *December* 8, 1865.

MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND: Since my last of the 10th instant, we have received the particulars of all that has happened in Monterey. I enclose General Escobedo's report to the general government, by which you will see we gave the traitors two severe blows, held the public square for some time, fought the French well, but were at last compelled to retire in good order, without loss.

In less than a month, we have taken two fortified towns, and had many battles.

Escobedo behaved bravely, and his poor soldiers are heroes in valor and fortitude. I saw them in front of Matamoros, in a fearful storm, without shelter, almost without clothing, with a few bad provisions, panting enthusiastically for the assault on Matamoras; and I have also seen them benumbed with cold, wet to the skin, take off their shirts to cover their gun-locks, do their duty fearlessly, and when Escobedo asked them, What do you want, boys? They replied, "Nothing, general, but to take Matamoras!"

Such soldiers are worthy of the cause we are defending, and their behavior is the best guarantee of a speedy and certain triumph.

Escobedo is now in Camargo with his forces. He left some at Matamoras, upon which place he is preparing a fresh attack.

* * * * * *

I remain, your very attentive and humble servant,

MAN. SAAVEDRA.

Señor DON MATIAS ROMERO.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 14, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

General Escobedo's Official Report.

REPUBLIC OF MEXICO, ARMY OF THE NORTH,
Camargo, December 1, 1865.

On the 22d of the past month I marched from Cadereyta with a portion of the army of the north, composed of the first and second brigades of Nueva Leon and two companies of mounted rifles of Coahuila, and camped that night in the town of Guadalupe, three miles east of the city of Monterey. From daylight of the following day part of the force of traitors (imperialists) which garrisoned said city began skirmishing with my advance posts, and the presumption was that they would attack my camp, knowing that the force under Major Ruperto Martinez, of three hundred men, had failed to join me. I immediately reconnoitred and prepared to receive their attack. The enemy, after shelling our lines severely, detached three strong columns, preceded by a line of skirmishers, and attacked our troops with the greatest decision. The battle soon became general; the enemy, astonished by the determined resistance he met, wavered, and at this moment a charge of our cavalry, under Colonel Trevino, on his rear and flanks, and the advance of the rest of the line, disconcerted him, and he was soon utterly routed; most of his force was dispersed, and the rest found refuge in the fortifications of the city. The enemy lost many killed, all his wounded remaining in our hands, many prisoners, and a great number of arms. On the following day the force of Martinez joined me, and I decided on attacking the place as follows: Three columns of attack were formed, the two first of infantry, under Colonel Naranjo and Major Martinez, and the third of cavalry, under Colonel Lostenes Rocha. These columns formed the line of attack, the whole under the command of Colonel Trevino, and were to be directed against the forts of Muralla and Carlotta, and after forcing these, to continue the attack on the northeast side of the plaza. Another line, composed of two columns, one under Lieutenant Colonel Garcia and the other under Major Leal, and under my personal command, was to make a feint and attack the forts of Cuesta and Puebla. The attack took place in the above order, with so much energy that the forts were soon in our possession. One part of their garrison was sabred by the cavalry, who took many prisoners, and the balance, by an inglorious flight, shut themselves up in the citadel and fort of the bishop, leaving us in possession of the city. The enemy had many killed and wounded, and left in our hands more than two hundred prisoners, all armed. On our side we lament the loss of six officers and thirteen soldiers.

Shortly after this, and when my soldiers were trying to get some rest from the fatigues of the two days' fighting, I was informed that a French column, coming from Saltillo, was advancing to aid the traitors, (native imperialists;) and in fact shortly afterwards, under cover of the darkness preceding daylight, and guided by a column of traitors, they penetrated to the centre of the city, where they began a vigorous attack on our troops. With a small portion of our infantry I was able to detain them while our attack was being organized. This was soon effected. Major I. Trevino attacked them with the squadron of the Rio Grande by one flank, and with the infantry in front we soon made them retreat. At this moment Colonel Rocha charged, sabre in hand, on their columns, and completely repulsed the French and the traitors, following and sabreing them beyond the city. The French left nineteen dead and the traitors twenty-eight. They carried off their wounded. We took some traitors prisoners, many guns, lances, and some horses.

As all my officers and men behaved well, I make no special mention of any in particular. They have all fulfilled their duties as soldiers and patriots.

I have sent out reconnoitring parties towards Saltillo and Marin, as I am informed that from the last place a French column is advancing, commanded by Jeannigros in person; and from Panas another is also advancing of the same troops.

Independence and liberty!

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

The MINISTER OF WAR, OF THE NAVY,
of the Mexican Republic, Chihuahua.

A true copy:

IGNO MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *January* 14, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Extracts.]

TAMPICO, *December* 7, 1865.

* * * * * * * * *

The French authorities at this place have a supervisor in constant attendance at the custom-house, who carefully and minutely examines every package landed or embarked, and if any objectionable name is discovered upon any of the packages they are immediately seized.

Of late the so-called imperial forces have made some important movements against this State, and they are now in the occupancy of Tancasnequi, Victoria, and Altamira, all of which places were abandoned by the liberal forces before the enemy arrived; consequently they have obtained no great advantage.

The almost expiring embers of commerce seem now to be somewhat rekindled by the assurance from the French commandant that the roads are open hence to San Luis Potosi, and this morning a steamer left here with two launches in tow, loaded with the merchandise brought back from Tancasnequi several weeks ago. It is now to be again landed at Tancasnequi, and from thence to be conveyed to San Luis Potosi by mules, at the rate of thirty dollars per mule-load, to which must be added the expenses of steam freight and military escort. If the owners obtain first cost and expenses they may consider themselves fortunate in the extreme.

But in order that you may clearly understand the position of commercial affairs here, I must inform you that when, in the latter part of the month of September last, the French forces were compelled to abandon Tancasnequi, two or three hundred packages of iron and steel were, by force of circumstances, left there, and, upon the recent reoccupation of that place by the French forces, they found several of the packages still lying there, which they at once shipped on board their steamer and launches and landed here in Tampico; and when the foreign merchants discovered their own familiar marks and numbers upon the said packages they forthwith repaired to the military chief to claim their iron and steel goods; but they were coolly informed that as they were found in the abandoned camp of the enemy, the full value thereof must be awarded to the troops under his command, the officers of course coming in for the lion's share.

The imperial decree of the 3d of October last has been enforced in this place in all its parts and with all the cruel rigor therein prescribed. But I will not enlarge upon the *modus operandi* of the executions which have taken place in the most respectable and conspicuous parts of that city, but merely state that several defenceless Mexicans have lost their lives under the authority of that ban put forth by a Christian prince in this enlightened age. I now anxiously await the receipt of the message which the President of the United States, I suppose, issued to the world on the 4th instant, which I presume will give us some insight as to what will be the action of our republic in relation to Mexico.

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Hon. MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington City, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, February 10, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of the "official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic," vol. II, No. 3, published in the city of El Paso del Norte, on the 11th of January last, in which the official despatches of General Escobedo, commanding officer of the northern army corps, to the minister of war and marine, of the 14th and 25th of November, 1865, were inserted, communicating what happened during the siege of Matamoras, at the end of October last, and the occupation and abandonment of Monterey by the forces under his command, on the 22d, 23d and 24th of November last.

I also enclose fragments of two letters I have received from reliable persons residing in Tampico and Vera Cruz, dated the 14th and 20th of January last. They both contain important particulars of the state of affairs in Mexico.

I profit by this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE.—MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—CORPS OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

The paper which I have the honor to send you, relating to the operations that took place during the seige of Matamoras, will inform the citizen president of all that occurred during those days, and therefore, in this communication, I will merely say that I am very well pleased with the excellent behavior of the chiefs, officers and citizens, composing the troops under my command. All of them did their duty, and their sufferings from frequent rains and cold winds in the marshes around Matamoras, make them worthy of public esteem, and of the gratitude of the supreme magistrate of the republic.

Independence and liberty! Camp on the plain of Realito, November 14, 1865.

M. ESCOBEDO.

Citizen MINISTER OF WAR *of the Mexican republic*, (wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 2.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—CORPS OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

After the capture of Catorce, by a part of my forces, and the complete route of the traitor Tinajero and his brigade, at Paso de las Cabras, as I have already informed you in official despatches, I determined to collect all the material of war on the frontier, to carry on the campaign in that quarter. For that purpose I posted the Vega brigade at Linares and vicinity; the 1st cavalry at Cerralvo and adjoining points; the 2d at Villaldama; the 1st and 2d infantry at Punteagudo and Agua Leguas; and I went in person to the northern towns, to gather the troops that had organized during my expedition into the interior, and to collect artillery and provisions for the main body of the army. On my return, I fixed my headquarters between Matamoras and Monterey, as the principle points held by the enemy, and better to determine upon which of the two I should begin operations.

I invited General Cortina and Colonel Canales to join me with their troops, in the campaign I was preparing. The former offered his services in the cause of national independence, in any part of the republic where they might be needed; the latter promised only to aid me against Matamoras. The last circumstance, and the great importance of the place, induced me to begin operations there; and I accordingly issued orders to concentrate, which was promptly done by the brigades, with the exception of the 1st cavalry of New Leon, which I left to watch Monterey, and that of Colonel Canales, which delayed for some unaccountable reasons.

On the 22d of October, the main body of the northern army, with the exceptions above mentioned, moved in sight of Matamoras, and encamped at the Alvino Peña rauch, only a cannon-shot distance from the place.

October 23, 1865.—A reconnaissance was made around the town, with some unimportant skirmishes. In the afternoon the camp was prepared for moving wherever it should be ordered. Colonel Sostenes Rocha, major general in the regular army, was sent from headquarters, with his aids and an escort, to give notice of the attack on the place. During the night other reconnaissances were made, some trenches were dug, and a few batteries were planted.

October 24.—The first parallel was made at 600 yards from the town. Esplanades for the batteries were begun, and the troops took position in the following order: The right wing, consisting of 200 men of the San Luis brigade, under General Vega, was stationed at the Quintero house. The left, under General Cortina, his brigade strengthened with a squadron of the Rio Grande, and 100 infantry of the 1st brigade. The centre, under Colonel Naranjo, with his brigade and one of infantry. All this line under command of General Espinosa, quartermaster of the army corps.

Another column, under General Hinojosa, composed of the Coahuila brigade, fifty infantry and fifty cavalry of Tamaulipas volunteers, cut off the road from Bagdad. The reserve, formed of the 2d infantry brigade, and a column of cavalry, with the Supremos Poderes, Valle de Mexico, and sharpshooters of the Naranjo brigade, were stationed in order. The artillery, the baggage, the supplies, hospitals, and trains were arranged last.

Orders were given for the attack. General Hinojosa and Cortina were to begin the attack with their columns at 3 o'clock in the morning, while the centre was to make a feint in front for diversion.

October 25.—A hard north wind and rain began at 2 a. m. and continued till 5. The columns in position near the enemy's forts fell back, after the hour for attack had passed, because no signal had been given on account of bad weather. However, they opened fire at half past four, and the columns, on hearing the signal, began the attack with great vigor. General Hinojosa took the fort they attacked, and entered the city, going as far as Independence square, driving the enemy before them; but the latter being re-enforced by troops from the other forts, and aided by the steamer La Antonia, shelling us in the rear, drove us back slowly, till we had reached our first position in good order. General Hinojosa and Colonel Adolfo Garza were both wounded.

At this moment the left attacked with the same spirit; General Cortina silenced one fort and captured another; but the enemy's reserve, now free, hastened to the attack and drove him back. He retreated in good order to his first position.

Although preparations were made for a simultaneous attack, the rain interrupted it, and the result was partial. Nevertheless, the troops fought bravely, and caused great slaughter in the enemy's ranks, but the result was not decisive.

The enemy having succeeded in repulsing us, ordered out the cavalry three successive times upon our centre, and was driven back to the centre of the town in great disorder, though continuing to cannonade us with little effect. On the evening of this day the Canales brigade arrived, and was placed in the reserve. The firing between our line and the enemy's continued the whole day.

A road was made for the artillery up to the intrenchments, the esplanades were completed, and ammunition was got ready. The north wind then brought on an unceasing rain.

October 26.—The rain did not cease, the trenches were completely inundated, and the troops had to bale them out. The plaza continued to cannonade our lines at intervals, and very feebly. Orders were given in the afternoon to open the artillery upon the plaza; the cannonade began at half past five, and stopped at dark. The enemy answered feebly. The north wind calmed, but the rain continued.

October 27.—More rain. A shop is fixed up for mounting artillery. The sharpshooting of the line is brisk, corresponding to that of the enemy. The Garza section comes up with one hundred men, and is stationed on the right wing, at the Quintero house, to relieve General Vega's two hundred, who go to re-enforce the reserves. The enemy makes a cavalry attack on the centre and left of our line, but is promptly driven back.

October 28.—The enemy makes a sally upon our right with two hundred horse, and a battalion from the fort sustains them, while a brisk cannonade continues, in order to support the attack which has begun. After a short contest they are driven back to the plaza. We did not make use of our reserves. The fire of the riflemen continues.

October 29.—The riflemen continue. The enemy attempts to shut in their position by making trenches from fort to fort, constantly molested by our battery. Our left battery is not disturbed; it begins upon the plaza, cross-firing with the centre battery. Though cannon cartridges are made rapidly they begin to fail. The riflemen continue their firing all day.

October 30.—The centre prepares an advance and flank movement to join the left. Fresh esplanades are formed and new batteries constructed. The rain continues with force.

October 31.—Sallies from the town are driven back. Firing continues. The batteries on both sides are almost silent, ours for want of ammunition. The rain continues unbated.

November 1.—Continued rain. Riflemen keep up slow firing.

November 2.—Bad weather. Continuous fire. A few sallies from the town, without result.

November 3.—Bitter weather. Ammunition very scarce.

November 4.—Good weather. Firing of the riflemen continues.

November 5.—Canales's brigade is ordered to move towards Bagdad at night to cut off supplies and communications of the enemy. The line is told to save its ammunition as it becomes quite scarce.

November 6—The flank movement is discontinued and the works finished.

November 7.—The headquarters are moved with the line. The enemy attack our centre at night with infantry, but are driven back in disorder to the town. Orders are issued for the army to fall back one league and a half from town, to a place called La Marcelina. Information is received at headquarters that a steamer is coming up the river with an aid of French marines for the place. Colonel is commanded to stop that boat by an attack from shore. The steamer is attacked the same day, some of its crew are wounded, but it manages to get up the river. Colonel Treviño informs us the French have left Monterey for Saltillo. He is ordered to get nearer to the town, watch the enemy, and see what direction he has taken. Colonel Canales reports that he cannot continue his march to Bagdad on account of the rains that have inundated the whole country. A battery that was ordered arrives.

November 8.—The camp is struck and forces begin to move. The enemy observing it, attack us, but is repulsed. Tents pitched in the Marcelina plain.

November 9.—Encamped in the same place. Abundant rains. The enemy makes a sally; a line of battle is formed to receive him; but not venturing, he returns to the town, after destroying and burning several ranches in the vicinity.

November 10.—In search of dryer ground the camp is moved to the plain of Realito.

November 11 *and* 12.—Nothing new.

November 13.—News is received confirming the movements of the French at Monterey; part of them remain in Saltillo, and the rest of the column, 800 men, march towards Monclova.

November 14.—Order is issued for the army to go into quarters, leaving the cavalry to watch the enemy. I go to Monterey to direct the operations in the attack on that place. I take the Naranjo brigade with me. I will give you due notice of my march to Monterey; and now conclude by calling the attention of the supreme magistrate of the republic to the preceding report. It shows that the extreme weather our soldiers had to suffer in their peculiar situation, and the want of ammunition, incidents over which we have no control, prevented our gallant soldiers from taking Matamoras. If its garrison had accepted the many challenges we offered them, and had come out into the open plain to give us battle, the result would have been very different.

At the camp in the plain of Realito, November 14, 1865.

M. ESCOBEDO.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OFFICE OF WAR AND MARINE, SECTION FIRST.

The citizen President has been pleased to see the report of operations against Matamoras in your note of the 14th of November, which I am now answering. The valor and determination of the troops that fought under your orders; their sufferings from bad weather and want of provisions; the good conduct of the chiefs and officers in the various fights that took place at that time, and your own prudence, have deserved the President's esteem, and have proved, although the final design was not accomplished, that they are worthy of the cause they defend, and that the country can trust to their valor for safety and final triumph. I communicate this to you, by order of the President, for your satisfaction, and the gratification of all those who fought under you at the siege of Matamoras.

Independence and liberty! Paso del Norte, January 9, 1866.

MEJIA.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Chief of the Army Corps of the North, (wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 4.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—CORPS OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

On the 22d instant I set out from Cadercita Jimenez with a part of the corps of the army of the north, composed of the first and second New Leon brigades and two squadrons of Coahuila rifles, passing the night at Guadalupe, one league from the town of Monterey. At daybreak, a traitor force garrisoning the place opened fire on my advance guard, and, as was anticipated, attacked my camp, for they knew Colonel Ruperto Martinez with three hundred men had not yet joined me; and I gave orders for defence. After cannonading our advance, the enemy detached three strong columns, protected by sharpshooters, and attacked our troops with the greatest determination. The fight soon became general. The enemy, vexed by our tenacious resistance, hesitated a moment, when a charge of cavalry under Colonel Treviño on their flank and rear, and the ardor of our men in front, disconcerted him, and caused a complete rout, and he sought safety by a retreat to the town. In this first action the enemy left his dead and wounded in our hands, with many prisoners and a quantity of side-arms and guns.

Martinez's force having joined me the next day, I decided to attack the town, and gave orders to that effect. Three columns for attack were arranged: the two first of infantry, under Colonel Francisco Naranjo and Commander Ruperto Martinez, and the cavalry under the gallant Colonel Sostenes Rocha, the whole commanded by the brave Colonel Geronimo Treviño. They were to attack the small forts of Muralla and Carlota, and having carried them, to assault the northern part of the town. Another line of three columns—one under Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Garcia, and the other under Commander Joaquin Garza Leal, and commanded personally by me—was to divert the enemy by attacking the forts of Cuesta and Pueblo. With these orders, the attack began. All our troops displayed such energy that the forts were soon taken, with many prisoners, some escaping to the citadel and others to Fort Obispo, giving up the plaza with slight resistance. The enemy lost many dead and wounded, and we took more than two hundred prisoners, the most of them armed.

On our side, we only lost six officers and seven men among the dead and wounded. In this stage of affairs, when my tired soldiers were preparing for repose, I was informed that a French column from Saltillo was advancing to help the traitors. In fact, soon after this information, the French, under the darkness of the night, and guided by a column of traitors, stealthily entered the town, advanced to the centre, and began a general attack upon our troops. I resisted them with a small company of infantry, till my troops could form. This was soon accomplished. Commander Isidro Treviño, with the Rio Grande squadron on the flank, and my infantry in front, drove them back, and Colonel Rocha profiting by the event, charged with his column, and we succeeded completely in driving the French and traitors before us till they were out of the town. They left 27 dead, carrying off many wounded. We took a few traitor prisoners, many lances and guns, and several horses.

I could commend many chiefs, officers, and even soldiers, to your notice for their heroic deeds, but I will only say that all did their duty; and with men of that kind, we will soon see the independence and liberty of our dear country redeemed.

I have sent out scouts towards Saltillo and Marin to watch the French in that direction. I hear that Jeanningros himself is in command of them. I will act as circumstances require.

Have the kindness, Mr. Minister, to congratulate the President upon these victories of our forces, gained on the 23d, 24th and 25th instant, against the enemies of a republic of which you are the worthy representative.

Independence and liberty! Monterey, November 25, 1865.

MARIANO ESCOBEDO.

The MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE
of the Mexican Republic, Chihuahua.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OFFICE OF WAR AND MARINE, SECTION FIRST.

In your communication of the 25th of November last, from Monterey, you inform the President of the republic of the feats of arms at the capture of that place on the 23d and 24th of the same month, and of driving back a French force that tried to recover it on the 25th. The President appreciates, in all its merit, this courageous undertaking, and is pleased with the courage displayed by the chiefs, officers and men who gained this national triumph. He therefore commands me to congratulate you and your brave men, in the country's name, and thank them for their good services.

Independence and liberty! Paso del Norte, January 9, 1866.

MEJIA.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Chief of the Army Corps of the North, (wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 6.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—ARMY CORPS OF THE NORTH.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

As the reports were many and frequent, not only from my scouts, but from individuals, that the French were coming in force to aid those who had taken refuge in the Obispado and Ciudadela, and knowing that a large force of French had already reached San Francisco, only one league and a half from the town, I prepared to evacuate it. Orders were given to move at half past two in the afternoon. These were obeyed with promptness and order, in sight of the forts Obispo and Ciudadela, and their garrisons did not venture to interrupt us. I divided my force into two columns: the first and best went in the direction of Cadereita, nearest the enemy; the other, composed of fresh recruits, took the right, on the slopes of Saddle hill, and joined the first at Cadereita.

When we had gone about four leagues, the French cavalry, aided by some infantry, attacked our rear guard; but after a small skirmish, they were driven off, leaving one dead, and carrying off several wounded. We had three wounded and eight missing.

The rear guards of both columns only participated in these encounters, and afterwards rejoined their columns. The enemy entered Monterey that night; my troops rested for the night in the vicinity of Cadereita.

To-morrow I will continue my march to China, to be nearer the troops I left in front of Matamoras and those I sent to Camargo, for that place has also been re-enforced by foreign troops.

Please assure the President of the republic that the troops of this army corps will fight without rest for the cause of a national independence, till it is attained in this quarter, and will then follow the enemy to any part of the territory they may occupy.

Liberty and independence! Cadereita, November 25, 1865.

M. ESEOBEDO.

The SECRETARY OF STATE AND WAR OFFCE,
(wherever it may be.)

[Enclosure No. 7.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND OFFICE OF WAR AND MARINE, SECTION FIRST.

I have informed the President of the republic of your communication of the 25th of November last, dated in Cadereita Jimenez, after your evacuation of Monterey.

The reasons you give for that act, and your subsequent action in regard to the enemy, are approved by the President, who trusts to your prudence to increase and preserve the forces under your command.

Independence and liberty! Paso del Norte, January 9, 1866.

MEJIA.

General MARIANO ESCOBEDO,
Chief of the Northern Army Corps, (wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 8.]

In the New Era of the 30th December last, No. 2, a paper published by the enemy in Chihuahua, we find the following report, taken from a San Luis paper. We insert it to show that even the enemy confesses the facts about Monterey; but he adds that General Escobedo was subsequently routed, which is entirely false, as his communications show:

EXPEDITIONARY CORPS OF MEXICO.—COMMANDANCY OF THE NORTHEAST.—THE GENERAL COMMANDING.

SAN LUIS POTOSI, *November* 29, 1865.

MR. PREFECT: I have just received from Monterey the notice that the dissidents attacked that city on the 22d instant, with a force of one thousand men. On the 24th they got possession of the greater part of the city, while the imperial troops remained in the citadel. Aid having arrived from Saltillo on the morning of the 25th, and General Jeanningros having returned hastily from Monclova, the enemy retreated precipitately, but was overtaken at Lerna river and completely routed, with great loss. We had but one man killed and ten wounded on our side, two of which are officers.

Receive, Mr. Prefect, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.
General commanding the northeast,

F. DOUAY.

[Enclosure No. 9.]

Protest of the merchants and residents of the city of Matamoras against the acts of the government of the United States and its representatives.

We, the undersigned, merchants and residents of Matamoras, Mexico, having been for over eight months the patient neutral spectators of many disgraceful occurrences on this frontier, and having suffered with resignation all the hardships and losses thereby produced, and finding our guarantees violated, and most vital interests every day more endangered by the most serious and arbitrary outside influence beyond the hope of amelioration, consider it our duty, as the representatives of large commercial interests, and as friends and supporters of order, law and justice, publicly to denounce the acts of certain United States officials on this frontier, and to protest solemnly against the United States government and its officers, by adopting and publishing the following resolutions, viz:

First. That we have frequently read with disgust in certain American newspapers the grossest misrepresentations of the political state of affairs on this frontier, obviously made with the evil intent to mislead the sound judgment of the American people, and to prejudice them against the present *de facto* government of Mexico, in favor of a Juarez party, which at present has no more foothold or basis of operation on this frontier than that afforded by the United States military and civil authorities on the Texas side of the Rio Grande.

Second. That it is against the morality and dignity of the people and government of the United States that in Brownsville and along the frontier almost daily offences against the professed neutrality of the United States are committed and suffered under the eyes of the United States authorities; and that their repeated assurances in regard to their neutrality in Mexican affairs are plainly contradicted by the encouragement and aid they more or less openly and covertly lend to the Mexican partisans, whose headquarters are in Brownsville, in their armed invasions and raids from the territory of the United States in Mexico.

Third. That the continuance of the armed opposition to the imperial government of Mexico on this northern frontier; the insecurity of the roads leading to the interior; the interruption of all trade; the depreciation and destruction of all kind of merchandise, values and property; the perpetration of every species of crime; the devastation and pillage of all the smaller towns, villages and farms in the valley of the Rio Grande and consequent ruin of innumerable people—that all these calamities are the lamentable results of that underhand and immoral policy enacted by some representatives of the United States government on this frontier.

Fourth. That the latest offence against the peace and the happiness of the people of Mexico, the surprise and pillage of the town of Bagdad by United States negro troops, under the command of their regular officers, during the night of the 4th to the 5th of January; the carrying off of the plunder publicly to the Texas side of the river, and the delivery of that important town to the so-called liberals, who came from the neutral soil of the United States in the track of the United States invading forces, we can only designate as an additional proof of the criminal neglect of the United States authorities on this frontier, if not of their connivance in an act of vandalism without parallel in modern history, which, as a shameful disregard of international law and obligation, will remain a disgrace to the national and military honor of the United States, and a stain of infamy to those of their officers implicated in this filibustering enterprise, which is not even mitigated by due investigation and the condign punishment of the criminals.

Fifth. That we apprehend that unless the government of the United States will take immediate and efficient steps to check the arbitrary interference of its officers in Mexican affairs, and prevent these offences against neutrality, as before mentioned, as well as the armed invasion of filibustering bands from United States territory into Mexico, entire ruin and destruction will be brought upon the whole population of this frontier, and upon the commercial community of Matamoras in particular; and we therefore protest solemnly and loudly before the whole world, and in the name of civilization and public morality, against the United States of America for the faithlessness of their officers and authorities, in harboring, aiding, and abetting organized bands of filibusters in their armed invasion into Mexico for the destruction of public peace, order, and security in this country, and for all the losses and injuries thereby done and caused, and yet to be caused, to the people of this frontier in general, and to us merchants and residents in particular, in our properties and bodies, we charge the government of the United States as directly responsible.

Sixth. That whilst we acknowledge with admiration and gratitude the indefatigable zeal of his excellency General Mejia, under the most critical circumstances and notwithstanding many provocations, in maintaining peace and harmony in the daily intercourse of the people of both nations on this frontier, and order and security in this department under his immediate command and protection, we consider the personal and commercial interest at stake in Matamoras still sufficiently large to merit the serious consideration and prompt action of the imperial government for more ample protection and relief, as a continuance of the present deplorable state of affairs cannot fail to bring upon us complete ruin, as well as blame and responsibility on the government.

Seventh. That these resolutions be printed and submitted, through our consuls and legations, to our respective governments, and communicated to his excellency General Mejia, to General Weitzel, commanding United States forces at Brownsville, and published in the principal newspapers in the United States, Mexico, and Europe.

So resolved and subscribed at Matamoras, Mexico, on the 16th day of January, 1866.

SIGNATURES.

Santiago Iturria, José San Roman, Paul Zurn, Simon Celaya, Drœge Oetling & Co., Frco. Iturria, P. J. Garcia y Ho., Charles Culmell, I. Solis, Miguel J. Quin, Vtr. Pretaj & Co., Hale & Co., O. Talamon, Dessommes & Co, Henry Graham, José de la Mora, H. Dessommes & Brother, Fu. Monstiet, pp, J. H. Bahnsen & Co., H. Barbeck, E. Bennevendo, Vve. Gautier & Fils., R. Bideau, pp., Brach, Schonfield & Co., G. F. Schwesinger, Frco. Armendaiz, ppro., O. E. Graham & Co., Juo. Bocher, Pedro R. Cavazos, Burchard & Co.'s successors, Seo'n Rodriguez, N. Scumall, José G. Fonseca, F. Halff & Co., Ramon Pasquel, John Treanor, B. Garcia y Ho., ppro., Maza y Larrache, M. Lapiedra, L c. R. Rosales, J. Ma. Cavozos y Hno., Antonio Longoria, M. Garcia Cavozos y Ho., Fran'co Ruiz, Fran'co Fuentes, per O. Fario, Anto. Guzman, Dimas ne Torres Velazquer, Viuda de Tarrava y Ca., de Tanava L. Munoz, Dimas Farrena y Hno., Felipe Marquez, Hernandez Hermanos y Ca., Oscar Petitpain, S. Primin & Co., ppro., Marours & Foster Ca., I. Sullinschiller, A. S. Huguet, Milmo & Co., Joseph Walsh, J. Clark, A. M. Erhard, J. P. Morin, H. De Rance, J. Alex, Thos. Marquez, José Ortega, W. Cuellar, Fcot. Prospero Guzman, Adolph Pablo Berthier, Alfred V. Dowling, Henrique Conache, Fefugio Gutierrez, Carlos Martinez, Theodoro Garcia, Jesus Marquez, Jesus Galvan, Iginio Carriola, Juan Long'a Gonzales, Rafael Garza Namires, Andres Longoria, Jc. Ma. Parades, Rotge Dominique, François Dulhau. A. Dufau, B. Loustannau, M. Loustannau, Sauc Yon, Bordenave Lucien, José Ferrerez, J. Poinsard, Luis Garcia, Miguel A. Martines, P. Bouchard, Charles Brayda, Dom'd Martinez, L. St. Pierre, Emilio Hirsch, J. Harombourg, P. Harombourc, J. Isard, S. W. Brooks, J. J. Langby, Brougnoir E. Chassignet, E. Chrisman, R. Cervantes, Jules Sabrier, L'lo J. Huguevielle, De Multo Antonio, John G. Illius, Fs. Collet, Joaquin Guzman, Kahn Freres, Carlos F. Galbert y Hno., L. Levy, Wolf & Pretto, Focke & Wilkins, L. de Planque, L. Soulie, E. Neyrey, Agustin Menchaca, Manuel de Tarnava, Paul Cervoni, P. Solis, Ramon Villarael, D Corvoni, Martin Chichet, Antonio de la Garza, G. Brulay, Somers Kinney, H. A. Maltby, T. Verdíere, F. Belancourt, S. F. Cassanave, Manuel Garcia Varela, Emillo Gaeta, Victor Derix, Emillo Philio, J. H. Miolanne, J. Cabarry, J. B. Rochel, Bernardo Carrillo y Ca., Juan Guzman, Ramon Juarez, F. L. Nicomede, Thomas A. McManus, Juan Contreras, Remigio Chapa.

CONSUL'S CERTIFCATE.

We, the undersigned, vice-consuls of Spain, Prussia, France, and England, hereby certify that we have compared the preceding document with the original, and find it to be a true and correct copy of the same. We further certify that, from the best information we have been able to obtain, and from the solemn protests and declarations made before us by several of our countrymen, sufferers by the outrages at Bagdad, it is our belief that the contents of the foregoing resolutions are in every respect just and true.

MATAMORAS, *January* 23, 1866.

El Vice-consul de España,
DIMAS DE TORRES VELASQUEZ.
Le Vice-consul de France,
C. U. FROSSARD.
For Vice-consul of Prussia,
LUIS SCHUHMACHER.
CHAS. BAGNALL,
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

[Enclosure No. 10.]

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF RIO GRANDE,
January 25, 1866.

SIR: I forward to you, indorsed, one of the most remarkable documents that I have ever seen. I would have returned it at once had I not perceived that its effect is clearly to produce a false impression in foreign countries, and because it is signed by names that have always been considered here eminently respectable. It is only a few days since that I sent to General Sheridan, upon his order, a history of violations of neutrality that were committed on the other side of the river during our recent war. I sent sufficient proof to convince any one, and I can bring an enormous quantity more if required, that nearly all of the firms, if not all of them, whose names are affixed to the enclosed document, supplied the rebels with arms, ammunition and clothing, and everything else that was contraband and not contraband of war. I sent proof that the American steamer Ike Davis was captured by a band organized in Bagdad and run into Indianola and there sold. That one of the parties who committed this outrage openly boasted of it in the streets of Matamoras.

I sent proof that the American schooner Florence Bearce was burnt by parties that left Bagdad, although at the time she was reported to be lying in Mexican waters.

I sent proof that upon the receipt of the news of the death of our lamented President mock graves were dug and mock-funerals held in the streets of Matamoras and Bagdad.

I sent other proof showing that some particular firms, whose names are attached to the enclosed document, committed particular violations of neutrality. I would have sent much more. I hear more every day, and by a capture only yesterday of rebel records, I can increase this proof to an enormous extent. But I sent only as much as I did because I became disgusted with the duplicity, deceitfulness, and rascality which the investigations develop. I have seen with my own eyes storehouses that were nearly filled with shoes and blankets intended for the rebels, and owned by some of the signers of this wonderful document. It is notorious that some of the vice-consuls, if not all of them, whose seal is attached to the enclosed paper were engaged in contraband trade with the rebels. Yet, notwithstanding all these things were transpiring, did ever any of these gentlemen sign a protest against these outrages? There is no record of any. Having suffered severe losses by the sudden collapse of the rebellion, and through their confidence in the success of the rebel cause, and knowing that the officers and soldiers here were a part of the army that produced that collapse, they turn upon us now with bitter invective, and vent their spleen because, forsooth, we will not permit ourselves to be used by them as police officers, or detectives, to Emperor Louis Napoleon, or Maximilian either. I do not understand this to be the object for which I or my comrades are placed here, and therefore do not, nor permit my command to act as such. The sixth resolution presented by these merchants explains the secret of the troubles they complain of. They have not sufficient troops to preserve the communications for trade, or even to guard the smaller towns, and instead of distinctly laying the blame at the feet of the power which they profess so much to admire, they turn upon us.

Their first resolution merits my remarks only so far as it implies that all the power which the liberal forces on the frontier have, springs directly from us. For months before we came here their trade communications were insecure. All over Mexico to-day, I am told, all the communications are either cut off or are hazardous, and by forces acting under President Juarez, whose power these gentlemen pretend so much to despise. I know that our arrival and presence here have given the liberals much moral support, and some of my officers or men may have, unknown to me, given material aid. But for these things I cannot be held responsible. I cannot control the private feelings of my officers and men, neither can my government be held responsible for this. But, did not the advent of the French and Austrians give the rebels equally as much moral support? I have already forwarded enough evidence to show these same merchants gave them as much material support as the rebel cotton would buy. The second resolution is an untruth from beginning to end, excepting so much as says that I have given, in the name of my government, repeated assurances that I desired to observe strict neutrality, and had so ordered my command to do. The third resolution is answered in my reply to the second. The fourth resolution is untrue in many respects. I have arrested all of those that were engaged in the pillage and capture of Bagdad, who have thus far been identified. I have a commission now in session to investigate the whole affair, and have, to the best of my knowledge and ability, and in accordance with law, taken every step that I could to remedy every evil complained of in this resolution, as my official records show. No one deplores this outrage more than I do. No one condemns it more than I do, and my action has been accordingly. But should not an equal amount of blame of this outrage be thrown upon that power which guards so important a point as Bagdad with so insignificant a force, that a small band of filibusters can capture and pillage it? Or do these gentlemen think it my duty to guard their towns and goods? I have disavowed the capture and pillage of Bagdad. It was not known to me until twelve o'clock on Friday, the 5th instant. I know that my government will disavow it. I placed the town in the hands of no one. I found it on Sunday, the 7th instant, in possession of a part of the same garrison which held it the Sunday previous. They were all newly-converted "liberals" under well-known liberal commanders. If this garrison had not proved false to its colors, I would have found it in imperial possession. Am I responsible because the garrison deserted and proved false? Why, no longer ago than yesterday the garrison consisted entirely of newly-converted liberals. All the measures in the fifth resolution that are by these merchants considered necessary to be taken by us have been taken. The sixth resolution tells the whole story. They admit there that the imperialists have not given them sufficient protection, yet they blame us for the evils resulting therefrom. The seventh resolution shows that the insertion of this whole document is to create an erroneous impression abroad. The whole document seems to me to be the fabrication of some blatant stay-at-home ex-rebel or disappointed cotton speculator. I believe that many of the gentlemen who signed it did not read it, as I can scarcely believe that some whose names are affixed would sign such a document. As it is to be so widely distributed, I have given every facility to have this published.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL,
Major General Commanding.

Brevet Colonel C. H. WHITTLESEY,
Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Texas.

[Enclosure No. 11.]

TAMPICO, *January* 14, 1866.

Since my last, the city of Victoria, the capital of this State, has been reoccupied by the liberal forces under General Mendez, who, as we are told by the French, has augmented his force with two or three hundred negroes from Texas, which is, however, quite doubtful.

Stirring events are now of frequent occurrence in this State, and the liberals are moving with much energy. The forces under Mendez have recently captured two hundred and fifty freight mules near Tancasnequi, with a large quantity of merchandise. This is another severe check upon the commerce between this port and San Luis Potosi, and fully exposes the impotency of the so-called imperial power to control this country or to secure any real or stable hold upon it. But the end of this imperial farce is fast approaching, and little Maximilian will return to his great and good friend with his brutal decree of the 3d of October last as a testimonial of his disgrace, and to follow him with the memory of the assassinations that have taken place under it of thousands of defenceless Mexicans, whose only crime was that they loved their native land.

Dupin has returned to Vera Cruz, with the brevet of brigadier general, and has taken command of the contra-guerillas in that State. It is impossible to know what will be the result of his operations; but if the liberals are now as determined near Vera Cruz and Tabasco as they have been elsewhere, he may, from their numbers, meet with that retributive justice at their hands which his infamous crimes and assassinations, and the ravages he has committed in this State, demand. Yesterday one hundred and fifty French troops arrived here from Vera Cruz. They are to be sent to Tancasnequi. The attempt to open communication with security to the interior is, however, a failure.

Mr. M. ROMERO, *Washington.*

[Enclosure No. 12.]

VERA CRUZ, *January* 20, 1866.

Among the merchants of this place, as elsewhere, there are persons of different political opinions; but, with the exception of the French houses, all are open in their expressions against Maximilian and his miserably managed government. The multitude of vessels-of-war and commerce which enter and arrive at this port, and the cars which pass through the city, and which are constantly arriving and departing, make so much stir that you might think Vera Cruz a place of real commercial importance. But all this is delusive. Nearly all the effects that arrive are for the French army, and are a drain upon the country instead of yielding it benefit. These effects pay no duty, and the French merchants connected with the army, under the guise of this privilege, are doing the most scandalous contraband trade that has ever been seen in this or any other country. For the discharge of vessels that do not carry the French flag there are a thousand difficulties placed in the way. The wharf is very limited in its capacity, and is not over three hundred feet in length by thirty in width. Of this nearly all is monopolized by the French for the discharge of their effects. The ordinary commerce has scarcely any space at all.

When there are many vessels discharging, this ridiculous mole or wharf is quite insufficient for ordinary purposes; so you can imagine what are the inconveniences to the regular trade at the present time. The same can be said with regard to the transportation hence to the interior. Everything is monopolized by the military and the French, and the charge by the railroad for the twenty leagues hence to Paso del Macho is so great that the merchants have petitioned for the wagons to be allowed to come down to Vera Cruz, as formerly; but this has been peremptorily refused by the military authorities.

With regard to Maximilian and his court, we have constantly the most ridiculous accounts. All seems the veriest farce. Carlotta asked of General Bazaine the little sum of $500,000 for her journey to Yucatan, which she procured; but the modest request of Maximilian for a single million of dollars to expend on the repairs of some castle he has recently purchased in Europe was refused. How thin the veil that covers all these proceedings. Do they think the people do not know where the money comes from that is distributed with so lavish a hand on these journeys, all under the guise of the personal charity of these Austrians, who are fattening on the toil and blood of poor Mexico? In the palace at the city of Mexico there are now no longer any public offices. You know the immense size of that edifice, yet all is wanted for the court and its hangers-on. Consequently the various ministries, with their subordinate offices, have all had to be removed to other buildings, which have been purchased or hired for that purpose, many of them at scandalous rates, of French subjects, who purchased them at the sale of the church property. Such is the economy of this "highly civilized" government that was to do so much for "barbarous" Mexico. The annual estimate of expenditures passed by the last Congress, in 1862 or 1863, was, for the entire expense of the national government, a little over eight million dollars. The expenses of this Austrian-French government are over fifty million dollars per annum. The salary of Maximilian is one million dollars; that of Benito Juarez thirty thousand dollars. And yet it is urged that Mexico is to be benefited by all this. Is there more security now than before? Is there more legitimate commerce, more prosperity, more tranquillity, after this four years of war and bloodshed?

I have been reliably informed that latterly more than eight thousand packages of ordnance stores have been transported from this place to the city of Mexico. The French have worked at this with such activity that there are now six great depots of such supplies in the city of Mexico, without counting those at Puebla and the immense supplies of such material which already existed at Mexico and in the interior. For what are these preparations? The United States government should be well informed of all that goes on here, and there cannot be too close a watch kept upon all preparations of this nature.

The guerillas are again upon the railroad, and yesterday the train coming in from Paso del Mancho was attacked by them with loss of several lives. The road is principally guarded by the Egyptian negroes. Among so many classes of foreign soldiers as are here great confusion and clashing exist. The Austrians and the Belgians may be said to amount to nothing; the only force that is at all to be dreaded is the French; their troops are always kept well in hand and are efficient.

Mr. M. ROMERO, *Washington.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of October 6, November 12, and December, 1865, also those of January 14 and February 10, 1866, with their respective accompaniments, all of them relating to the military operations of the northern division of the army of the Mexican republic.

You will be pleased to accept my thanks for these interesting documents, and permit me to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 4.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE WESTERN DIVISION.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Feb. 17, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Feb. 25, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with nine enclosures)	Mar. 5, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 15, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures)	Apr. 3, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Dec. 24, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, February 17, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: With the correspondence which I received to-day from Chihuahua, there came to me copies of a supplement to the official journal of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, published in that city on the 6th of January last past. In this supplement, of which I accompany one copy, the official report was published of the victory which the national arms obtained over the French on the 22d of last December, at the town of San Pedro, in the State of Sonora. A few days prior thereto the cause of the French had suffered a blow, no less fatal, by the complete defeat at Fuerte of the forces commanded by Don Francisco Vega, which had invaded the same State. I enclose to the State Department, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of the official reports of this no less important victory to the cause of the independence of Mexico.

I take pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

FUERTE, *December* 16, 1864.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Having learned that the traitor Vega was marching upon this place with a force of three hundred infantry and cavalry, I left, the day before yesterday, at 1 p. m., with less than three hundred men, who are under the command of Mr. Buelna, and began my march towards the enemy on the same day. They intended to pass the night at the rancho of Giabampo. At this point we fought him yesterday at early dawn, and succeeded in completely defeating him, making prisoners of Don Francisco Vega, three other officers, and a large number of privates, many remaining killed and wounded on the field, among whom were one commandant and two officers. From what Vega himself has told me, his second in command, Vildorola, escaped, wounded. We have to deplore some losses among our men.

The documents which have fallen in our possession, and of which I transmit you copies, fully prove the treason committed by Vega towards his country, and also that he was the promoter of the insurrection of the Indians. To-day they are being tried by court-martial, and to-morrow they will be shot.

By the documents to which I refer you will see that the French are soon to send an expedition; therefore, it becomes necessary to re-enforce the districts of Alamos and those of Sinaloa. With respect to Fuerte, I shall endeavor, while I remain here, to increase its force as much as I can, by aiding it as I have done up to this time. With respect to Alamos, I believe that you, appreciating the reasons I indicate, will send a section to that point.

I felicitate you upon the triumph obtained over the enemies of our country, and repeat myself, your obedient servant, &c.,

JOSÉ M. PATONI.

Governor Don IGNACIO PESQUEIRA, *Hermositio.*

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

WASHINGTON, *February* 17, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

[Supplement to No. 55 of the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic.—Chihuahua, January 6, 1865.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE REPUBLICAN ARMY
IN THE STATES OF SONORA AND SINALOA.

On the 23d instant Colonel Antonio Rosales sent the following despatch from Sinaloa:

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

On the 20th instant I heard that the French war-steamer Lucifer was entering the port of Altata with a force of French and traitors. I immediately set out with the first Sinaloa brigade and the Jalisco guides, consisting of four hundred men. On the march I learned that the enemy's forces, amounting to five hundred men, under the command of Captain Gazielle, of the Lucifer, were already on their way to this place. I passed the night at San Pedro, and continued the next day. Before reaching the town of Navolato I received the two enclosed communications from ex-General Domingo Cortes and the commander of the Carmona battalion. My reply was civil but positive.

Continuing my march, I overtook the commander of the Jalisco guides, who informed me the enemy was just entering Navolato. I formed a line, but he refused to give battle, though vexed for six hours by our pickets. The groves that sheltered him prevented a reconnaissance, so I withdrew to San Pedro, where I chose my ground.

My design was perfectly successful. On the 22d, at 7 o'clock in the morning, the Jalisco guides attacked the enemy with great vigor, and after two hours' fighting the national arms were victorious. We captured two rifled cannon, all the supplies, took eighty-five French and Algerine prisoners, killed twenty-odd men and wounded sixteen. The traitors lost over one hundred prisoners, but we had no account of their dead. The captain of the Lucifer and his six officers were among our prisoners. Our losses were, Captain Fernando Ramirez, killed, and the second lieutenant of the Hidalgo battalion; thirty killed and a considerable number wounded. Among our wounded were Colonel Calinto Peña and George Granados, commander of the Mint battalion. I have not time to give the particulars; I can only say the enemy was completely routed, and all of my officers acted with great gallantry. I am happy to inform you of this success, and hope you will communicate it to all interested.

Independence and liberty!

ANTONIO ROSALES.

FUERTE, *December* 28, 1864.

I have the honor of transcribing the above for your information and that of the President of the republic, that you may rejoice over this feat of arms gained over the invaders of our country.

Independence and liberty!

J. M. PATONI.

MINISTER OF WAR, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 3.]

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

DEAR FRIEND: Yours of the 16th instant, received at the moment I set out to meet the enemy, informed me of the success in your district, in which Vega was captured and shot and his entire force destroyed.

I now inform you officially of the fight at San Pedro yesterday, six leagues from here, between my troops and the French-traitors, under Captain Gazielle, of the Lucifer, which was brilliant, considering the disadvantages under which we labored. This feat of lasting honor to our soldiers is not exaggerated in the report; on the contrary, it is very modestly expressed.

I have thought it best to send the French prisoners to your town, so they may continue on to the seat of the general government, or wherever you may choose to send them.

I remain, your friend and servant,

ANTONIO ROSALES.

General DON JOSÉ MARIA PATONI, *at Fuerte.*

[Enclosure No. 4.]

FUERTE, *December* 28, 1864.

MUCH ESTEEMED SIR: Your two favors of the 6th and 14th instant were received to-day. In my last, of the 15th, I informed you of the success of the expedition against Francisco Vega, who was shot on the 16th instant.

I now take great pleasure in informing you of Rosales's victory over the French and traitors at San Pedro, on the road from Culiacan to Altata. You will see from Rosales's official communication and private letter to me the details of this brilliant triumph. The new era of our triumphant cause is beginning, and we deserve it, and rejoice to see it commenced.

I have sent re-enforcements to Sinaloa, and ordered Colonel Mirafuentes to take care of the prisoners that are sent to him, and forward them to Sonora to be safely kept till you determine what shall be done with them.

I congratulate you and the nation on the triumph of our arms at San Pedro.

Your firm friend,

JOSÉ MARIA PATONI.

President BENITO JUAREZ, *Chihuahua.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 25, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 17th instant, in which you are pleased to communicate, for the information of this government, a copy of the report of General José M. Patoni, of December 16, 1864, to the governor of Sonora, and also a copy of the supplement to the official organ of the Mexican republic, published at Chihuahua on the 6th ultimo, containing the official report of Colonel Antonio Rosales.

These papers give the details of the conflicts between the French forces operating in the State of Sonora, at the battles of Fuerte and San Pedro, with the national forces of Mexico, under the commands, respectively, of General Patoni and Colonel Rosales, and which actions occurred on the 16th and 22d of December, 1864.

Thanking you kindly for communicating these interesting documents to me, I avail myself of the opportunity which enables me to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, March 5, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of the "official journal of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, No. 58," issued on the 14th of January last, which contains the decision adopted by the Mexican government as to the manner in which the prisoners-of-war captured from the French army are to be treated; also sundry details with regard to the victory obtained by the national forces over the French at San Pedro, and a proclamation which the port captain, Gazielle, who commanded the French expedition which was defeated at San Pedro, had prepared for publication at Culiacan, so soon as he should have captured that city.

I deem it my duty to call your attention to that proclamation, as a conclusive proof that there is not the slightest color of truth in what the French agents assert in Mexico, respecting the supposed disposition of the Mexican people in favor of the cause of the French intervention. Captain Gazielle says to the inhabitants of Culiacan, at the commencement of the fifth paragraph of his proclamation, which was to have been published shortly after the entrance of the French in that city, and while alluding in it to the influences existing at the time, the following:

"The French troops which you have just received with so much enthusiasm are not intended to remain long among you; important operations await them; it is necessary that they secure the tranquillity of the south, after having brought peace to the north of the department."

Unfortunately for the French, that which was to serve as a proof of the enthusiasm with which their forces are received in the Mexican republic, has come to demonstrate the manner in which this supposed enthusiasm is fabricated.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the official organ of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, No. 58.—Chihuahua, Saturday January 14, 1865.]

Official report.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND NAVY,
Chihuahua, January 7, 1865.

SIR: I have submitted to the citizen President of the republic the official note which you addressed to me on the 28th December last, transmitting a copy of the one which the citizen Colonel Antonio Rosales addressed to you on the 23d of the same month, in reference to the victory which he obtained at San Pedro on the day previous, with the brigade under his command, completely routing the French and traitors who had disembarked at the port of Altata and were marching upon Culiacan.

The citizen President has received with much satisfaction the news of this triumph of the national arms, so honorable to the country and to the State of Sinaloa. It will ever be a title of honor for the citizen Rozales, and for the chiefs, officers and soldiers who fought under his orders.

You will be pleased to thus communicate it to the citizen Rosales, informing him that, as a just reward for the merit which he has obtained in this important service rendered to the country, the citizen President has determined to confer upon him the office of brigadier general, the commission for which is now being extended to be transmitted to him. You will at the same time inform him that the government will grant the promotions which may be proper, in view of the report and recommendations he may make respecting those who took part and distinguished themselves in that battle.

With regard to the French prisoners captured at San Pedro, the citizen President approves of their being sent to Sonora, that the government and military commandant of that State may retain at such place as he may deem it proper and in the proper security.

It would be just to treat as pirates all of those who may be captured from the French forces, considering that the war which the French government is waging against the republic is a piratical one, that government having ordered Mexico to be invaded without a declaration of war; that it has committed acts of perfidy so repugnant and unheard of, such as the violation of the preliminaries of La Soledad, done with the view of passing without battle the fortified points, so that thus their forces might retain possession of the places which they had only occupied under the guarantee of the dishonored signatures of the representatives of France, and that it has authorized its generals to impose forced labors upon prisoners, or to commit upon them cold-blooded assassinations.

The French commanders have caused their soldiers to enter some places where the prisoners were collected together, to murder them *en masse*, as was the case at Panuco, at Jerez, and at other places. They have sometimes attempted to palliate the crime of killing the vanquished, as they recently assassinated in Gaudalupe, Saenz Pardo, Cortazar, and others, thus wishing to distinguish between those who belonged to the Mexican army, from those who formed part of the guerillas or other volunteer forces, without their having any right whatever to establish distinctions between all those who fight in defence of their country; they have given orders to murder solely through a spirit of personal vengeance, as they shot the gallant General Ghilardi, who had before fought against the French, in Rome, side by side with Garibaldi; and they have not hesitated to commit the unjustifiable assassinations of most worthy Mexicans, to whom they could impute no other crime than that of their pure patriotism, as they shot the most worthy and most honored citizen José Maria Chavez, the constitutional governor of the State of Aguas Calientes.

The law and the practice of nations, which authorize and justify the use of reprisals as the means of restraining those who disregard and violate the most sacred rules and principles of the law of nations, as also the decree of the congress of the republic, which ordered the use of the right of reprisals towards the French, might serve to establish a foundation for the execution, with full justification, of the prisoners captured at San Pedro. Nevertheless, although reprisals will be made use of hereafter towards the prisoners captured from the French, treating them in the same manner that they may treat ours, as has been ordered, and is again directed by a circular of this date, in the present case the citizen President prefers to give still another example of humanity and civilization to the French.

He has consequently determined that the French prisoners captured at San Pedro should only be detained with the due security, that they be in no way molested, and that they be provided with what they may require for their subsistence, the government reserving to itself the right of disposing of their fate, and to decide what it may deem proper, having in view the course which the commanders of the French army shall continue to pursue.

He has likewise decided, that if the enemy proposes any exchange of these prisoners it be immediately declined, but that the supreme government be notified thereof, that it may accept it or decide upon it as it may think best. As the object of the government is to cause the French army to respect, in Mexico, the law of nations, this rule will be observed as a general point, by not consenting at any time to any exchange which may be proposed of prisoners captured from them, but that it be reported to the supreme government, that it may decide what may be proper.

With regard to the prisoners made at San Pedro, from the force of traitors, serving as auxiliaries to the French, the law of the 25th of January, 1862, ought to be applied to all of them, which has been and continues in force, for the punishment of the crimes provided for therein, and especially that of treason to the country. Notwithstanding this, the citizen President desires also to give respecting them, so far as he deems it possible, a new proof of his sentiments of humanity, by directing that the said law of the 25th of January, 1862, be applied only to the commanders and officers among the traitor prisoners, and that with respect to the soldiers, they be considered as relieved from the capital punishment by setting free, or by incorporating into other forces, those of the traitors who were forcibly put into the service, and by sending to some fortress and putting the others to forced labor, for such length of time as the government and military commandant of the State may determine.

I communicate it to you, and transmit copy thereof to the citizen governor and military commander of the State of Sonora, in order that when the prisoners shall come to him he may see to the execution of the disposition come to respecting them.

Independence and liberty!

NEGRETE.

The Citizen General JOSE MARIA PATONI,
Commissioner from the Supreme Government to the State of Sinola, (at El Fuerte, or wherever else.)

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

First Bureau—Circular.

CHIHUAHUA, *January* 7, 1865.

Under this date I have addressed to the citizen General José Maria Patoni, who is in the State of Sinaloa by order of the supreme government, the communication which follows:

[Here letter of Negrete, of January 7, 1865, is inserted.]

And I send a copy thereof to you, the citizen President of the republic having directed that it be circulated to all the authorities and military commanders, renewing to them the instructions for the observance of the following rules, viz:

First. In compliance with the decree issued by the congress of the republic, the right of reprisals will be strictly applied to the French, by treating in every case the prisoners which may be made from the French forces in the same manner as the French commanders may continue to treat the prisoners they may take from the national forces.

Second. During the war which the French government is waging against the republic it has manifested many evidences of the same treachery which it has shown in other things. When the French army did not consider itself as yet sufficiently strong in Mexico, or when it has had apprehensions for the fate of its prisoners who were in the hands of the national forces, then the French commanders have been careful that their conduct should be less irregular towards the Mexican prisoners. On the other hand, when the French army deemed itself more powerful in Mexico, and when it had no fears respecting its prisoners in the power of the national forces, then the French commanders have thought they could with impunity abandon themselves to the commission of acts of barbarity, either by compelling the Mexican prisoners to serve in the ranks of the traitors, by imposing upon them permanent hard labor, by murdering those leaders and authorities who were the most patriotic and distinguished, or by going as far as executing in mass the horrible butchery of some prisoners. Having had this experience, the course which the French commanders may pursue in some cases, in treating the Mexican prisoners in the proper manner, will authorize the national commanders to treat, for the time being, the French prisoners in the same manner. But it must not be deemed sufficient to establish a general rule, and to accept with confidence the exchange of prisoners, until a sufficient period shall have elapsed to be enabled to judge whether this conduct demonstrates a true and permanent return to the observance of the principles of civilization, or whether it be not only a hypocritical respect on their part, so long as it is convenient for them, and with the intention of again renewing their acts of barbarity whenever they may think they again can do so. Therefore, the citizen President has determined that, until otherwise directed, no civil authority, nor military officer, shall propose or accept any exchange whatsoever, which may be proposed to them respecting the prisoners which may be captured from the French forces; but, on the contrary, that when an exchange is proposed to them, they report to the supreme government, that it may take such measures as it may deem proper.

I communicate it to you for its observance. Independence and liberty!

NEGRETE, *Secretary of War.*

The citizen the MILITARY COMMANDER of ———.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND COMMANDANCY OF THE STATE OF SINALOA.

On the 22d instant the national arms achieved a complete victory over the Franco intervention corps, which set out from the port of Mazatlan for the capture of this city. The town of San Pedro, situated five miles west of Culiacan, was the field upon which this battle was fought and won, thus giving evidence of what the Mexican soldier is capable when led to battle and with the conviction that he defends the sacred cause of his country.

The first brigade of Sinaloa, composed of something less than 400 men, under my immediate command, whipped and completely routed a body of 500 men, composed of Frenchmen and Mexicans belonging to the intervention faction. After a bloody fight of more than two hours' duration the force under my command made prisoners of 98 Frenchmen and Algerines and nearly that number of interventionists. Among the French prisoners we have the commander (Gazielle) of the war-steamer Lucifer, the commander of the expedition, and seven subaltern officers. The war material taken from the enemy consists of two pieces of rifled artillery, their munitions and arms. It is more than probable we shall capture the fugitives, among whom are the ex-Mexican General Domingo Cortes and the commandant of battalion, Jorge Carmona, who fled early in the action.

Upon the field of battle the enemy left twenty-six killed and twenty-five wounded, all Frenchmen, and a considerable number of traitors. The Mexican prisoners of the rank and file, having been forced into service, have been pardoned and incorporated into the brigade. The nation has to deplore the death of the brave captain, the citizen Fernando Ramirez, and of many good soldiers, who, in a battle fought under every disadvantage to us, have fallen for their country. In a separate despatch I shall communicate the proper details. All the commanders and officers who fought under my command during this action have done so with extraordinary courage and enthusiasm, and have rendered themselves worthy of the greatest praise. I shall shortly transmit you a report embodying an honorable mention which each one deserves for the distinguished services they have rendered, thus meriting the thanks of the republic and the consideration of the supreme government. Meanwhile I recommend to you very especially the citizen Colonel Joaquin Sanchez y Roman, the second in command under me; the citizen commander of a battalion, Acting Major Francisco Miranda; the citizen commanding the mixed battalion, George G. Granados, who is grievously wounded; and the commander of battalion by brevet, a captain in the same corps, citizen Lucas Mora.

And I have the honor to communicate to you so agreeable a report that you may bring it to the knowledge of the citizen the President of the republic, transmitting also to the same end several of the interesting documents captured from the enemy, a copy of the list of prisoners, and the letters which Cortes and Carmona addressed to me a short time before the action, urging me to submit to the intervention.

Independence and liberty! Culiacan, December 23, 1864.

ANTONIO ROSALES.

RICARDO PALACIOS, *Secretary.*

The MINISTER OF WAR, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 4.]

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
MILITARY COMMANDANCY OF THE STATE OF SINALOA,
Altata, December 20, 1864.

MOST NOBLE SIR: Being authorized thereto by the French commander-in-chief of the State of Sinaloa, I commissioned Señor Don Rafael Carreon (our mutual friend) to go and have an understanding with you in the character of a commissioner, he having the most ample powers to offer to you every kind of guarantee, and to make known to you that far from exacting of you conditions which might tarnish your honor and dignity, he should limit himself to manifesting to you the following: That the chief of the French expedition and the admiral wish you to join with your force the new order of things, they recognizing your position, for they know that you are a Mexican who does honor to your country, and that your military conduct and your antecedents justify this belief on their part; and in the event that you should not desire to continue your military career, you shall be at liberty to retire therefrom, and to reside in quietness in any places within this State or in the republic without their exacting from you any oath or compromise. Señor Carreon was made prisoner by Corona, who demanded two thousand dollars for his head, and which I collected among some friends, and they will be sent him to save his life.

Knowing the friendship and good-will you bear towards Carreon, I proposed you as commissioner. You will excuse me if I do not speak of the number of Franco-Mexican troops which will leave here to-day to accompany me to your city. To speak to you of our military superiority would be not to know you, *forgetting the past between you and myself.* I desire sincerely to see you rather as a friend, and you may be sure that when I shall be enabled to embrace you that moment shall be to me one of lively satisfaction, as also your subordinates, for whom the same guarantees are offered. I prefer to smooth over our difficulties more in a friendly manner than by an appeal to arms. The commander of the expedition which marches upon your city is in every way a gentleman, and esteems you for your known qualities.

I desire you, after considering my good wishes, to do me the favor to reply to commander-in-chief of the expedition. As regards myself, you can rely upon a sincere friend who knows your worth and esteems you.

JOSÉ DOMINGO CORTES.

Colonel DON ANTONIO ROSALES.

A true copy.

In the absence of the citizen secretary, who is ill,

JOSÉ VALADES.

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
MILITARY COMMANDANCY OF THE STATE OF SINALOA,
Altata, December 20, 1864.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: My military position and a feeling of real friendship oblige me to address myself to you always with the deference and sincerity to which I have deemed you to be entitled. I shall not attempt to go into explanations, which may create obstacles between us in reaching the end which I have in view, and I trust you will so interpret my sincerity with you without offending a friend who so fully fraternizes with you and wishes you all prosperity.

The order of events has caused me to be destined to the defence of this place, and, as you must suppose, I come strengthened with resources more than sufficient to see my way clear; but on hearing that you are now attached to the faction of the enemy, I have deemed it my duty to take the liberty to make some explanations to you, hoping they may have the most happy results in view of our friendship and the general good of the State. You must understand, my dear friend, what your position towards President Juarez is. He never can unite with General Corona, the only military chief that can strengthen his efforts, but who is diametrically opposed to your high and just proceedings through his relaxed and vandal course. This circumstance has again given all the credit due to you for your distinguished virtues, and has left to you in the new era now dawning upon our country a distinguished position, which your friends are rejoiced at in anticipation thereof. On the other hand, the commander-in-chief at Mazatlan and the commander-in-chief of this expedition are highly indignant at the decree of Don Benito Juarez, in which he declares you an outlaw, they being of opinion that it is an outrage and an injustice; they both feel the greatest interest to see you an ally of the new order of things—an order in which equity and justice prevail. I, in my quality of friend, urge you to join it at once. If, in order to settle this matter, you should deem it proper to have a conference beforehand with the commander of this expedition, I offer you for that purpose the assurance of especial guarantees, and however you may decide, it will be proper for you to do so, because the commander explains himself very well in the Spanish language.

I must not forget to state to you that our friend Don Rafael Carreon was commissioned and sent to you by the commander-in-chief at Mazatlan, by General Don Domingo Cortes and by myself, but unfortunately he fell into the hands of Señor Corona, who perpetrated towards him another act of barbarity by keeping him a prisoner under the condition of having him ransomed for the sum of two thousand dollars, which sum was obtained by Señor Cortez in order to procure his liberation.

Señor Corona was recently defeated near Mazatlan by a small Turkish cavalry force. I would desire, my dear friend, that you should not hesitate in deciding favorably, for this happy event would ever be a fact to bind our friendship and for the general restoration of peace to this State.

I remain, as ever, your most devoted and obedient friend, who duly esteems you,

JORGE CARMONA.

Señor DON ANTONIO ROSALES, *Culiacan.*

A true copy:

In the absence of the citizen secretary, who is ill,

JOSÉ VALADES.

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND MILITARY COMMANDANCY OF THE STATE OF SINALOA.

A list of the French officers made prisoners at Culiacan, viz:

Gazielle, post captain; De Saint Julien, lieutenant of riflemen; Marquisel, second lieutenant of riflemen; Bel Kassen ben Mahomed, second lieutenant of riflemen; Mansot, surgeon of the Lucifer; Lieutard, midshipman, French navy; Maiclet, volunteer, French navy.

By the commander: GAZIELLE.

A true copy:

RICARDO PALACIOS, *Secretary.*

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

Prisoners of war, seamen.—Gueret, sergeant of the Lucifer; Lami, corporal of the Victoria; Mongon, second commissary of the Lucifer; Kpriviner, seaman of the Lucifer; Anchoir, seaman of the Victoria; Borrel, seaman of the Lucifer; Harnois, seaman of the Victoria; Sorho, seaman of the Victoria; Herbert, seaman of the Victoria; Boinet, seaman of the Lucifer; L. Hardy, seaman of the

Lucifer; Coné, seaman of the Lucifer; Allair, seaman of the Lucifer; Poisson, seaman of the Palas; Orange, seaman of the Lucifer; Lemaine, seaman of the Lucifer; Larcher, seaman of the Lucifer; Angot, seaman of the Lucifer; Laucheur, seaman of the Palas, (wounded;) Caszunel, seaman of the Lucifer; Oreacheader, seaman of the Lucifer; Houzaid, seaman of the Lucifer; Landry, seaman of the Lucifer; Bauquet, seaman of the Palas; Glaize, seaman of the Palas; Humbert, seaman of the Palas; Hué, seaman of the Palas; Blaudin, seaman of the Lucifer; Harnois, seaman of the Lucifer; Audaire, seaman of the Lucifer; Cremel, seaman of the Lucifer; Michel, seaman of the Victoria; Bordounave, seaman of the Lucifer; Fanconnet, sergeant of the Palas; Jerequel, corporal of the Lucifer; Dherien, corporal of the Lucifer; Renaud, seaman of the Lucifer; Dorp, seaman of the Lucifer; Prudhomme, seaman of the Palas; D'Esger, seaman of the Palas; Cevin, seaman of the Palas; Feulry, seaman of the Palas.

A true copy:

RICARDO PALACIOS, *Secretary.*

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

Riflemen of Algiers.—Nicolás, sergeant major; Perretti, sergeant major, (wounded;) Goor, sergeant major; Pasqualini, sergeant major; Mustapha ben Mahomed, corporal; Messaoud, corporal; Dahan ben Mahomed, corporal; Delahy, drummer; Meyer, second drummer of the line, (wounded;) Mallet, second drummer of the line, (wounded;) Amar ben Ali, rifleman; Baska del Askar, rifleman;) Bouzian be Arbi, rifleman, (wounded;) Jaieb ben McBask, rifleman; Mahomed ben Zegrane, rifleman; Barka ben McMamet, rifleman; Bl hadj Mahomed, rifleman; Abdelkader ben Jouet, rifleman, (wounded;) Bourallah ben Sinacie, rifleman; Abdallah-ould-Saddek, rifleman; Mahomet ben Abdelkader, rifleman, (wounded;) Mahomed ben Krour, rifleman; Amar ben Mahomed, rifleman; El Abie bel Arby, rifleman, (wounded;) Almmed ben Mahomet, rifleman; Cada ben Ziah, rifleman; Ali ben Mahomed, rifleman; Aresk on Ribaz, rifleman, second of the line; Monnoughafi ben Juski, second of the line; Montey ben Zine, rifleman; Ollam allah ben Djellali, rifleman; Benali bel Arbia, rifleman; Ali ben Kaiseni, rifleman, (wounded;) Amar on Kaci, rifleman; Bon Ara Ben Abdelkader, rifleman, (wounded;) Mahomed ould Amar, corporal, (wounded;) Messaoud, rifleman, (wounded;) Mahomed ben Makroft, rifleman; Almed ben Larenel, rifleman, (wounded;) Aisseni ben Amara, rifleman, (wounded;) Gauthier, corporal, (wounded;) Belgassem ben Almed, cavalry corps; El Hadie od Cadaod Almed, rifleman, (wounded;) Mahomed ben Amair, rifleman, (wounded;) Mahomed ben Ali, rifleman, (wounded;) Hamed ould Salem, rifleman, (wounded.)

A true copy:

RICARDO PALACIOS, *Secretary.*

CULIACAN, *December* 23, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 7.]

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OFFICER IN COMMAND AT MAZATLAN,
Matzatlan, December 10, 1864.

It being deemed indispensable, in a military point of view, to occupy the city of Culiacan, because from this combination and also the control of the affairs of Culiacan depends the tranquilization of the northern part of the State of Sinaloa, the admiral commanding-in-chief the fleet in the Pacific, in concurrence with the senior officer in command of Mazatlan, orders the following:

An expedition, composed of Franco-Mexican land and naval forces, shall proceed to Altata in the Lucifer, and thence will proceed by land to Culiacan, under the command of Post Captain Gazielle, the commander of the Lucifer.

General Cortes will accompany the expedition, without command, and will consider himself as an officer upon a mission. Upon his arrival in Culiacan, this officer shall take military command thereof. The civil authorities will be appointed by the commander-in-chief.

The civil prefect and the military commandant shall exercise authority independently the one from the other, and shall be subject to the commander of Mazatlan, with whom they must communicate, adopting for that purpose all proper measures. The duty of General Cortes, to whom the commander of the expedition will turn over, upon withdrawing the battalion of Sinaloa, will then be to pacify the country—that is to say, the districts of Cosalá and Mocorito. To bring about a like result, he will put himself in communication with Don Francisco Vega, who now occupies Fuerte, and he will adopt towards Rosales and the insurgent leaders measures of conciliation, in order to induce him to lay down his arms. For the carrying out of this result, he will have under his orders the Licentiate Don Rafael Carreon, who is sent by the commandant-in-chief at Mazatlan to induce the liberal chiefs with whom he is on friendly terms to join the new order of things. If not, General Cortes will use his utmost efforts to prevent the escape of Rosales by the Fuerte road, and he will endeavor to keep him in the district of Cosalá, the resources of which will soon fail him. The battalion of Carmona will be filled up to 400 men, as is ordered in the order for its organization; this force, whose pay shall be made good to it in Culiacan for some days, shall be paid by the administration of rents of said city.

For this purpose the custom-house at Altata shall be closely watched by General Cortes, who will indicate to the commander-in-chief a respectable person, competent to administer the office of collector; immediately after their arrival, it will be necessary to use every effort to construct the intrenchment which, in case of necessity, must be used for the defence of Culiacan. General Cortes, together with the officer of the riflemen who accompanies this expedition in that particular character, will give the circumference of the intrenchment and will order it to be constructed as soon as possible by the Indians, whom the municipality shall pay. So far as possible this fortification will cover the church and the mint, on the roof of which the two howitzers shall be located.

It is currently rumored that there are in Culiacan a quantity of bars of silver buried in the ground. General Cortes will make use of all the influence he has in the country to discover these important objects. Should he discover them, he will so report it officially to Mazatlan, and put the mint in operation. It is recommended to General Cortes to be extremely prudent, to talk of conciliation first, and above all to have an understanding with Colonel Vega, and to satisfy him that he must subordinate his operations to our own, and that the campaign of Sonora will be undertaken in due season.

The intentions of the French authority being known to General Cortes, it will be easy for him to follow the instructions given him, and which will undoubtedly bring about the submission of the State of Sinaloa.

The pay of General Cortes while he commands shall be three hundred dollars per month.

G. MANSI,
Admiral Commanding-in-chief the fleet in the Pacific.
G. MUNIER,
The Commanding Officer of the Port of Mazatlan.

[Enclosure No. 8.]

The Secretary of War and Navy to General Rosales.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND NAVY, FIRST BUREAU.

GENERAL: The citizen President of the republic having been made acquainted with the official report which you addressed me on the 23d of December last, received by the mail of to-day, with reference to the victory which you gained with the brigade under your command at San Pedro on the 22d day of the same month of December, by completely routing the Frenchmen and the traitors who were marching upon Culiacan, has instructed me to communicate directly to you (as I do in a separate despatch) what the citizen General José Maria Patoni had been instructed to say to you, who had transmitted a despatch from you by an express courier, which reached here the day before yesterday. I will, therefore, now only repeat to you that the citizen President received with great satisfaction the news of this triumph, which was immediately and appropriately celebrated by all the good citizens and by the forces now at this capital. The glory which this victory gives to the national arms and to the State of Sinaloa will also ever be a glory to you, who have distinguished yourself greatly as the commander on that occasion, and it will likewise be for all the chiefs, officers and soldiers who participated in it. As a just reward for the patriotism, ability, and gallantry displayed by you, the citizen President ordered, immediately upon the reception of the first intelligence thereof, that the rank of brigadier general should be conferred upon you, the commission for which it gives me very great pleasure upon this occasion to transmit to you.

In order to justly reward the officers whom you recommend in your report, the citizen President has determined to confer the rank of brigadier general upon the citizen Colonel Joaquin Sanchez Roman, that of lieutenant colonel upon the citizens Francisco Miranda and George G. Granados, now commanding battalions, and the rank of commandant of battalion upon the citizen Lucus Mora, by sending their commissions to you, which you will be pleased to deliver to them.

The citizen President has also decided that, with the due preference and in consideration of this promotion to the rank of commandant of battalion, the family of the citizen Fernando Ramirez be cared for, he having gloriously given up his life for his country on the battle-field of San Pedro. In view of the report containing the details of the action which you promise, the government will grant the promotions which are proper, bearing in mind the recommendations you may make of the others who took part and distinguished themselves in the action.

I comply with the orders of the citizen President congratulating you and all those who gave their good services on that day, for the honor they have acquired for themselves and that which they have won for their country.

Independence and liberty! Chihuahua, January 9, 1865.

NEGRETE,
Secretary of War.

The Citizen General ANTONIO ROSALES, *Culiacan.*

[Enclosure No. 9.]

Proclamation of Captain Gazielle.

INHABITANTS OF CULIACAN: Your wishes have been fulfilled. You have asked for the protection of the imperial government, and the appearance within your walls of the French troops to-day reply to your call. Let your fears disappear; return to your friends, and quietly resume your avocations. Let calmness succeed the horrors of terror. Have confidence in the protection of the French flag, which in all countries has been the protector of the weak, and the enemy of all oppressors.

The French troops which you have just received with so much enthusiasm are not destined to make a long stay among you;. important operations await them; it is necessary they should secure the tranquillity of the south, after having established peace in the northern part of the department. The garrison of Culiacan will be the battalion of the Commandant Carmona, whom you all know, for he was born among you. That corps shall receive a perfect organization, which must be completed among you.

Let all honorable people join this regular corps; let the national army be organized and armed, and it will easily resist an enemy already demoralized, without resources, and badly commanded. We send you General Cortes to direct the military operations, who has many friends among you, who has made war in Europe and in the two Americas, and who, everywhere, has acquired for himself a deserved reputation for bravery and ability. That selection should reassure you, and fill you with hope in the future. Nevertheless, should circumstances become grave, you may rely upon the French intervention, which will not abandon you. The imperial navy, which has accomplished so many prodigies throughout the whole world, can bring you succors in twenty-four hours. The enemy is aware of this mobility, and will not expose itself to a blow that will destroy it.

I repeat it, inhabitants of Culiacan, have confidence in the future of the imperial government. Come *en masse* to the municipality to give in your adhesion to the empire; and by that spontaneous act bring upon yourselves the good will of your young emperor, who brings you from Europe tranquillity and prosperity.

CULIACAN, *December* —, 1864.

GAZIELLE,
The Commander of the Franco-Mexican Forces.

NOTE.—This proclamation is fully reviewed and sharply ridiculed by the editor (Mr. Prieto) of the government organ of President Juarez. It also seems to have been written in anticipation of the easy conquest and capture of Culiacan. It *bears no date*, and was captured at the battle of San Pedro, with its author.—TRANSLATOR.
MARCH 8, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 15, 1855.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your note of the 5th instant, in which you transmit to me a copy of the "official organ of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic," No. 58, published at the city of Chihuahua, on the 14th of January, 1865, and which contains the circular of the secretary of war and navy, Señor Negrete, of January 7, 1865, in reference to the treatment which is hereafter to be adopted towards the prisoners of war captured from the French army in Mexico; also, sundry details respecting the results of the battle of San Pedro, in the State of Sinaloa, and the proclamation of Captain Gazielle, of the French navy, without date, and to which you ask my particular attention.

I have to express to you my appreciation of your considerate attention in communicating, for the information of the government of the United States, these very interesting documents, and to repeat to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor M. ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, April 3, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you copies of the Nos. 64 and 65 of the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, issued on the 4th and 7th of February last, in which were published several official reports of the advantages obtained by the national forces of Mexico against the French invader.

In No. 64 of said paper you will find the account of the retreat of the French forces from Rio Florido, in the State Chihuahua, to which point they had advanced with a small force, they having met there a respectable national force ready to dispute their march. General Negrete, the secretary of war, had left Chihuahua with all the available forces, to place himself at the head of the national army on the frontier of Durango.

In the same number there is published the official report of the victory which the national forces obtained at Chilapa, in the State of Guerrero, over the enemy, which, to the number of three thousand men, attacked that place.

In the No. 65 you will find the official reports of General Corona, who is operating in the State of Sinaloa, of the losses which he caused to the expedition which marched by the Sierra Madre, from Durango to Mazatlan, under General Castagny, and of the victory which he obtained, on the 11th of January last, over a detachment of French troops at the town of Veranos, near Mazatlan, at which place he made prisoners of fifty Frenchmen belonging to the regiment "Chasseurs de Vincennes."

It is very much to be regretted that the unauthorized proceedings of the French who have shot, *en masse*, the prisoners which they have taken from the forces of General Corona in Sinaloa, and from General Arteaga in the south of Jalisco, and the order of the agent which the French have placed in the city of Mexico, and whom they call emperor, to shoot to death all Mexicans taken with arms in their hands defending the independence of their country, should have placed the court-martial which tried the French prisoners, and General Corona who approved the sentence before receiving the order of the Mexican government upon this subject, which I communicated to you in my note of the 5th of March last past, under the painful necessity of shooting them in retaliation for the calamities committed by the French, and with the view that they should desist in the future from similar excesses.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, No. 65, Vol. 1.—Chihuahua, February 7, 1865.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, STATE OF SINALOA.

On the 6th instant General Ramon Corona wrote from Concordia as follows: "It is now in my power to report to the government the result of my expedition on the Durango road. On the 20th ultimo I reached a point called *El Espinazo del Diablo*, where I halted to stop the enemy in advance and do him all possible damage. Having made a reconnoissance, I found three hills necessary to be held to prevent the enemy from passing; so I divided my forces as I thought best to harass him in passing. I had 600 men in all, only 350 of whom were armed; the rest served as laborers on the intrenchments, and to guard the gorges through which the enemy had to pass. When my forces were stationed where I wanted them, Colonel Angel Martinez, of the cavalry on the Mazatlan road, informed me that the enemy was making frequent sallies from the port to break the siege, and he required some infantry to retain the important position he then held. I sent him the Concordia battalion, under Colonel Juan Camberos. I then arranged my forces, leaving 200 armed men and 50 unarmed on the *Espinazo del Diablo*, where the enemy had to pass.

"For some days he remained encamped in sight of us, waiting, as I was told, for re-enforcements from Durango. We harassed him in his camp with a small force under Captain Teofilo Noriega, doing some damage. On the 31st re-enforcements arrived, (all French,) making a total of 800 men, with two pieces of artillery; and on the 1st he attacked us on both flanks. Our brave soldiers withstood the onset for four hours, and those unarmed pitilessly pelted the French with stones from steeps along the defiles where they tried to pass. Our want of resources and artillery gave the enemy a chance to possess our strongest point commanding the other positions we held. This caused us to quit our intrenchments, and our unarmed men were scattered, but they soon rallied and joined the others.

"I can assure the government the enemy suffered considerable loss, while ours was very insignificant.

"Before concluding, I must commend the valiant soldiers of the Degollado and Pueblos Unidos battalions, and particularly Colonel José Maria Gutierrez and Commander Gregorio Zaavedra, who did their duty in a most gallant and satisfactory manner. If the invaders remained masters of the field, it was after a desperate struggle and the loss of a large number of their men, which shows them what they may expect from the sons of Sinaloa, who so bravely disputed the pass.

"My troops have improved much in discipline, and I promise they shall continue to improve in courage.

"When I get a complete return from my officers, I can give you an exact account of our losses.

"I have the honor to repeat the assurance of my esteem."

I send you the above report for the information of the President of the republic, assuring him that if Mazatlan can be properly garrisoned, he may leave the defence of Sinaloa to its own citizens; and I will say that, if we be finally compelled to yield, the enemy will feel our power before we do give up the righteous cause.

Independence and liberty! Sinaloa, January 20, 1865.

ANTONIO ROSALES.

RICARDO PALACIO, *Secretary*.

The MINISTER OF WAR AND THE NAVY, *Chihuahua*.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

On the 13th General Ramon Corona wrote from Concordia as follows: "Colonel Angel Martinez wrote to me from Verde, the 10th instant, that he learned from his scouts that there was a French force of 600 men, infantry and cavalry, at Veranos. These were the same that we had met on the Durango road going towards Puerto. On the 11th I got Colonel Martinez's despatch, informing me that he had taken more than 400 mules from the enemy, causing him some trouble to transport his baggage, and perhaps giving us a chance to whip him before re-enforcements can arrive from Puerto. In this expectation I sent out Colonel Domingo Rubi with a portion of the Concordia and Panuco brigade, consisting of 150 men, and Colonel Isidro Pedraga and Juan Camberos with the Panuco battalion, and ordered them to join Martinez in Verde.

"On the 11th Colonel Anacleto Correa's command joined me at Verde, and I set out immediately to attack the enemy at Veranos with the infantry I had and fifty horses from the coast, with a small force as an escort to Martinez. On the road I learned the enemy had left Veranos for Cigueros, leaving only 100 *Chasseurs de Vincennes* and 50 traitors working on the fortifications. I immediately ordered Colonel Rubi and Correa to advance with their forces and offer battle. We caught up with the enemy at 7 o'clock in the evening, as I expected; the baggage was piled in the church and adjoining houses. I had captured their mules, as I stated. The attack began immediately, and continued till eleven at night, the enemy resisting bravely; but as it was necessary to rout him completely before re-enforcements should arrive, we set fire to the buildings to drive him out and compel him to give us battle in the open field. He saw the impossibility of resistance, and surrendered at discretion. We took 50 French and 30 traitors prisoners. The church and houses containing their provisions and baggage were burned.

"After the fight I withdrew with the prisoners and wounded. To determine what was to be done with the prisoners, a court-martial was convened at *Pozo Hedionda*, composed of the principal officers. The French prisoners were sentenced to be shot, and the traitors were kept, because they were only attending the baggage train. This judgment of the court was given for several reasons: we heard that our men taken at *Espinazo* had been shot by the French, in accordance with the decree ordering death to every citizen making war on the empire, because we found papers from General Douay *ordering the execution of more than one hundred prisoners* taken from General Arteaga in Jalisco. From these men we learned that the entire force routed consisted of 100 foreigners, and 50 natives armed and aiding the French.

"I cannot report our losses at present, because no returns have yet been made. Colonel Anacleto Correa was killed. I can give no particular recommendation of any of our officers or men to the government, as they have all acted with equal gallantry on this occasion. The Concordia and Panuco battalions and the Tepic brigade did honor to the government and their respective States.

"Between 8 and 9 next morning the enemy came from Cigueros to Veranos. As he found no one else to take vengeance on, he murdered the only woman in the place, and burnt the rest of the buildings. While he was thus employed, Commander Parra came up suddenly, attacked him, killing fourteen, and putting the rest to flight. All the troops acted bravely in this encounter.

"A wounded French soldier has just come into the hospital from *Espinazo*, and confirms the truth of what has been reported.

"I congratulate the government on these new triumphs of the national arms over the slaves of Napoleon III, and I hope all the other States will do as well as ours in this contest. For my part, I promise not to rest a moment in this fight against our common enemy."

I send the above for the information of the chief magistrate of the nation.

Independence and liberty! Sinaloa, January 20, 1865.

ANTONIO ROSALES.

RICARDO PALACIO, *Secretary.*

The MINISTER OF WAR AND THE NAVY, *Chihuahua.*

[Enclosure No. 6.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND OFFICE OF WAR AND THE NAVY.

Your communication of the 20th January, containing General Ramon Corona's despatch from Concordia of the 6th, informs the President of the republic of the result of the expedition from Durango to Mazatlan, and of the fight at Espinazo on the first.

The President is pleased with General Corona's brave conduct on that occasion, as well as with the behavior of the soldiers under his command. His commendation of the Degollado and Pueblos Unidos battalions, and of Colonel José Maria Gutierres and Commander Gregorio Saavedra in particular, is worthy of the attention of the government. The President charges me to tell you to communicate this to General Corona, and to all who are engaged in the glorious defence of republican institutions.

Independence and liberty! Chihuahua, February 4, 1865.

In the minister's absence,

ANASTASIO ARANDA, *Chief Clerk.*

General ANTONIO ROSALES, *City of Sinaloa.*

[Enclosure No. 7.]

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The President of the republic has received your despatch of the 20th February last, containing General Ramon Corona's, from Concordia, to you, dated the 13th, and communicating the results of the attack of a hostile force at Veranos, the 11th, and of the encounter of Eulogio Parra with a portion of the enemy who had come to aid those defeated the previous day.

You will inform General Corona that the President was much pleased at this news of the important services he and his soldiers are rendering, in such an honorable manner, to the nation and the State of Sinaloa.

The President has also determined that the families of Colonel Anacleto Correa, Sergeant Camacho, and others who perished gloriously for their country, shall be taken care of according to laws on the subject. When General Corona's despatch shall come to hand, with his recommendations of others who distinguished themselves at Veranos, they shall receive the proper promotions from the government. In regard to the execution of the French prisoners taken in the combat of the 11th, the government recognizes the justice of the court-martial judgment. The justice of reprisals is confirmed by many cruel acts of the French: they shot some prisoners taken from General Corona at Espinazo. Among some papers taken from them was found a despatch, saying that General Douay had ordered more than a hundred prisoners, taken from General Arteaga, in Jalisco, to be shot; Colonel Potier ordered a colonel of the national forces to be shot at Tinquindin on the 23d of November; and the Archduke Maximilian issued a decree the 3d of November, ordering that all caught defending the independence of their country should be treated as bandits, persecuted and exterminated. These are some of the acts that justify reprisals.

The government of the republic has given constant proof of its humane principles, and even of its generosity towards the enemy; has omitted, nor will omit, nothing in future to try to have the war conducted in conformity with the law of nations and the custom of civilized nations. Recent proofs of this are given in the circular of the 7th of January from this department. But this humane design imposes the sad necessity of trying to stop these barbarous acts of the enemy, and to dissuade him from the practice of those acts of ferocity ordered in Archduke Maximilian's decree, where he dares to call those who fight for their country's independence bandits, and those traitors who resist the attempts of foreigners to deprive them of their liberty, of their rights, and of the dearest and most sacred blessings a man can enjoy in society.

Independence and liberty! Chihuahua, February 4, 1865.

In the minister's absence,

ANASTASIO ARANDA, *Chief Clerk.*

General ANTONIO ROZALES, *City of Sinaloa.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, December 24, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the government of the United States, various documents relating to Mexican affairs, in the accompanying index; and, although some of them are of old dates, I think them all of sufficient importance to be submitted officially to your consideration.

You will find among them several that manifest the atrocities of the European mercenaries sent to enslave the Mexican people, and to perpetrate all sorts of outrages upon them, in the name of civilization, and in a country they already consider as conquered, and other reliable reports of the condition of things in the central part of Mexico, and on the western coast of the republic.

I embrace this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

MAZATLAN, *November* 8, 1865.

I do not believe that there is another instance in history where a victorious army has betrayed a people, after proclaiming itself the champion of liberty, so shamefully as the French have betrayed those of Sinaloa. At Acapulco it was but a single city which suffered from their desertion when they left that port to take Mazatlan. Though the people here had some misgivings, they gave themselves up body and soul to the new order of things. What has been the consequence? After marching through the whole State and establishing national guards, confirming in many instances the republican outlaws as *alcaldes* and *corregidores*, after promising that all the principal towns should be held by a French garrison, the French have withdrawn everywhere, and actually do not occupy an inch of ground outside of Mazatlan.

Corona, who never dared to fight the French, has meanwhile entered into every city of Sinaloa, committing his usual depredations, avenging private grievances, and confiscating the property of those who had compromised themselves with the French, or who took office under the imperial rule. Thus the people of La Noria and other places, unable to resist the overwhelming forces of Corona, have preferred leaving their homes and coming to this port, to seeing their houses burned down and their property destroyed. In this way Corona has advanced to the very gates of Mazatlan, cutting off all communication with the interior. When he occupied the Presidio (eight leagues from here) the commander of this port sent 200 men out to drive the *Chinacas* off, but they did not find a single enemy, though Corona's manifesto speaks of any army of 7,000 men, and though he actually had from 2,000 to 3,000, a sufficient force to overwhelm the French.

The whole garrison of Mazatlan consists only of 800 French troops, one-half of whom are in the hospitals. The bandit Lozada has been ordered for the third time to come from Tepic with his 1,500 men to reconquer this State. If the French did not keep excellent discipline this city would have raised the standard of revolution, because the lower classes and all those who have been betrayed by the French are exasperated so much that small slips of paper were thrown into several houses, on which the words were printed, "Viva el pueblo! Viva Corona!"

A large French transport ship has arrived with eight months' stores on board, which makes the trade very dull, so that the St. Jean, the J. B. Lunt, and other vessels brought their goods to an overstocked market.

The news from Sonora is not very flattering, though the people there are more in favor of the empire, and thus suffered less from the liberals. When the French left Hermosillo a number of the republicans entered the city and squeezed $45,000 out of the Mexican capitalists, but fortunately Tamariz started immediately with 500 men from Ures and drove them off again.

A short time before ex-Governor Rosales had taken the city of Alamos; but being surrounded by the imperialists, Sancho Roman and Ferrin ran away with the cavalry, and though Rosales defended himself with the greatest valor, he was killed, together with 13 officers and 145 men.

One of the noblest characters among the French officers is undoubtedly Colonel Garnier, who sails on the John L. Stephens, under leave of absence, to Europe. He could not stand the shameful conduct of General Castaguay and of the French quartermasters, who cheat the poor Mexicans out of their last cent, or have them shot if they do not give up their horses and mules.

LA PAZ, LOWER CALIFORNIA, *October* 31, 1865.

ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE—A REVOLUTION IMPENDING.

Our territorial assembly have declared for Maximilian and imperial rule. Three of the deputies, those of Todos Santos, San Antonio, and La Paz, refused to attend the *junta*. Don Fierro Hidalgo, the deputy of La Paz, was fined $200 for non-attendance. All the deputies of the territory were elected on the liberal ticket. Rumors of revolution have been rife since the act passed, and without a show of French force in the port the misrepresented people will probably soon resume control of the government.

It was reported during the sitting of the assembly that if Maximilian was not invited to assume control of our affairs 500 French soldiers would be sent here, quartered upon the inhabitants and fed at our expense. Several of our officials have refused to hold their situations under the new régime. Had one French ship anchored in the port and demanded the surrender of the place, it would have been useless to resist. It is evident that the voluntary submission of the territory was enough to avoid any excitement that might otherwise be created in the United States by this manifest "checkmate" to Uncle Sam's movements to or from the Colorado river.

THE TRUE SENTIMENT OF THE MEXICAN MASSES—CHANGES WROUGHT BY EDUCATION AND LIBERAL LEGISLATION.

If the people of Mexico are in favor of a monarchy, they have changed since Santa Anna was expelled, but ten years since. The conservative element, but for their rulers, the clergy, was hardly to be found in the country after that event. Because the great mass of the people were uneducated at the time, those of the conservative party willing to suppress their sentiments had to be employed in official positions. When the constitution of 1857 was adopted schools were established and attendance enforced by law. Eight years of free schools have done wonders; and now, except in remote districts, but few children under eighteen years are unable to read and write. The effect has been to create a common sentiment among the rising generation—that of liberalism and love for republican institutions. People who have not been residents of Mexico for the past ten years cannot conceive the changes that have taken place; the will of the *alcalde* is no longer the law; the *padre's* mighty influence has been destroyed; the military and church laws are no longer, as formerly, paramount to civil jurisdiction.

Again we hear of monopolies purchased by royalties paid to the crown, and some foolish Americans have boasted that our countrymen are especially favored by the emperor in the distribution of franchises. These odious extortions were continued by Santa Anna until the people would endure them no longer. By the new constitution they were abolished, amid universal rejoicing. Will the people now submit to have them restored? Where is the revenue to come from to support royalty? The income of Mexico has never exceeded $17,000,000. It is now much reduced by the paralyzation of commerce.

CAUSES OF MEXICAN REVOLUTIONS—MAXIMILIAN AN OBSTACLE, NOT AN AID TO PEACE.

Revolution has been for years the great cry against Mexico. The people revolted against Spain to obtain political liberty. The struggle never ceased until the constitution of 1857 was established. Their condition previous to the adoption of that instrument was as servile as during any period of colonial despotism, and their frequent revolutions, after obtaining independence of Spain, were, therefore, for a serious purpose.

Maximilian, being in possession of the seaports, controls the reports that go abroad of the success of his arms and the progress of subjugation. If we estimate the condition of the rest of Mexico by what we know of the Pacific coast, we may reasonably doubt if one-tenth of the inhabitants are subdued or converted. The most rabid imperialist would not contend that Mazatlan would not revolt against the emperor in one hour after the removal of the French forces. Guaymas and Colima would do the same. The French troops dare not leave any of these points and go ten miles into the interior, unless in strong parties; and even then they are accustomed to make hasty retreats, without giving the Mexicans time to collect their forces. Many of these raids have been attended with so much loss as to put a stop to them, unless in very strong parties; and when a town happens to be surprised and possession held for a few hours, and a few Mexicans killed, the result is heralded forth to the world as a great triumph of French arms. Acapulco had to be given up. Guerrero is not even invaded. Tepic is controlled by the notorious bandit Losada, whom the liberals have never been able to subdue, and whom the emperor early adopted. The entire country from Mazatlan to Guaymas, including many large towns, is in possession of the liberals. If in three years the French have made no more progress on this coast, how long will it take them to subdue the country? Do they expect to worry out a nation to whom dried beef, beans, and maize are luxuries? Can they forage on the enemy in a country where a single traveller is sometimes troubled to procure food to appease hunger? Can they pursue the Mexicans to their mountain fastnesses, where in three months they can mature a crop, ever ready to pounce upon weak parties of the invader? Can the French transport their army, with its munitions and commissariat, over mountains where the roads are mule trails? Are the Mexican people in favor of intervention? If one in ten, where have they submitted? Such a sentiment prevails only among Europeans and conservatives, and these form but a small portion of the inhabitants.

WHY THE FOREIGN RESIDENTS FAVOR INTERVENTION.

My experience has satisfied me that jealousy and fear of the progress of Americans on this coast has stimulated the monarchical movement among Europeans, who naturally retain strong sympathies for royalty. The fear that Americans would absorb the profits of commercial intercourse hitherto enjoyed almost solely by European traders has made them advocates of intervention. Undisguisedly they oppose every American enterprise. They have always been opposed to steam communication with San Francisco, and not without reason. But for French interference, and the consequent closing of all communication with the interior, at this time there would be hardly any other foreign commerce except with San Francisco. Small traders would annually lay in their supplies at that port. The year before the arrival of the French, when business was very good along the entire west coast, many of the importing houses of Mazatlan replenished their stocks at San Francisco. Goods bought in bond there can be laid down here at lower prices than the European importers are willing to realize. Besides, these goods are much superior in quality to those imported direct from Europe, which, if destined for the Mexican market, are always of the most worthless description. But for the slaveholders' rebellion there would at this time have been no other coarse cotton fabrics sold on this coast but American, which the Manchester manufacturers were vainly attempting to imitate, without coming any nearer the genuine article than yellow blaels and Lowell marks.

TARIFF DISCRIMINATIONS IN FAVOR OF EUROPEANS.

The importer from San Francisco has been obliged to pay 50 per cent. more duty than the importer from Europe; and when we add to this the false valuation they were enabled to put upon their goods by their peculiar relations with the custom-house officials, we may safely reckon the difference of duties paid at 75 per cent. Besides this, the slightest infraction of the tariff, even if accidental, by American importers, was treated with the utmost rigor, while fines were rarely imposed upon Europeans for the grossest violations. This was owing to the fact that the custom-house officials have for years been in their pay. When this matter of discriminating duties was made the subject of remonstrance by the United States consul at Mazatlan, and a petition was circulated by parties doing business with San Francisco to be allowed the same reduction granted on imports direct from Europe, all the European houses refused to sign, and among them the agents of the steamers.

THE HOPE AND WANT OF MEXICO.

The seeds of Mexican regeneration have been sown. Maximilian has delayed, but cannot prevent, the result. Will he promote it by European emigration? Are laboring immigrants the class required to supply the wants of this country? Or will European capitalists employ them? Have they ever done so? Will they now turn aside from their accustomed path to develop the resources and industry of the country, or will they not rather prefer, as they have always done, to secure the monopoly of importing inferior goods, selling them at exorbitant prices, and exporting the proceeds to Europe, thereby depriving the country of the capital required to employ labor? Not one dollar do they retain or invest in the country. This course, together with their frauds upon the revenue, effected by bribing custom-house officials, has impoverished the nation. Are these charges unjust? See the book of Mr. Robinson, agent for the British bondholders, which says: "All the merchants in Mexico are smugglers, and the custom-house officers their aiders and abettors."

More laborers is not what Mexico needs, but the immigration of enterprising people who will set her idle millions to work. Before intervention was brought about, purposly to stay their advent, this want had commenced to be realized. A people in Upper California, attracted by the salubrity of the climate, fertility of the soil, and the richness of the mines, were drawn hither, bringing with them capital, and a new era had begun to dawn upon Mexico, which intervention checked. The motto of the American immigrants was, not "we come here for the bondholders," but we come to make the fertile soil yield its fullness and the mines give up their stores of wealth. They were the pioneers of thousands that, but for the policy of Napoleon, would now have been spread over the land, teaching lessons of industry to a population that have acquired habits of indolence, because there has been no capital in the country to give them employment. This impoverishment has been going on for many years. Few persons out of Mexico are aware of the extortionate prices obtained for all kinds of goods on this coast previous to communication with San Francisco. Those only who are in favor of a return to this state of things oppose the liberal cause. The poverty of the country alone will interpose an effectual barrier to Maximilian's success. The people cannot bear taxation. Try it, and see how soon they will all revolt. Only the most economical form of republican government, whose support is in the affections of the people, can be maintained. Landholders pay no taxes, merchants none; industry must first be encouraged, and wealth accumulated in the country, before a revenue can be be realized. Rancheros owning leagues upon leagues of land have no money.

HOW AMERICAN ENTERPRISE HAS HELPED LOWER CALIFORNIA.

Lower California presents an example of what Upper Californians would do for all Mexico. But ten years since it was with difficulty that rancheros could obtain food. They often had to resort to the wild fruits of the country to appease hunger. Even at this time, in many of the northern districts, the inhabitants subsist almost solely, in the summer seasons, upon grapes, figs, and petazu, a fruit of the cactus plant. Children ran at large nude as the aboriginals; females seldom had a change of garments. Hides, dried beef, panocha and cheese—the only products of the country—found a market only at Guaymas or Mazatlan, and at such low prices as to barely pay the cost of transportation and international duty. A poorer country, with a more impoverished people, was not to be found on the globe.

At this time came communication from San Francisco. Hides rose in value from 75 cents to $3, and cotton fabrics fell off in price more than 50 per cent., and still paid a good profit to the importer. When the mining excitement broke out, and attention was called to our mines, those that came hither immediately began to build houses—not miserable adobe structures, but good substantial brick buildings; and in two years more houses had been erected in the mining districts of San Antonio and Triunfo than had been constructed there for the last hundred years. The population were employed, and the rancheros occupied with their mules transporting material into the interior. All produce now brings a good price and ready sale, and all the people are prosperous. The imports from Mazatlan have almost ceased. The amount of freight brought by the steamer has increased from 10 tons monthly to about 150 tons, and is constantly increasing. Intervention has brought about exactly the opposite effect on the other side of the Gulf. Strange to say, there are merchants having connexion with San Francisco, who are in favor of Maximilian. The few remaining who rely solely upon Mazatlan for supplies, would of course be glad to see our port closed to foreign commerce, as was formerly the case.

NOVEMBER 6.

Latest news.—Maximilian not yet acknowledged. Since the above was written, I learn that the act of the assembly acknowledging the authority of Maximilian has not yet received the signature of the governor. The people of the interior are complaining bitterly and threatening revolution if the act should be consummated. It will be the most foolish thing that can happen for Lower California; the coast on the opposite side of the Gulf, now in possession of the liberals, from which our supplies of corn and beans are received, will be closed to us, and these articles will soon command famine prices here.

Some of the most sanguine imperialists begin to look upon the intervention scheme as played out, since the climate has been found not to agree with the empress. It is feared that the emperor may be attacked with the same symptoms.

Our mines are being developed slowly; but although several of them contain abundance of good ore, the mining interests cannot be said to be flourishing. The complaint appears to be that the stockholders are too chary of their money to develop them properly. The Triunfo Company have a two-stamp mill at work, but don't pay dividends. They owe here about $36,000, on which they are paying interest at from 3 to 5 per cent. per month. Their mine has every appearance of being a good one.

The sodium process has been introduced here. The company who have hired the Kenosho four-stamp mill are offering to reduce for $36 per ton, and guarantee within 10 per cent. of the assay.

The other papers referred to, will be found, with the answer, under the head of "Present Condition of Mexico."

No. 5.

MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE DIVISION OF THE CENTRE.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with fifteen enclosures)	Aug. 1, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 6, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward (with four enclosures)...........	Oct. 25, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero,.............................	Dec. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)...........	Dec. 18, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Mar. 1, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)............	Mar. 3, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.............................	Mar. 17, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, August 1, 1865.

MR. ACTING SECRETARY: The desire that the government of the United States should be apprised of the important public events which are transpiring in that part of the Mexican republic which the Emperor of the French considers as having submitted to his intervention, causes me to transmit to your department three copies which I have just received of the numbers 1, 2, and 3, of "La Republica," "the official journal of the headquarters of the republican army of the centre," published in the city of Tacambaro, in the State of Michoacan, on the first, sixth and eleventh of June last. I also enclose to you a copy, with the same view, so far as it relates thereto, of a letter written in the same city, on the 13th of June aforesaid, by General Arteaga, commander-in-chief of the army of the centre, to General Alvarez, governor and military commandant of the State of Guerrero.

In the papers referred to, you will find official documents which show the great efforts which the Mexican people in the State of Michoacan are making to defend its independence against the foreign invader, and the successful result which up to this time has crowned their patriotic conduct.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

WILLIAM HUNTER, Esq., *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

TACAMBARO, *June* 13, 1865.

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER: After the notices which I have communicated in my previous letters, which I presume are now in your possession, I have only to add that the balance of the 7th corps of cavalry which passed over to us yesterday have been incorporated into this army. The 13th, from Guanajuato, which was stationed in garrison at Leon, has also joined our forces, and I hope the same will happen with the rest, for the state of demoralization which prevails among the traitors is now well known.

The excitement in public opinion still continues to the extent that, daily, chiefs and officers present themselves to me requesting to tender their services, and that those adhering to our cause are making great efforts even at the points occupied by the enemy.

* * * * * * * *

Be pleased to receive, as ever, the sincere regards of your affectionate friend and brother, who loves you well,

JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

Señor DON DIEGO ALVAREZ, *La Providencia.*

A true copy:

LA PROVIDENCIA, *July* 1, 1865.

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *August* 1, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

From the official bulletin of the first division of the republican army we take the following:

ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

ON THE MARCH, *May* 9, 1865.

After three hours of a very warm fire of artillery and musketry, I have taken, at 9 a. m. to-day, this post, which was garrisoned by three hundred and fifty Belgians and fifty traitors, there remaining in our hands, as prisoners, some two hundred of the former and twelve of the latter. The arms of both were secured, and also one piece of artillery, its munitions, and all they possessed.

The enemy lost everything completely; the soldiers who were not killed in the attack were wounded and made prisoners.

On our part we have to lament some casualties, and particularly the death of the gallant colonel, citizen Luis Robredo, and also that of three inferior officers. The prisoners are placed at your disposition, for such decision as you may deem proper; and with reference to the wounded, both of the enemy and our own, they remain in this city under the care of the surgeons, who will properly attend to their relief. I do not deem it needless to inform you that the commander of the defeated force remains at this place, seriously wounded, and that every kind of attention has been paid him. With reference to the officers who are prisoners, they are all permitted to have their arms, for I desire that the deluded, who term our forces the bands of Juarez, shall understand that they have greatly deceived themselves; that there still exists, however much it may go against the imperialists, a corps d'armée, whose chiefs know how to respect the laws of war. I conclude by recommending to you all the commanders, officers and soldiers, who compose this division, for all of them have behaved worthily in the glorious battle of to-day.

Independence and liberty! Codallos, April 11, 1865.

NICOLAS DE REGULES.

Citizen General, Governor VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

CUITZEO DE LA LAGUNA, *April* 7, 1865.

To-day I made an attack upon this post, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and fifty traitors, was entirely destroyed, most of them being prisoners in our hands, including their commander, D. Ignacio Izquierdo. The losses of the enemy were complete; all their armament was captured, some guns, munitions, and other effects. Among the dead collected of those defending the post was found the body of D. Francisco Izquierdo, chief of staff and brother of the commander, D. Severiano Izquierdo, who with the other prisoners are at your disposal.

Independence and liberty!

N. DE REGULES.

The Citizen General, Governor VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

[From La Republica, June 1, 1865.]

(Official No. 1.)

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

HEADQUARTERS AT TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS,
April 24, 1865.

On the 11th instant part of the first division of the republican army of the centre, under the immediate command of the citizen general, Nicolas de Regules, carried this place by assault, which was then defended by Belgian troops. As the result of this passage-at-arms, more than two hundred prisoners were captured, who, by orders from these headquarters, were transferred to Huetamo, the wounded only remaining at the post because their condition prevented their marching. The military operations have not afforded the facilities of permanently retaining troops in this place, and as much owing to this cause, and very particularly because humanity and the laws of war do not authorize the victors to expose their prisoners to a certain death under the pretext of their security, these headquarters, upon evacuating the place at the date referred to, to settle these difficulties, adopted the measures compatible with the circumstances. These were none others than to exact from the chief of the Belgians, and from the other wounded officers who accompanied him, the written promise, under their word of honor, that they would remain in this village in their character of prisoners of war, subject to the disposal of the undersigned, and that on no account on the occupation of the place by forces hostile to the republic should they join them, nor even take up arms again so long as they were prisoners of war.

The almost dying state of the Belgian chief caused these headquarters to leave in his service four soldiers among his countrymen, to attend him during his sickness, bound by the same obligations, and after pledging themselves to be prisoners under their word. Furthermore, such attentions and services were rendered to all the wounded which not only humanity but civilization demand towards persons whom the fate of war has placed in the hands of the victor. This post having been abandoned by the republican forces, the Count de Potier occupied it with his column on the 16th instant, and the following day withdrew from it, taking off with him all the wounded prisoners. These headquarters never could have expected, from the boasted loyalty of the French soldiers, that they would have compelled their companions to forego the obligations of a pledge of honor, for if they had even suspected it, they would have taken with them the wounded, without the fear of compromitting, in any way, the good name of the republic and of their government, nor yet their responsibility as to their fate, when once their leaders so openly violated, and without any respect whatever, the laws of honor and of war.

Notwithstanding the proceedings which preceded the French army, on opening the campaign against Mexico, the imperial commissioner having denied the force of his signature appended to the preliminaries of La Soledad, these headquarters did not fear that such a scandalous proceeding would subsequently be followed by the same consequences and the like infractions of the word of honor, pledged in the name of a nation and of a government which have ever called themselves the first among the enlightened states. For the same reasons these headquarters, when General Salazar commanded the third division of this army, after the success he obtained at Los Reyes on the 20th February last, were unwilling, in consequence of the different movements they made, to take with them the wounded Frenchmen, and, confiding in their loyalty, they accepted the written promise given them under their word of honor as soldiers that they would consider themselves prisoners of war, and not to leave this place, Los Reyes, which original promise is now in the possession of the undersigned. With General Salazar they committed the like breach of faith, and the French officers and soldiers failed also to keep their word of honor; for, no sooner was the opportunity presented to them to join friendly forces than they abandoned that place.

The facts referred to, which are fully known in this State of the republic, and which cannot have been unknown to his excellency the marshal at the head of the French army, must produce the conviction, either that Mexico does not sustain the war with an enemy loyal and enlightened, as it calls itself, or that the too generous conduct of the republican troops must now have a limit, which can be none other than that of reprisals. The French soldiers, who pride themselves more upon their civilization than upon their military glory, and, as they assure the several countries against whom they wage war, that they carry rather the banner of enlightenment than that of the ostentation of their power, have been unable in Mexico to alter their opinions and conduct. They have doubtless thought that they came to a barbarous country, where the laws of war authorize the calamities and cruelties of conquest, thus giving cause to striking contrasts, the more dishonorable to the French army, because it is Mexico who by her example gives them lessons of gentlemanliness.

These opinions can in no manner be attributed as the expression of a reproach, but as those of an injured justice, which demands for Mexico the same privileges and pre-eminences which the laws of war concede to civilized nations. They are, on the other hand, sustained upon facts of which the French soldiers themselves have been the witnesses, which they cannot deny, and which probably they will conceal through shame to their own dishonor.

Upon the eve of the assault, the wife of General Regules, who resided in the town, was taken from the house in which she lived, by order of the Belgian commander, and thrown into prison, together with her two little children. As a condition of her liberty, she was required to write to her husband not to attack the town, which that lady refused to do with an energy and dignity which will ever do honor to her sex. On the next day, during the battle, when the danger was most imminent, she was taken out of her prison almost naked, and placed in the trench which the columns of General Regules were attacking most vigorously.

Women and children are always respected in war, and modern civilization is shocked that either the conqueror or the conquered should wreak their animosities upon persons whom the law of nations treats with respect. To cruelty it seems that the Belgian troops added perfidy, because at the time of the assault there was a suspension of firing upon their part, which the Mexican columns interpreted into a surrender, inasmuch as a white flag was raised upon their parapets, and the soldiers turned their muskets with the breech uppermost. Upon these signals being made the republican soldiers approached the parapet in all confidence, and, when they least expected it, they received a murderous fire, which put many of them *hors de combat.*

The assault upon the place having been successfully accomplished, and in view of these acts which no one denies, what was the conduct of General Regules and his subordinates? To lavish upon the wounded the succors they needed and to spare the lives of the prisoners, notwithstanding that in the first moments after a battle the most severe military discipline is not sufficient to restrain the excesses of the victors. These headquarters, being the arbiter of the fate of the vanquished, redoubled their attentions towards them, and ordered, as has already been said, that they should be transferred to another village, the wounded only remaining in this place. We might have, remembering the precedents observed during the present war, shot them all, since court-martials do not spare the life of any Mexican, under pretexts however frivolous. We might have made use of reprisals, since neither a loyal nor chivalrous war is waged against Mexico; which war, being unjust in its causes, continues to be more odious in its different phases. We might have, in the name of the republic, so gratuitously calumniated, have taken vengeance upon her defamers and enemies. We have done nothing of the kind, and the prisoners will be respected in their life and person so long as the French army shall do the same with the defenders of our independence whom the hazards of war shall place in their hands. If this does not take place, not a single enemy will be spared, and Mexico, which can hope for nothing from her invaders, will do herself justice. With reference to the prisoners who, voluntarily or compelled thereto by force, have broken their word of honor, his excellency the marshal, chief of the French army, will be pleased to give his orders to have them returned to the army of the centre, because they have not lost, nor can they lose, their condition of prisoners of war. If also with regard to this matter the hopes of these headquarters are deceived, they will know for the future that no French officer, whatever may be his grade, will be believed upon his word of honor, and he will meet the fate of the conquered. They will not again concede, as they did to the Belgian officers taken prisoners in the assault upon this place, the singular honor of wearing their swords, because the soldier deserves no consideration of any kind who, in losing his honor, loses everything.

These headquarters, on addressing his excellency the marshal-chief of the French army, trust he will be pleased to reply to each of the points contained in the present note, and with this view they tender to him the assurances of their high consideration.

Independence and liberty!

JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

His excellency the SEÑOR MARSHAL,
Commander-in-chief of the French army in Mexico,
(or wherever he may be.)

[Enclosure No. 5.]

TACAMBARO, *April* 24, 1865.

MARSHAL: At the special request of the Belgian lieutenant, Mr. Guallo, made a prisoner on the capture of this city, which occurred on the 11th of this month, I have the honor to transmit to you, through the channel of the military commander of the post of Morelia, a gold watch, belonging to Baron Schatz, son of the secretary of war of Belgium, who was killed in the assault referred to.

The object of this remission is, that his excellency may be pleased to cause it to reach the hands of his father, as a last memento, thus complying with the wish of the Baron, expressed to Lieutenant Guallo before the battle commenced.

I repeat myself, with the due attention, your obedient servant,

JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

MARSHAL BAZAINE,
In Mexico, (or wherever he may be found.)

This is a copy of the original, to which I certify.

J. MENDOZA, *Secretary.*

[Enclosure No. 6.]

[From La Republica, June 6, 1865, No. 2.—Translation.]

(Circular No. 1.—Official.)

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

The necessity of recuperating my health, very much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign, has compelled me to establish my headquarters in this city, where I shall continue to discharge the difficult task which the supreme government has confided to my loyalty and patriotism. The recent occurrences which have taken place in the southern part of Jalisco, where these headquarters were established, must in no manner influence the operations of the campaign; for if it be true that the army corps which existed there has suffered reverses, these are not so great that all has been lost, nor the positions it occupied the only ones which can be defended in the vast extent of the national territory, which, as yet, has not submitted to the empire.

It is therefore to be hoped that these alternatives, always common in the international contests of nations, far from cooling the patriotism of the good

Mexicans who sustain the cause of the independence of their country, will infuse into them new strength for the fight, and encourage them to renewed sacrifices

These considerations, which are not hidden to your patriotism, of which you have already given so many proofs, these headquarters hope will be practically adopted in the State under your worthy command, through your co-operation and your efficient activity in all the military operations.

So soon as my health will have been restored, which it will be within a few days, I shall continue, as in duty bound, to push the contest in an active manner, and meanwhile you can address yourself to this city touching all the affairs committed to these general headquarters, in virtue of the ample powers which the supreme government of the nation has conceded to it.

Independence and liberty! General headquarters at Huetamo de Nunez, December 10, 1864.

JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

The Citizen GOVERNOR AND MILITARY COMMANDER
of the State of ———.

[Enclosure No 7.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

Under this date the citizen general, Nicolas de Regules, commanding the expeditionary column, says to me the following:

"After three hours of a very hot fire of artillery and musketry, I have to-day captured this town, at 9 o'clock in the morning, which was garrisoned by three hundred and forty Belgians and fifty traitors, there remaining in our possession, as prisoners, two hundred and odd of the first and twelve of the latter. All the arms of both parties were captured, and also one piece of artillery, its munitions, and all they possessed. The enemy lost everything. The soldiers who were not killed in the attack were wounded or made prisoners. On our side we have to lament some misfortunes, particularly the death of the gallant citizen Colonel Luis Robredo, and those of three inferior officers. The prisoners remain subject to your disposition for such decision as you may deem most proper. Respecting the wounded, both the enemy's and our own, they will remain in this city under the care of the surgeons, that they may be efficiently cured for during their cure.

"I do not deem improper to inform you that the commander of the force defeated is also at the place seriously wounded, every kind of consideration having been extended to him. With reference to the officers who are prisoners, they are all permitted to retain their arms, for I desire that the misguided, who call our forces the Juarez bands, shall understand that they are grievously mistaken; that there still exists, however unpalatable it may be to the imperialists, a corps d'armée whose officers know how to respect the laws of war.

"I conclude by recommending to you all the chiefs, officers, and soldiers who compose this division, for they have all behaved most worthily in the glorious battle of this day."

And I transcribe it to you for your information, congratulating you upon this brilliant success obtained by the national arms.

Independence and liberty! Tacambaro de Codallos, April 11, 1865.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

The Citizen General of Division,
JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA,
Commanding-in-chief the republican army of the centre.

[Enclosure No. 8.]

General order of the army of the 19th and 20th May, 1865.

OFFICER OF THE DAY: The citizen Colonel Ignacio Zepeda, adjutant of the guard at headquarters; sub-lieutenant, Citizen Andres Frias, and at this majoralty general, the citizen Captain Miguel G. Aguirre:

All the corps which are now at this point will be prepared for an immediate march. The cavalry will saddle up at 2 o'clock in the morning. The 7th corps of the regular cavalry has this day joined this army, (formerly the 3d light, of Michoacan,) which corps was at Ario, in the service of the so-called empire.

The citizen general, commander-in-chief of this army, who has witnessed with satisfaction the incorporation of the said corps, recommends to the citizens, chiefs, officers, and soldiers, their full fraternization with our brothers and companions-in-arms, since they came to us with the laudable object of aiding us to sustain the rights of the republic against the foreign enemy.

By superior command.

AGUIRRE.

Communicated:

FELIPE G. AGUIRRE.

[Enclosure No. 9.]

HUETAMO, *April* 16, 1865.

SIR: We fulfil an imperious duty by requesting Colonel Villa Gomez to transmit on our part the most expressive and sincere thanks for the noble and generous manner in which he has treated us. We shall never forget, believe us, señor general-in-chief, the kindness he has extended to officers and soldiers who believe they have complied with their duty. We beg you, señor general-in-chief, to give our most expressive thanks to the Señor Colonel Villa Gomez and his officers for the countless attentions they have conferred upon us from Tacambaro to Huetamo, where we now are.

By the officers, prisoners of war at Huetamo, &c.:

A. GAUCHIN, *Captain.*
DEHECK, *Lieutenant.*
WALTON, *Lieutenant.*
FOURDIN, *2d Lieutenant.*
GEOFFROY, *2d Lieutenant.*
DE BIBER, *2d Lieutenant.*
ADAM, *2d Lieutenant.*
JACOBS, *Paymaster.*
J. MIÑON.

Señor General JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA,
General-in-Chief.

TACAMBARO, *May* 24, 1865.

A true copy, to which I certify.

J. MENDOZA, *Secretary.*

[Enclosure No. 10.—Circular.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

It has become known to these headquarters that certain officers of divisions and brigades, in contravention of the general orders of this army and other laws in force, communicate with the enemy, or with the places occupied by them, giving rise thereby to a relaxation in the military discipline so necessary in the present war. The same officers, with powers which are only reserved to these headquarters by the laws referred to, have opened negotiations with the enemy touching the exchange of prisoners of war, sometimes without reporting their results, nor either of the prisoners set at liberty by the enemy.

To prevent the said abuses the commander-in-chief calls attention to the strict observance of article 45, title 10, part 8, of the military ordinance, and also to the respective prohibitions of the law of February 25, 1862, and others subsequent thereto touching communicating and giving intelligence to the enemy.

When, in any battle, prisoners are captured, if they be traitors, they shall be tried and punished agreeably to the law cited and to those relating thereto, without any other appeal, up to and including the rank of sergeant. The rank and file, which is generally composed of men forced into the service, will be mustered into the files, except the volunteers, who are included in the preceding regulation. With reference to the prisoners taken from the invader, of whatever grade, they shall be guarded with due security, and held subject to the orders of these headquarters, which alone can dispose of them, and which, in conformity with the powers conceded to it by military law, will open negotiations with the enemy for the exchange of prisoners; every other officer being prohibited from initiating or carrying them into effect under the penalties prescribed by the ordinance.

That these measures may be duly observed, you will cause them to be made known to your subalterns through the proper general ordinance relative thereto.

Independence and liberty! Headquarters at Huetamo de Nuñez, May 22, 1865.

JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

The CITIZEN GOVERNOR
and Military Commander of the State of ———.

[Enclosure No. 11.—Translation.]

[From "La Republica," June 11, 1865.]

(Official No. 3.)

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

Under this date the citizen General Nicolas Regules, commander of the expeditionary column, says to me the following:

"To-day I made an attack upon this post, the garrison of which, composed of 150 traitors, was entirely destroyed, the greater part of whom, including the military commandant, Don Severiano Izquierdo, are now prisoners in our hands. The losses of the enemy were complete; all their armament was captured, some artillery, munitions, and other effects. Among the dead who were collected of the defenders of the post the body of Don Francisco Izquierdo, the chief of staff and brother of the commandant, Don Severiano Izquierdo, was found, which like the other prisoners await your orders."

And I transcribe it to you, congratulating you upon this additional triumph obtained by the national arms.

Independence and liberty! Codallos, April 9, 1865.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

The Citizen José Maria Arteaga,
General of Division, Commanding-in-chief the Republican Army of the Centre.

Enclosure No. 12.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

Under this date the citizen General Nicolas Regules, commander of the expeditionary column, says to me the following:

"At 2 o'clock a. m. this day I was informed that a force of the enemy, composed of five hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, under the command of Colonel de Potier, had arrived in the night at Zipimeo and were marching upon Oronuta, at which farm I passed the night. I took the road leading to Quiroga, *via* Guaniqueo, with my division; but foreseeing that the enemy would attempt to intercept me by taking the bridge of San Isidro, I ordered Captain Jesus Villanueva to dispute the said position, of which he took possession, availing myself of this incident for the purpose of uniting my forces and to continue their march across the same bridge. The advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry, believing my force to be in a demoralized state, made a dashing attack upon the rear of the column in which I was with a battalion and the cavalry. The dashing charge they made was handsomely repulsed by my troops, who not only steadily met the shock of the enemy, but repulsed them twice with a loss to them of some twenty killed and many others wounded. All this occurred about two o'clock in the evening; about this time a heavy rain set in which prevented me to operate against the enemy in the advantageous positions from which he was retiring, and I therefore continued my march, in which I was not interrupted, notwithstanding the rear guard of the column was skirmishing during the rest of the day.

"And I have the honor to communicate it to you for your information, requesting you to be pleased to transmit it also to the citizen general, commander-in-chief of the army."

And I so transmit it to you for your information.

Independence and liberty! Codallos, April 24, 1865.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

The Citizen José Maria Arteaga,
General of Division, Commander-in-chief of the Republican Army of the Centre.

[Enclosure No. 13.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—FIRST DIVISION.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

Under this date the citizen General Nicolas Regules, commander of the expeditionary column, says to me the following:

"At 11 o'clock a. m. this day I received information through one of my scouts that a force of one hundred and fifty cavalry, composed of traitors in charge of some effects, was marching in the direction of Morelia, by the road which leads to Paztcuaro, *via* Capula. In virtue of this notice I ordered that the advance guard of the division under my command, composed of the corps of Garnica, should vigorously pursue the enemy, which was immediately done, the result being that the force of traitors to which I refer was completely routed, having abandoned in its precipitate and shameful flight more than twenty mules laden with equipages, sundry horses, arms and other munitions of war. We have in our hands eleven prisoners, who informed me that Colonel Francisco Suarez was left dead on the field.

"And I participate it to you for your information, reiterating my respect and obedience."

And I transcribe it to you for your information, congratulating you upon this additional triumph obtained by the national arms.

Independence and liberty! Tacambaro, March 26, 1865.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

The Citizen José Maria Arteaga,
General of Division, Commanding-in-chief
the Republican Army of the Centre.

[Enclosure No. 14.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF MICHOACAN OF OCAMPO.

Under date of the 16th instant the citizen General Manuel G. Pueblita, commanding the second division of the republican army of the centre, says to me the following:

"I have the honor to inform you that after making my way across the Tierra Caliente to the hacienda of the 'Lanceles,' where I arrived yesterday at two o'clock in the evening, I marched to Zitacuaro with the division, after having incorporated the forces of the citizens Colonels Leon Ugalde and Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Castillo. On my arrival at the hacienda de la Encarnacion I was notified by the scouts posted on the Toluca road that the enemy, to the number of 400 men of the two arms, was marching upon Zitacuaro, and that they were on the farm of Ugalde, whence they had previously carried off the latter's family and Don Nicanor Arias. I at once ordered the corps of cavalry commanded by Garcia, Martinez, Granda, and Ugalde, to march upon Manzanillo, under the orders of the latter, where the Chasseurs d'Afrique already were, and to give them battle if there was a probability of success, or to retire if it should be necessary.

"Colonel Ugalde, who had not the calmness sufficient to bear the outrage offered to his family, with the courage which is characteristic of him, threw himself upon the enemy, making a sweeping charge with the lance; his example was followed by the other commanders, but with so much intrepidity that, after a fight of five hours, the enemy, composed entirely of foreigners, fled, leaving in our possession 18 muskets, with their respective sword bayonets, four Arabian horses fully equipped, twelve men killed and twenty-three wounded whom they carried off on their horses, and which it was impossible to take from them owing to the nature of the ground, they having fled into the mountains and a steady rain during the whole evening. I remained on the plain of San Miguel until five o'clock p. m., when I received the report, giving orders to the cavalry to retire to Zitacuaro and La Encarnacion, myself marching with the infantry to this farm, (El Bosque,) where I shall pass the night.

"We have to lament on our side the wounding of five of the soldiers of the section of Ugalde, of four from the force of Castillo, and of two others of the forces from Guanajuato and Jalisco.

"In this small passage at arms all the officers already named and their troops behaved with great gallantry. All of which I communicate to you for your information, requesting you to bring it to the knowledge of the citizen general, the commander-in-chief, recommending to him the officers already referred to."

And I herein insert it to you for your information, making you the recommendation expressed in the foregoing communication, and congratulating you upon this new success to the national arms.

Independence and liberty! Tacambaro, May 27, 1865.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

The Citizen General of Division, José Maria Arteaga,
Commanding-in-chief the Republican Army of the Centre.

[Enclosure No. 15.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF MICHOACAN DE OCAM

Under this date, the citizen, Leonardo Valdez, colonel and prefect of the district of Nuñez, tells me the following: "It is a long time since Eusebio Noveron and the Arroyos, have been in insurrection against the public law, in the district of Mina, causing inexplicable evils, such as obstructions to commerce, the robbery of citizens, and the assassination of several liberal chiefs, by pouncing upon them in their habitations and depriving them of life, without any resistance thereto. The destruction of order, the expenses caused to the government in consequence of the proceedings of said traitors, in order to place itself in an attitude of defence, and the fact of their having treated with disdain the party under my command, by assassinating, in Tiquicheo, Don Bruno Jaimez, who took so active a part in the pacification among the insurgents of the Saivas de Trujillo, have compelled me to sanction the expedition of which you were previously informed, by dividing my force upon different points, in order to restrain the enemy and compass their destruction. To that purpose, I combined the movement by rapid night marches until I came up with them at the 'hacienda de los Truchas;' on the 15th instant surprised and charged them, when they fled in a most cowardly manner; thus killing twelve of their number; among these, Lieutenant Tiburcio Aguilar, 1st Sergeant Juan Rosales, 2d Sergeant Amado Galindo, the trumpeter Cipriano Luna, the corporals Jesus Delgado and Marcial Maldonado. We captured from them thirteen, muskets, two carbines, one double-barrelled gun, six machetes, one bowie-knife, one trumpet, three cartridge-boxes, seven horses saddled and bridled, five others with only their saddles, two without, one jack and a mule with their saddles and bridles. The broken nature of the ground was of great assistance to Noveron, who commanded, and to the others in escaping, as they fled to places where it was impossible for me to follow them, for the reason already stated, and also from the disabled condition of my horses, caused by long marches upon impracticable routes.

"The enemy having been demoralized, and understanding that it was easier to overtake some of the stragglers in their lurking places, which are not unknown to me, I sent the diligent lieutenant colonel of cavalry, Don Celso Diaz, to the place called Los Huajes, the residence of the Arroyos, who by marching all the night in a drenching rain and accomplishing his commission with so much prudence, succeeded in capturing the very interesting leader and traitor Paulino Arroyo, who, if we are to believe his declaration, was the commander, and which is proved by the fact of his having been known as the leader of his party. This same individual I ordered to be shot, on the 16th instant, at the Arroyo Grande, where he made his *pronunciamiento.*

"And while informing you of the result of my expedition, it is grateful to me to manifest to you that all the spoils of the enemy, except the arms and other munitions of war, were distributed to the troops; that the officers under my command have on this occasion complied fully with their duty, and that on our part we have met with no loss except that our cavalry was rendered utterly useless.

"Independence and liberty! Huetamo de Nuñez, May 20, 1865.

"LEONARDO VALDEZ."

And I transcribe it to you, for your information, congratulating you upon this brilliant success obtained by the national arms.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS, *May* 24, 1865.

The Citizen JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA, *General of Division,*
Commanding-in-chief the Republican Army of the Centre.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 6, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of August 1, 1865, enclosing therewith numbers 1, 2, and 3 of "La Republica," and the letter of General Arteaga, commander-in chief of the republican army of the centre, dated June 13, 1865, to Don Diego Alvarez, the governor and military commander of the State of Guerrero, giving very interesting reports and accounts of the successful results of the operations of the army under his command, in the State of Michoacan, during the months of March, April, and May, 1865.

Thanking you for the valuable information you have thus been pleased to communicate to this government, I avail myself of the present occasion to offer to you, sir, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.,*
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, October 25, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Continuing my transmission to your department of the principal documents that can give the United States government an idea of the principal events now taking place in Mexico, I now have the honor of sending to you those mentioned in the enclosed index, some of which were brought by the last steamer from Vera Cruz, and others, although of older date, I think important.*

* * * * * * * * *

I also enclose two protests, made at Tacambaro on the 10th and 24th of May last, and signed by several French officers, prisoners of a republican force. In them you will perceive the generous and philanthropic conduct of the Mexican troops towards their prisoners, contrasting strangely with the decrees and barbarous conduct of their enemies.

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* For the whole of this letter see No 9.

I also enclose a general order from the army of the centre, showing the most recent organization of the national forces in that part of the territory of the republic.

In conclusion, you will see among these documents two acts: one passed by the town and county of Zongolica, in the State of Vera Cruz, and the other by the town and county of Juchitan, in the State of Oaxaca, in which the inhabitants declare their hostile sentiments towards the so-called empire, which takes place whenever the force of French bayonets is removed.

I take advantage of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*,

A list of the documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington to the Department of State of the United States, with his note of the 25th of October, 1865, *on events recently taken place in Mexico.*

No. 1. July 26, 1865.—Act passed in the town of Zongolica, State of Vera Cruz, protesting against intervention and the empire, and offering obedience to the president of the republic.

No. 2. July 27, 1865.—Act passed in Juchitan, State of Oaxaca, protesting against the establishment of an empire in Mexico by the French army, and acknowledging the republic.

No. 3. Order from general-in-chief of the army of the centre, regulating the first division of the army of the centre, operating in the State of Michoacan.

No. 4. April 11, 1865.—Protest of an officer and several soldiers of the foreign legion, expressing their determination to remain as prisoners of war in Tacambaro, and not fight against the republic.

No. 5. May 24, 1865.—Various French prisoners of war protest to remain in prison at Tacambaro until exchanged according to the laws of nations.

No. 6. May 28, 1865.—Proclamation the usurper to the Mexicans, published in Vera Cruz, on landing at that port.

No. 7. November 3, 1864.—Letter from the usurper to Velazques de Leon declaring that his adversaries must be persecuted and punished as bandits.

No. 8. October 2, 1865.—Proclamation of the usurper to the Mexicans, asserting that President Juarez has quitted the territory of Mexico, and all defenders of the republic are outlaws.

No. 9. October 3, 1865.—Decree of the usurper ordering prisoners of war to be executed within twenty-four hours, and those who aid the republicans or do not inform on them, &c., and imposing severe penalties on citizens who do not or cannot resist them.

No. 10. September, 1865.—The address of the usurper on the erection of the statue of Morelos, in Guardiola square, city of Mexico.

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

General order of the central army—Distribution of its forces.

The citizen general-in-chief of the army has disposed that the first division be organized in the following manner:

Its commander-in-chief is citizen Brigadier General Vicente Riva Palacio, and its second, citizen General Nicolas Regules.

The first brigade, under the command of citizen General Regules, second in command of the division, shall be composed of the first, second, third, and fourth battalions of Michoacan, second corps of lancers of the regular army, second lancers of Toluca, and third of Michoacan, (formerly Caballos lancers,) and the Solorio section, with a half mountain battery.

The second brigade shall be formed by the fifth, sixth, and seventh battalions of Michoacan, the first corps of Toluca lancers, third of the same, (formerly the Pachuca squadron,) with a section of mountain artillery, the whole commanded by citizen Colonel Pedro Garcia.

The third brigade, under command of citizen Colonel Ignacio Zepeda, shall be formed of the eight Michoacan battalion, the seventh corps of permanent lancers, the corps of active Jalisco lancers, with a section of mountain artillery.

The fourth brigade, under command of citizen General Estevan V. Leon, shall be composed of the Zitacuaro forces, the Guerrero lance corps, commanded by Colonel Castillo, and the southern expeditionary section of Toluca, with a section of mountain artillery.

The fifth brigade, commanded by citizen Colonel Leonardo Valdez, shall be composed of the Nuñez battalion, and the first and second squadrons of the Huetamo loyals, with a section of mountain artillery.

The Garnica section shall be composed of the tenth Michoacan battalion, and the first corps of lancers of the same State, formerly called the liberty lancers.

The Ronda section shall be composed of the ninth Michoacan battalion, and the second lancers of the same State, formerly the Puruandiro lancers.

Citizen Colonel José Maria Mendez Olivares shall be major general of the division.

Citizen Lieutenant Colonel Luis Santa Maria Cruzado shall be adjutant of the first brigade; citizen Squadron Commander Lorenzo Contreras shall be adjutant of the second brigade; citizen Lieutenant Colonel José Maria Gomez Humaran shall be adjutant of the third brigade; citizen Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Castillo, of the fourth brigade; and citizen Squad Commander Jesus Barajas, of the fifth brigade.

Citizen Commander Fernando Gonzales shall be commissary of the first division; citizen Captain Miguel Alvarado, commissary of the first brigade; Trinidad Valdez, of the second; Simon Becerra of the third, and the fourth and fifth brigades shall retain their present purveyors.

By supreme command:

Major AGUIRRE.

Communicated.

F. G. AGUIRRE.

A true copy.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

We, the undersigned, wounded in the battle of to-day, in this city, and accepting the offer of the commander-in-chief of the republican army of the centre to let us remain here on account of our condition, not being able to travel, and in accordance with the rules of war, promise upon our word of honor to remain here as prisoners of war to the said general-in-chief, and not to leave or take up arms against the forces of the republic, even when invaded or occupied by the enemy of that army.

The commander of the Belgian forces especially, who was in the place before the attack, binds himself by his word of honor, and the four soldiers attending him, to remain as prisoners under the same conditions as the other wounded Belgians who sign this protest with him and his attendants.

We also declare that we sign this protest without compulsion of any kind whatever, and only on account of the kindness of the commander-in-chief of the republican army of the centre, who respects the rights of humanity and the law of nations.

Done in Tacambaro on the 11th of April, 1865.

Signed by Major Teygad, Captain Schrimager, Lieutenant Carlot; soldiers, Pierre Schoos, Pierre Corthout, Delange, (sergeant,) Briart, Peters, Joseph Spenders, Frederick Frevens, Desmit, (musician,) Kaller, (corporal,) Ziffars, and many others.

A true copy.

TACAMBARO, *May* 24, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.—Translation.]

Protest made to General Salazar, at Tacambaro, the 10th of May, 1865, by Joseph Alfred Wanderbach, (sergeant,) Leopold Le Sueur, and Francois Ronchon, first regiment zouaves, and prisoners of war.

General Salazar, chief of the third division of the republican army, wishing us to be as comfortable as possible, being his prisoners, and thinking the town of Reyes would be a better place for us, has decreed as follows:

1st. That he has the best feelings for us, on account of the exchange proposed by Baron Neigre, commander of the French forces to which we belong, now in Morelia; that this exchange was delayed because they hoped to hear good news from commanders near our forces, and in case of captures, there it would be preferred to exchange them instead of others of more distant divisions.

2d. As General Salazar believes it will be better for us, he has had us brought to Reyes, requiring of us a protest, on word of honor, that when set at liberty we will consider ourselves as prisoners of war till exchanged. We make this protest in due form, binding ourselves not to violate it, but to regard it as a treaty made on our word of honor, to be confirmed by Baron Neigre, comformably to the laws of war.

3d. This protest shall be made duplicate, in French and Spanish, one copy to remain in General Salazar's hands, the other to be retained by us, the subscribers.

J. A. WANDERBACH,
Captain of Zouaves.
L. LE SUEUR.
RONCHON.

MILITARY COURT OF THE THIRD DIVISION.

The preceding protest was made before me, military judge of this division, and in the presence of the citizen secretary.

GUILLERMO SAMUDIO.

ROSENDO TAUREGUI, *Secretary*

A true copy:

J. MENDOZA. *Secretary.*

TACAMBARO, *May* 24, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 10, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of the 25th of October last, and the ten enclosures which accompanied the same, which you communicated for the information of the government of the United States.

You are pleased to call my particular attention to the most significant of these documents, namely, to a proclamation dated October 2, 1865, and to a decree of the 3d of the same month, issued by the so-called emperor of Mexico, in the latter of which the penalty of death is to be imposed upon all Mexicans who are in arms against his authority in that republic.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that your despatch and its accompaniments, for which you will accept my thanks, have received the consideration to which they are justly entitled from this government.

You will accept, sir, the assurances of my renewed and very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, December 18, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, some documents, translated into English, recently come into my possession, showing the condition of affairs on the northwestern frontier of the Mexican republic. At the same time I enclose you two very significant documents, both from French sources, clearly showing what is going on in the part of Mexico occupied by the French.

The first of these documents is a letter from M. Heym, sergeant-major and secretary of the Belgian legion in Mexico, to his parents in Lievre, telling them, simply and truthfully what the legion has done in Mexico, the excesses it has committed, and the way the usurped authority it represents is treated by the nation. The whole letter was published in an Antwerp paper, called "Le Précurseur."

The second of the documents mentioned is an extract from No. 102 of "La Idea Liberal," of the 29th of November last, a paper published in Puebla, and was brought to this country by the last steamer from Vera Cruz. This extract is the report of two Mexican citizens, denying the official assertion of the usurper's agents that the amnesty offered in his bloody decree of the 3d of October last, of which I sent a copy in English to your department, with my note of the 25th of the same month, had been willingly accepted. The French and their agents have recently tried to make believe that a large number of Mexicans, still defending the independence of their country, have accepted this amnesty; but the representations of the two citizens referred to, Silvestre Aranda and Zeferino Macias, demonstrate very plainly what credit these assurances deserve.

I embrace this occasion to repeat, Mr. Secretary, the protestation of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[Translation.]

We extract, says the Précurseur of Antwerp, the following interesting information from a letter of Mr. Heym, sergeant-major and secretary of the Belgian legion, to his parents, in Lierre:

DEAR PARENTS: I informed you in my last letter that I was a prisoner of war in Zirandaro; but, before telling of my unfortunate situation, I will give a brief retrospective glance at my sojourn in Mexico.

Mexico may seem a fine country to a pleasure traveller, for wild, picturesque, and magnificent views are extended on every side; but it is certainly a most detestable country to a soldier on a campaign, and such a campaign as ours—a mountain war. We poor little Belgian soldiers, used to all possible comforts, have been greatly astonished at our new mode of life since our arrival. We have been in the field since our landing, garrisoned only a few days at a time. My longest stay was in the city of Mexico, where I remained one month. Except the time when I was a prisoner, I have been constantly going, traversing hundreds of leagues, wading in sand above my ankles, one day, almost up to my knees in mud, climbing steep mountains 2,000 metres above the level of the sea; now lodging under a tent upon the cold ground, at another time sleeping among the ruins of an old convent or an older church, where mosquitoes, ants, fleas, &c., disputed my bed There are no paved roads; the country is almost a desert, especially in the regions of the *tierra caliente*, which compels us, when we have an excursion into the mountains, to take ten days' provisions in our knapsacks, travelling ten, twelve, and fourteen leagues a day. This may seem exaggerated, but I assure you it is the truth. Besides, in order to give a proof of it, I am going to relate what happened, for want of precautions, during our march from Mexico to Morelia, the capital of Michoacan. Arrived at a place named La Florida, where we bivouacked, they informed the colonel during the night that a band of guerillas were at San Felipe, three leagues from our bivouac. At four o'clock in the morning, four companies of the main corps, under the command of a colonel, started, taking only one day's rations, thinking to join the main body that day. At six o'clock in the morning we reached the spot the enemy had just left. We started in pursuit, and marched until six o'clock in the evening, without overtaking them. During the night the colonel received orders to march on Zitacuaro, a small town the dissidents had seized. We had no provisions, but the order was positive and we had to start; all we could get was one ration of bread each. We then started and travelled fourteen consecutive hours, from six o'clock in the morning until seven at night, on this one ration of bread; but as there was a squadron of Mexican cavalry with us, we made them kill beeves and we ate the meat broiled on coals, without salt or bread. It was only the fourth day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we arrived at Zitacuaro, where we had the pleasure of eating a bit of bread, which we had not tasted for three days. To our great displeasure, these beggarly Chinacos, as they are called here, had run away. The city was almost entirely abandoned. We remained there six days, during which we made several excursions, pillaging two villages and a mill. This is what is called making a raid. Each takes for himself; it is who shall get the most; there were only the cattle to divide. We took in this way six hundred head of cattle. These episodes happen very frequently. This will give you some idea of our mode of life.

When we made our entry into Mexico, after passing in review before the emperor, the empress and Marshal Bazaine, we defiled before the palace, admired by everybody, and were quartered at Chepultepec, the imperial residence, (like Lacken in Belgium,) Tacubaya and Molino del Rey, three pretty places, about three and a half leagues from Mexico The subordinate French officers of the capital gave us a magnificent dinner that day; only Frenchmen know how to do such things; they are the perfection of gallantry and politeness. Wherever we go we meet Frenchmen, and they always receive us magnificently. We are looked upon by them as countrymen, and are on the best of terms, when we go on expeditions together. Our colonel, Mr. Van der Smissen, is very fond of the French, and has evidently not forgotten his stay among them in Algeria. But it is not so with the Austrians; they can never forget Solferino and Magenta; and in their fist-fights they tear off each other's medals, given to them by their governments for the Italian campaign. An example for dissension was set by the Austrian commander, who, on his arrival at Puebla, positively refused an invitation to dinner, given to him by the commander of that city; but things are improving now.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

[From the Idea Liberal, of Puebla, November 29, 1865.]

It having been reported by the commander of the 3d territorial division that Silvestre Aranda and Zeferino Macias, among others, had accepted the amnesty granted by the decree of the 3d of October, Mr. Macias wrote upon a sheet of paper the following declaration:

"I have seen, with some surprise, a communication from the commander of the 3d territorial division, directed to the war department and published in the paper called the *Pajaro Verde*, No. 261, of the 4th instant. It is asserted in this that I had petitioned for a pardon, according to the decree of the 3d of October, of this year; but as this is entirely false, I consider it my duty to show it, for my dignity and my military reputation.

"More than a year ago I was beaten in the battle of Matehuala, and since then I have lived quietly in this city. Colonel Garnier, commander of Guanajuato, and the commander of this place, are conscious of this fact, as I went to see them, and informed them of my intention. They both received me cordially, and, so far from imposing the least conditions upon me, they offered me every guarantee of personal protection. Some time passed, and on the 8th of May Mr. Nauroi, commander of the place, gave me a safe-conduct from Marshal Bazaine without my solicitation, which they had given me without his authority. Since then I have lived without molestation, attentive to my business.

"These are the facts; this is the truth. It is, therefore, with pain I have seen my name printed in an official paper, stating that I had been pardoned by the decree mentioned.

"Therefore I deem it my imperative duty to refute these assertions; to let my country know, as all the citizens of this place do, that for more than a year I have lived in the midst of my family, attending to my private business. I am very sorry that a man like me, who has lived entirely secluded from public life, has been injured in reputation, when facts prove the contrary of the assertion.

"I now ask the commander of the 3d territorial military division to correct the errors mentioned, and justify my corrections.

"ZEFERINO MACIAS.

"LEON, *November* 14, 1865."

After assuring that he had not asked a pardon, Mr. Aranda says:

"I was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Majoma, the 21st of September of last year, and, with two of my aids and the surgeon, Dr. Enciso, I came to this city, where I have remained since the 8th of May. I was then set at liberty by order of Marshal Bazaine, without any solicitation from myself; and Mr. Nauroi, who gave me the pass, exacted no conditions whatever from me.

"Sick and prostrate from my wound, I have remained since then with my family, devoted entirely to my private business. Now, if the decree of the 3d of October alludes to armed men, I certainly cannot be included among the number, and it affects me in no particular; hence my astonishment that the commander of the 3d territorial military division has made a report so entirely false to the honorable secretary of war.

"It is unpleasant to enter into the details of such a disagreeable subject; I only desire that the officials may let me alone, and disturb me on no account; but I cannot avoid, on this occasion, the duty of correcting the mistakes injurious to my honor."

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, March 1, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: To give a slight idea of the events which characterize the present contest of the Mexican republic against its invaders, I have the honor to enclose with this note three documents that have been delivered to me by a special commissioner. They relate to events that happened in December last, in Huasteca and Sierra, States of Mexico and Tamaulipas.

The first of these documents is a manifest of Colonel Joaquin Martinez, military commander of the second district of the State of Mexico, and chief of the division of the same, addressed to the President of the republic. You will see from it the immense sacrifices the patriots of that part of the country have been making for a long time to maintain the struggle in defence of the independence and institutions of Mexico; and you will also see that the people have endured all sorts of sufferings, have abandoned their fields and their interests, stopping at nothing, to resist the foreign enemy and its partisans. In many encounters they had to fight with little ammunition; yet, thanks to their courage, they have often obtained signal advantages over their enemies, who had all the elements of war in abundance. This unequal situation could not be continued long; and it was for want of ammunition that Colonel Martinez found himself obliged to surrender with the forces under his command, and to sign the treaty made with Don Vicente Rosas, chief of the intervention forces, on the 9th of December last.

The second document is a circular from Colonel Martinez, addressed to the principal chiefs of the republican forces, explaining his conduct in the same terms used to the President.

The third document is the treaty signed by Colonel Martinez with the interventionist chief, Rosas, on the date mentioned. In its articles it is to be seen that, notwithstanding the so-called decree of the usurper of the 3d of October last, not only have they been obliged to accord belligerent rights to these forces of the republic, but also to render justice to the valor and merit of Colonel Martinez and the subordinate officers of his command, by permitting them to retire to their homes without giving any pledge not to take up arms again in defence of the republic.

It is also to be observed that the people of the district who had been fighting against the so-called empire were allowed to retain the arms they had used on that occasion.

These circumstances led Colonel Martinez to state in his communication to the President that, if he could count upon a supply of ammunition, these same people, led by the officers who had thus submitted without compromising themselves for the future, would again rise; and, provided as they are with arms, would renew the struggle against the invader, and would gain greater advantages than ever in favor of the national cause.

Before concluding, I wish to call the attention of the government of the United States to the fact that the recent capitulations or surrenders of the national forces in Mexico were caused by want of resources in general, and especially of arms, ammunition, and the other elements of warfare.

Such was the cause of the capitulation of the forces at Huasteca, referred to in the annexed documents, of the evacuation of Tlapacoyan, and of the surrender of Papantla, mentioned in my note of the 23d of February last to your department.

Other similar occurrences have happened, and it is feared more may occur in future from like causes.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Citizen Constitutional President of the Mexican Republic:

I, Citizen Colonel Joaquin Martinez, by the vote of the people and armed force, military commander of the second district of the State of Mexico, and chief of that division in the republican army, appear before you, as in duty bound, and with due respect, through the commissioners for that purpose, Captain Sisto Lopez and Lieutenant Francisco Plaza, and declare that—

Since the evacuation of the capital by the government of the republic, I have used all means and made every sacrifice to provide for the defence of my country, and make war on its enemies in this important section of the republic, which I have governed since April last, when Don Ignacio Ugalde gave up Huejutla by virtue of a wicked treaty concluded with the enemy.

Since that time, citizen President, I have worked incessantly to annoy the enemy; and if my efforts have not corresponded to my hopes, it is because I have acted alone without help. My division, formed of the forces of the second district, amounts to two thousand men, well armed. The positions they hold cannot be taken, though there is not more than one round of cartridges per man in this division.

When the enemy thought seriously of taking Sierra and Huasteca in September last my situation was dreadful, because I could not think of opposing such a storm as threatened me; yet, at a great sacrifice, I procured some ammunition, and on the 29th of October, with the hope of defeating the enemy's plans and obtaining the necessary elements of war, I attacked Huatla and took it, after a stout resistance from the enemy.

This combat gained great glory for the arms of the republic; but I did not get the munitions I expected, finding only two boxes of provisions, which circumstance made our situation worse.

The enemy, seeing their plans frustrated by this defeat, formed others, and sent over 5,000 men upon us at Sierra. The representatives of the towns remaining faithful to our cause made known to me that the inhabitants desired peace, so I was forced to sign the treaty of the 9th of December, a certified copy of which will be presented to the Chief Magistrate by my commissioners, who will inform you of all the causes that compelled me to take the step, and of the sentiments of the people.

You will see from the copy of the agreements, citizen President, that I was only waiting for a more favorable occasion to utilize the services of the loyal people to better advantage, without any regard to myself, for I wanted no guarantee; and if I did not present myself to the supreme government of the republic, and submit myself to its judgment, it was because my absence would cause immense injury by the loss of arms, and the complete dispersion of the forces under my command; for the enemy would leave nothing undone to gain the sympathies of the people, using gold, cunning, and flattery to gain their ends.

From what I have said, the citizen-President will see how necessary it is to deign to notice these people, and furnish them with munitions of war, for the want of which they were compelled to capitulate. I am certain that, with sufficient provisions, some pecuniary resources, and the aid of a thousand or fifteen hundred men, three or four thousand men more could be recruited in a short space of time, and all that we have lost be recovered. Moreover, we could get nearer the capital and open the communications with Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Guerrero, Michoacan, and Tamaulipas, and thus the general government could get information from those distant States, and learn how to direct its operations. This is my humble opinion, and what I think ought to be done.

I am sure the government will take my arguments into consideration, and will soon give effective aid to the loyal servants of the country, who have never lost faith in its cause, and are still disposed to fight for the maintenance of their republican institutions and the autonomy of the nation.

Independence and the republic! Headquarters, in Tlamiltepec, December 31, 1865.

JOAQUIN MARTINEZ.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *March* 1, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

CIRCULAR.

Republican army, division of the second district of the State of Mexico, colonel-in-chief:

I enclose to you, for your information, a certified copy of the treaty or agreement made on the 9th instant by the commissioners of these headquarters and those of the chief of operations in the Sierra and Huasteca. This document secures peace to the people and honor to our arms; for it allows officers and men to retain their arms, and the former to go where they please, and engage in any service.

I have no intention to declare that I have done a good act; but I must say I have done honor to our arms in a struggle in which the people have shed their blood profusely, and sacrificed their domestic interests with singular unselfishness.

Although my duty as governor and a public man prompted me to continue the contest, another internal voice counselled me not to make vain sacrifices. In looking at the people on the line who were faithful to our institutions, I saw suffering depicted in their countenances, and misery was visible in the faces of all the inhabitants. The mother prayed for her son; the old man, decrepit with age, expressed his longing for peace in his face; the wife asked for her husband, who was on guard, or in some other urgent service, and could not provide for his family at home. In looking through the ranks of the division, I saw joy depicted in every countenance, a laurel crown of victory, glory, and content on every brow; but on examining the munitions their scarcity was astonishing—there was scarcely a ration apiece for our men, and we hardly knew where to find food for the next day. As a contrast to this, honorable terms were offered. I accepted them, and my conscience is quiet.

Large forces were now approaching our lines; the liberals prepare to meet them; a conflict takes place, and the enemy are vanquished at Huasla. Here we obtain a few supplies. But the storm returns with greater violence: the public authorities of the circumjacent towns hear it, and beg me to move away from them, to quit a country already impoverished by war, and the people in almost a starving condition. A conference takes place on the 30th of November;

a council of war is held on the 4th and 5th of December at Acapa; the terms are arranged and the treaty is signed.

If our provisions had not given out, if our ammunition had not failed, we would have shown the world that we could die like the Spartans at Thermopylæ; but our position was desperate, and reason and common sense told me it was wrong to make more useless sacrifices.

This is a faithful account of my acts: history will judge of them, and the public, that sees and observes everything, will declare that I have done my duty.

Therefore I hope the forces under your command will see things as they are, and not attribute any blame to me, and I promise to do what I can to quell any disturbances that may arise.

That the work may be resumed with more vigor, it will be necessary to give the forces a little rest. During this interval, I advise all and every armed citizen to observe the greatest circumspection; and let there be subordination, discipline, and respect to morality. Let the world see that the defenders of independence are good citizens, compelled to war by duty. Let the world know that there are yet worthy imitators of Escamilla and Rizo.

Death is certainly preferable to subjugation; but at present the common mother of Mexicans, the land of Hidalgo and Morelos, requires our preservation, that our services may be made use of at another time.

I tell you of all this, that you may know what has taken place, and that it was done by a council of war. No single person is responsible: I gave my reasons, and will accomplish what I promised, in accordance with a vote of the majority.

Independence and the republic! Molungo, December, 1865.

JOAQUIN MARTINEZ.

A certified copy:

A. TORRES, *Secretary.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *March* 1, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

Treaty of the 9th of December, 1865.

In the town of Nonvaleo, on the 9th of December, 1865, assembled Don Juan Ortiz Monasterio, military commander of Zacualtipan, and Don Jesus Ruiz, chief of the garrison, commissioned by the general-in-chief of the first territorial division, Don Vicente Rosas; and Don José Felix Lubian, and Don Jesus Martinez, commissioned by Colonel Joaquin Martinez, chief of the forces and militia of Sierra and Huasteca, according to an agreement made in the conference of the 30th of the previous month, to settle the terms of a treaty to put an end to the war in these districts, who have agreed upon the following articles, to wit:

ARTICLE 1. The inhabitants of the towns of Sierra and Huasteca, acknowledging the authority of C. Colonel Joaquin Martinez, lay down their arms and submit to the government established in Mexico.

ART. 2. In consequence of the preceding article, Colonel Joaquin Martinez and all his subordinates, as well as the civil authorities, shall have passports to return to the bosom of their families; and they shall not be molested on account of political opinions, nor for acts they have been obliged to commit in defending the cause they had embraced.

ART. 3. The people shall retain their arms, ammunition, and other implements of war, in order to enable them to organize a civil guard, in conformity to a relative decree.

Art. 4. The authorities of Sierra and Huasteca shall be chosen from among those who profess principles of independence, liberty, and reform, so there may be no conflict with the political sentiments of the inhabitants, no exercise of revenge, persecution, nor other excesses so common after struggles like that which has just taken place.

This present agreement shall be signed by the commissioners of both parties, and be ratified by Señors Rosas, Landa and Martinez, to be observed and consequent peace established.

JOSÉ FELIX LUBIAN.
JESUS MARTINEZ.
JUAN ORTIZ MONASTERIO.
JESUS RUIZ.

Using the power vested in me, I ratify and approve this treaty.

VICENTE ROSAS,
Commanding General of the First Territorial Division.

Colonel-in-chief of the forces of Sierra and Huasteca, with due power, I ratify and approve this treaty.

JOAQUIN MARTINEZ.

I certify to this copy:

A. TORRES.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.

Washington, *March* 1, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

Mexican Legation in the United States of America,
Washington, March 3, 1866.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, the copy of a report addressed to me from New York, the 28th of February last, by a Mexican citizen, Jesus Maria Guerra, commissioner from headquarters of the central army near the federal government of Mexico, relating to the present condition of affairs in the States composing the central military line in the Mexican republic.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. William H. Seward, *&c.*

[Enclosure.—Translation.]

Army of the Centre of the Republic of Mexico,
Commissary General.

Charged with a commission from headquarters near the citizen President of the republic, I am transiently in this city, and before continuing my journey I believe it my duty to give you a report of the situation of the main army and of the States that form its line. To do this I must briefly refer to some of the principal events of 1865.

The condition of the army of the centre and Michoacan was lamentable at the beginning of the year. All of the State was occupied by the invaders, except the town of Huetamo, and the whole army consisted of one thousand men under

General Riva Palacio, when he was inaugurated governor, and one hundred that served as an escort to the citizen General-in-chief José Maria Arteaga. After Huetamo was taken there was nothing left to us but a small territory, with not a town in it; we had no resources, and the unhealthy climate was destroying our little force. Such was the situation!

When the French evacuated that town, General Riva Palacio went to Zitacuaro, surprising the garrison, and destroying the traitors he found there. He took two hundred prisoners, a quantity of arms, and everything the enemy had.

With unceasing energy the reorganization of the army began. On the 11th of April the town of Tacambaro, held by Belgians, was attacked. The enemy surrendered after fighting six hours, and the republicans gained a complete victory.

We next attacked the town of Uruapam on the 18th of June, and captured it after a fight of twenty-four hours. It was strongly fortified. On account of this the invaders and traitors were obliged to evacuate Ario and Taretan, and legal governments were soon established in those places.

The army returned to Tacambaro on the 16th of July, and was completely routed by a strong column of Belgians and traitors. All was lost except eighty men, who retired in good order.

The confidence of those who are fighting in a just cause, the patriotism of the people, and the efforts of General Riva Palacio, soon caused the army to be reorganized, and it was reviewed in Uruapam on the 4th of October, consisting of over three thousand men completely armed and equipped.

The army was then divided, in order to operate in different sections, and on the 13th of the same month the disastrous event of Santa Anta Amatlan occurred. A portion of the army was completely lost, and eight days afterwards the illustrious General-in-chief José Maria Arteaga, General Carlos Salazar, and Colonels Villagomez, Diaz Gonzales, and Perez Milicua, were assassinated in accordance with the barbarous decree of the 3d of October.

The enemy then returned to Patzcuaro and Morelia, because they could hold no more places than they already had.

After the death of General Arteaga, General Riva Palacio was elected general-in-chief by the officers of the army. By the month of December it numbered near five thousand men.

Citizen General Regules was named chief of the first division, and with it he traversed the State from Tacambaro to Uruapam and Zitacuaro. In that transit he routed the traitors at Angangueo, and a few days afterwards threatened the towns of Zoluca and Timaltepec.

Such was the condition of the army of the centre and Michoacan in December last when I left Zitacuaro, and by it you may judge of the advantages gained in one year of constant struggle.

In February, 1865, the State government could not hold a single town—they were all occupied—and now they have an extensive line, the enemy being reduced to Morelia, Patzcuaro, Moravatio, and Zamora.

At that time the army consisted of little more than one thousand men; now it has over five thousand, well organized, in Michoacan and in the first district of the State of Mexico.

We have not done so well in the States of Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Queretaro; the governor of the second was in prison, and the governor of Queretaro was assassinated by the French. These events have caused some confusion, of course, yet new efforts are making in those States to sustain the national cause. Honored leaders have been authorized to organize forces, and they must be already active in the south of Jalisco and Guanajuato, where they will rapidly increase, as General Cantò has been set at liberty by exchange of prisoners between General Riva Palacio and Marshal Bazaine, and will revive the patriotism in that section.

This slight sketch will convince you that when the central army has given liberty to all the towns in Michoacan, the army will enlarge, the enthusiasm of its men will increase, and they are already disposed to make any sacrifice for national honor.

It is vain for the imperial press to say that State, and others of the line, are at peace; it is useless to pretend they are satisfied with intervention; and it is wrong to say only lawless bands are left—it is all untrue. The fact is, battle still follows battle, and the invaders and traitors are only masters of the towns they hold in subjection by force of arms. The people have struggled gloriously in defence of liberty, and the courage of the brave sons of Zitacuaro, who preferred misery to subjection to imperial power, is proof to the world that they hate intervention, and are worthy of independence.

The forces that are now contending are not predatory bands, for those never attack and capture fortified places, but belong to the army of the centre, regularly organized, and acknowledged as belligerents by Marshal Bazaine in his exchange treaty with General Riva Palacio on the 5th of December.

It is superfluous for me to make any remarks on the facts given in this report, all of which are exact and true. I am sure you will give them the consideration they deserve; and you may be certain that the army of the centre, and the people within its lines, will continue faithful and constant in this unfortunate crisis of their country.

These advantages, gained by the courage and patriotism of the Mexican people, are counteracted, to a certain extent, by the absolute want of means in the central line. The marine custom-houses are in the power of the invader, and the people are tired of supporting the national army, so exhausting to their resources. The soldier seldom receives his pay, and only the most fervent patriotism can keep the army together The want of provisions causes a consequent want of all the elements of war. We have no means of transport, no commissary department; there is a scarcity of ammunition; even guns are scarce, of different calibres, and many are old ones that have been repaired and almost useless.

On the contrary, our enemies have all the elements of war that the French treasury can furnish them, and if the present situation continues much longer we may have to lament greater disasters in future.

I have the honor, citizen minister, to offer you the assurances of my attentive consideration.

NEW YORK, *February* 28, 1866.

JESUS MA. GUERRA.

Citizen MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
of the Republic of Mexico in Washington.

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *March* 3, 1866.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your notes of December 18, 1865, and March 1st and 3d instant, with their enclosures, which contain accounts of the military operations of the division of the centre of the republican army of Mexico.

Thanking you for your kind attentions, I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 6.

MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE EASTERN DIVISION.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with five enclosures)	Sept. 15, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Oct. 17, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Oct. 25, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Dec. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with six enclosures)	Dec. 30, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with six enclosures)	Jan. 6, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with thirteen enclosures)	Feb. 23, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with six enclosures)	Mar. 9, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Mar. 14, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 17, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
New York, September 15, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Desiring to keep the government of the United States informed of events which are taking place in the Mexican republic, I have the honor to send you a copy of five official reports which I have found in some numbers which have just come to my hands from the newspaper La Victoria de Oaxaca for the months of December, 1864, and January, 1865, in which information is given of military events which preceded the taking of that city by the French army on the 9th of February following. General Diaz, who defended the city, having been taken, we have no official account of the surrender of the place and the reasons therefor. Nevertheless everything leads to the belief that the French army got possession of Oaxaca through some stratagem unused in warfare between civilized nations. When I have authentic details of the matter I will communicate them to the department.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

ARMY OF THE EAST, CAVALRY BRIGADE.—COLONEL-IN-CHIEF.

CITIZEN GENERAL: I inform you that we have had a battle with the enemy's cavalry; we killed twenty men, wounded many, took a few prisoners and secured eight horses. The dead and prisoners are of the famous Imperial Hussars, because the traitors prudently sheltered themselves behind their masters. The enemy was driven to the centre, but as he had infantry and we had none at the time, and we had other commands to obey, we retreated in good order.

Independence and liberty! San Isidro, December 18, 1864.

FELIX DIAZ.

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF,
of the eastern line, Oaxaca.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

NEW YORK, *September* 15, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC—HEADQUARTERS OF THE EASTERN LINE.

I have written to-day to the minister of war of the supreme government as follows:

"By official notice from the chief of the cavalry brigade, you will learn that the enemy's infantry advanced in the Montoya plains to the right of Atoyac river and formed a line of battle. I ordered forward one company of the Sinaloa battalion, commanded by Captain Manuel Fernandez, and one of the Sierra-Juarez battalion to follow with two pieces of artillery under Captain Martin Leon.

"The enemy undoubtedly hoped, as they tried to make their soldiers believe, that we would abandon the place as soon as they showed themselves. They fired a few cannon shots, and after a loss of several killed and many wounded, they fled in great disorder to their encampment at Etla.

"If the French merely attempted to frighten us, I think they must be convinced that we are not afraid of them, but can whip them."

Independence and liberty! Oaxaca, December 22, 1864.

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

The GOVERNOR *of the State of Oaxaca.*

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

NEW YORK, *September* 15, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

ARMY OF THE EAST, CAVALRY BRIGADE.

CITIZEN GENERAL: Since the skirmish at Etla, where the enemy's cavalry had more than fifty men disabled, I have sustained the position which I was commanded to hold by the last instructions.

The French made a formal attack upon the place this morning. I made a sally at daybreak and drove them as far as San Pedro Ixtlahuaca; but, as the enemy did not fire upon me, I remained at the entrance of the Marquesate, and saw them retreat from an advance band that killed a few of them, allowing them to stop only long enough to gather up their wounded. There is no other news of importance. Independence and liberty! Garita del Marquesado, December 22, 1864.

FELIX DIAZ.

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF *of the Eastern Line.*

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

NEW YORK, *September* 15, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4]

ARMY OF THE EAST.

In obedience to your order, I stationed my company at the point threatened by the enemy, halting in front of Pansacola, where they had stopped.

I there waited the attack, but finding they had begun to retreat without giving us a chance to fire a gun, I sent Captain Antonio Velasquez after them with half a company, to try and provoke a skirmish, in which he fortunately succeeded.

The result was of little importance, for the loss on both sides was insignificant.

I communicate this to you for your information.

LORENZO P. CASTRO.

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF *of the Eastern Line.*

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

NEW YORK, *September* 15, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

ARMY OF THE EAST.—AUXILIARES.

CITIZEN GENERAL-IN-CHIEF: I have the honor to inform you that between eight and nine yesterday morning the enemy left their encampment at hacienda Blanca, and moved to the intrenchments. They were observed from our camp the whole time from their departure till they halted.

From that position they detached a force of more than one hundred infantry to attack our left flank, next to the fort. Seeing that we were making ready to attack them, they formed a line of battle for a while, and then began to move.

Satisfied of the enthusiasm and courage of our soldiers, I sent a company under Captain Cruz to attack them. As soon as they opened fire on both sides, I sent Lieutenant Ramirez with another company, to aid the first that had been sent. The enemy continued to advance in the direction of Panzacola, and over the hills of the estate of the same name, the fire continuing to increase as they advanced.

We cannot ascertain the enemy's loss; ours is insignificant.

F. HERNANDEZ.

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF *of the Eastern Line.*

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

NEW YORK, *September* 15, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, October 17, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, copy of a letter which General Don Alexander Garcia, chief of the eastern line of the Mexican republic, addressed, under date of 15th of September last past, to the President of the republic, communicating to him the condition of affairs along the line of his command. In that letter you will see a succinct and truthful narrative of what has recently occurred on that line since the surrender of the city of Oaxaca.

The escape of General Diaz, which happened on the 21st of September, aforesaid, has considerably reanimated the public spirit in the States of the Orient, and especially in that of Oaxaca, where it is certain that in a short time military operations will be resumed, of a character very serious to the French, notwithstanding the scarcity of the elements with which the patriots have to fight. News has already reached us of some advantages gained on that line over the invaders, which I will communicate to you officially when I receive the official report of them.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure.—Translation.]

From General Alejandro Garcia.

TLACOTALPAM, *September* 15, 1865.

MOST HIGHLY RESPECTED SIR: With some delay I have received this week, in certified copies from Mr. Romero, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the republic at Washington, your esteemed letter of 18th May last, informing me of the appointment you had the kindness to confer on me as general-in-chief of the line of eastern States of the republic, and the official communications from the departments of foreign relations and government, and war and marine, which establish that appointment.

Although I have not received the original documents, which Mr. Romero tells me he had sent to me, yet not being able to doubt the authenticity thereof, coming certified by him, I have given entire faith to the copies, and, by virtue of them, accepting the honorable charge with which the supreme government has deigned to distinguish me, I have circulated the despatch conferring it on me through the States of Tabasco and Chiapas, which I doubt not will render prompt obedience.

On the 8th May, this year, I reported to you, as was my duty, that these States, spontaneously bound together, and the line to the leeward of Vera Cruz, for national defence after the breaking up which the headquarters of the line of the Orient suffered on the fall of the city of Oaxaca, named me general-in-chief. I suppose you have my communications relating to this business, which I sent also in certified copy. Since then I have directed this coalition until the 12th instant, when the higher authority received from you having reached me, I issued the decree, of which I send you a copy, in the character of general-in-chief of the line of the Orient, thus putting an end to the coalition mentioned. I will give you a brief narrative of the state of things in these localities:

Chiapas.—This State suffered some slight alterations after the fall of Oaxaca, through some hostile guerillas who appeared in its midst, but very soon reconquered its complete peace and tranquillity, thanks to the fact that its retired situation freed it from the attacks of the French, and that the coterminous republic of Guatemala remained quiet, principally since the death of President Carrera. It is now announced that the enemy will send an expedition from Oaxaca into Chiapas, but that is difficult, because he has not the elements needful for that.

Tabasco.—In June, this year, I went to visit that State, as I announced to you on the 8th May. I found its capital half destroyed by the effect of the rude war which the people of Tabasco made on the invading army which had occupied it, until they succeeded in dislodging them. I assure you our brethren in that State fought very well on that occasion, and are disposed to do the same in future, as often as they may be invaded by treacherous Frenchmen, who conducted themselves in a cruel manner during their rule.

The French have two ships on the frontiers obstructing the principal entrance to Tabasco, as I mentioned to you, and one or two more cruising along opposite the small havens to destroy trade. They have accomplished this in great degree, and Tabasco has fallen off much in this branch, from which decadence other disappointments and crosses necessarily follow to the government, which you understand, and know cannot be avoided. Nevertheless, the government marches on, and, perhaps, is better prepared for a serious defence when the time comes.

In the beginning of the same month of June a hostile expedition, issuing from Isle Carmen, attacked the camp of Tenuta, thrown forward on the eastern line of Tabasco. The enemy, thanks to their vessels and armed launches, succeeded in forcing our position and obtaining possession of Tenuta. There he still remains, commanded by Daniel Fracenis, but sure means are in preparation for dislodging him. Meantime the desertion of his soldiers is encouraged; they frequently pass into our lines. It has also been said that for some time a regular expedition against Tabasco has been preparing.

Vera Cruz.—This State, which I have been commanding and continue to command personally, notwithstanding my rank as commander-in-chief, has made some advances since the thrusting out of the French from the canton of Minatitlan, and from this city of Tlacotalpam, in the months of March and August last year.

Very lately the important canton of Zangolicu, whose advanced posts remain four leagues from Orizaba, has been recovered by us. From thence I have established a military line which passes by Omealca, and reaches to the drainage of Medallin, and we are constantly annoying the enemy along it, throwing forward our troops to his military road, and leaving him no quiet in that direction. The north part of the State I have confided to General Don Ignacio Alatone, and although I cannot keep up constant communication with him, I know he is laboring with so much zeal and patriotism that he has lately taken Naelnico, where he has established his headquarters. He holds on his side Tlacolulam and the greater part of the settlements on that sierra, and they assure me from Vera Cruz that a blow is prepared against Jalapa, whose city is alarmed at this news, because its convoys have reached la Heya and la Banderilla.

Oaxaca.—As I announced to you in my former letter, I annexed this State to the coalition of the Orient, and sent to it as governor, General Don Rafael Benavidez, who served there a long time under the orders of General Diaz.

Colonel Don Luis Perez Figueroa entered last month Tehuacan, which town he soon abandoned, taking off with him a considerable quantity of muskets and some money, in contributions, as it seems. On his retreat to Jacatlan, where he resides, he learned a force from Oaxaca was in pursuit of him. He advanced upon it, drove it off from Reis Salado to Trapichito, adding to his booty at that place, and taking altogether eighty-three prisoners, Austrians, whom he has offered to exchange with Count Thun *for all the Mexican* prisoners taken in Oaxaca. As I said in the beginning of this letter, I have transcribed the despatch of the department in which I am named general-in-chief of the line of the Orient, and as, besides, I am in a very fair way of regulating that, I think it will acknowledge my authority, and we shall get along better. The difficulty always remains afoot that Oaxaca has no governor and military commander, respecting which I shall bear in mind what you are pleased to say to me about General Don Ignacio Mejia, but if he should delay long in presenting himself to me I shall have to fill the place, although it may be *ad interim.*

The so-called *patricians* of Tehuantepec will accept the titular empire, but their lasting enemies, the *Fuchitecos,* watch them narrowly, and war upon them as much as they can. Very lately Don J. Pantaleon Dominguez, governor and commander-in-chief of Chiapas, writes to me that there had come from Oaxaca to Tehuantepec the imperialist General Don Luciano Pinto with 200 men. I have already recommended Dominguez to help the *Fuchitecos* with his forces, thus preserving Chiapas itself from any contagion.

I am assured that lately Etla, Ejutla, Villa Juarez, and some other settlements in that sierra, have rebelled against the intervention; that the movement was ramified through the capital of the State, but was smothered there because Figueroa could not come to aid in time, and that the French shot General Ballesteros, who was in command; that notwithstanding this, all the revolted settlements follow in the war track, and that a new combination would make head with the same purpose of destroying the invaders. I cannot assure your excellency how far this may be true, because I have not yet succeeded in establishing sure communications with those districts. It seems Figueroa could not answer the summons given to him at the city of Oaxaca for want of a battery. He sent me a messenger asking for one, and I sent him the largest force I could, although I am also deficient in this important particular.

Puebla.—The news I have from this State is imperfect, because the communications I have with it are very irregular. By the imperialist newspapers I see that Count Thun has carried the campaign into Zacapoastla, and there defeated our troops; but I have reason to suspect that this is not true, and that if the Austrians have not been beaten in that direction they have at least not obtained any important success against our forces, which continue fighting for the national cause in those districts.

Before the fall of Oaxaca, the señor and General Don Fernando Ortega was governor of the State of Puebla. Setting out from his headquarters he was aided by me in the line of my command, and I prepared a way for him through the enemy to his State. Since then I know nothing about him. By the papers I know he had a conference with Maximilian at Jalapa, and afterwards it was said he arranged a kind of armistice with the imperialist forces to the north of Puebla. However, for all this, the papers also assert that he goes on fighting for our cause. I hold my judgment in abeyance in respect of him; I am trying to place myself in communication with him, and, in any event, will act as best suits our purposes.

Tlascala.—I know absolutely nothing of this State. I believe, from its proximity to Puebla and Mexico, that its patriots must be in vassalage, awaiting an opportunity to make head.

This, in summary, is our actual state. Generally speaking, there is enthusiasm for the national cause; there is determination to defend it, and the imperial senate is more annoyed every day; but we have not arms, and are much in want of ammunition. I think it, therefore, indispensable that the supreme government should make an effort and obtain these for us, because, without them, sacrifices will be barren; the enemy draws breath every day that we are obliged to abandon a settlement which was before taken from him, and our citizens weary of useless sacrifices, which often subject them to vile court-martials, through which the invaders are decimating the country, and filling the grave after an ignominious death.

I beg you to supply arms and ammunition the more pressingly, because all are now obliged to come to headquarters in seeking for them, as is right, and I shall not have them to give, and shall find myself under the hard necessity of admitting it, assured that this must discourage them.

While I have been general-in-chief of the coalition of the Orient, I have left to the States their natural revenues, that they might prepare for their defence, and not to wound the susceptibilities that might lead us to a conflict under the critical circumstances we are passing through. I intend to do the same, for the same reasons, now that I am intrusted with the command of the line of the Orient; and, although I reckon upon small incomings from the loyal part of the State of Vera Cruz, I have ordered armament, police, and other effects of war, though there is no way of attaining these, perhaps because there is little confidence among speculators in these isolated resources, nor will they suffice to supply the six States of the said line. So pressing is this necessity, that I send this despatch open to Mr. Romero, through whom I forward it, that he may be thoroughly aware of the matter, and at once aid us with all the arms and ammunition he can, or with all that is necessary if, as I wish, he has already received your orders on this subject.

I will go on writing to you all that happens within my command, and ask you to communicate your orders as often as you can, that they may serve as my guide in the difficult position in which I find myself. For the rest, be assured that I will worthily discharge all the trust you manifest in me, and that, be the future destinies of our country what they may, your humble and devoted servant will never fail of his duties as a Mexican to his most esteemed friend, Q. B. S. M.,

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

DON BENITO JUAREZ,
President of the Mexican Republic, Chihuahua, or elsewhere.

A copy:

IG. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 17, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, October 25, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Continuing my transmission to your department of the principal documents that can give the United States government an idea of the principal events now taking place in Mexico, I now have the honor of sending to you those mentioned in the enclosed index, some of which were brought by the last steamer from Vera Cruz, and others, although of older date, I think important.

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In conclusion, you will see among these documents two acts: one passed by the town and county of Zongolica, in the State of Vera Cruz, and the other by the town and county of Tuchitan, in the State of Oaxaca, in which the inhabitants declare their hostile sentiments towards the so-called empire, which takes place whenever the force of French bayonets is removed.

I take advantage of this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

A list of the documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington to the Department of State of the United States, with his note of the 25th of October, 1865, *on events recently taken place in Mexico.*

No. 1. July 26, 1865.—Act passed in the town of Songolica, State of Vera Cruz, protesting against intervention and the empire, and offering obedience to the President of the republic.

No. 2. July 27, 1865.—Act passed in Juchitan, State of Oaxaca, protesting against the establishment of an empire in Mexico by the French army, and acknowledging the republic.

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IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

In the town of Zongolica, chief town of the canton of the same name, in the State of Vera Cruz, on the twenty-sixth of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the room of the town hall, assembled the persons whose names are signed to this act, and presided over by Leandro Almador, who stated the object of the meeting.

Whereas the proposition of foreign intervention was accepted by some of the towns of the republic of Mexico in consideration of offers made to sustain the government legally established in the country, and this promise has not been kept, nor can it be, for the intervenors with their partisans, deceiving and imposing upon the people, have pretended to establish a monarchical government that can never be approved by any loyal Mexican, because it is not legitimate, and their emperor was elected by a small number of persons who met in the capital and determined upon his inauguration. This was called a meeting of *notables*, (and in fact they were all notable traitors to their country,) and was evidently illegal, for the States had not a single representative. Thus wrongfully established, this illegal government has given open evidence of instability, and the free children of Anáhuac will never permit a foreign despot, supported by bayonets, to control their destiny. But if the intervenors had allowed the Mexicans a free election, the government so constituted would have been considered legitimate, whereas it now wants every feature of legitimacy in its constitution.

Therefore, keeping in mind the sacred principles of the laws of nations, pertaining to a people who comprehend their duties and desire to shake off the yoke of tyranny, this assembly has resolved as follows:

1. The canton of Songolica disavows the government of Maximilian as illegal, because it has not been rightfully established.

2. It acknowledges as legitimate the government of citizen Benito Juarez, wherever he may be, because he was lawfully inaugurated President according to the provisions of our Mexican codes.

3. These resolutions, intending to defend our independence, acknowledge as chief, he who may be at the head of the national troops by legal appointment.

4. All urgent steps to be taken in our cause are left to the leader of the troops in this place, as he is rightfully entitled to authority.

Signed by Leandro Almador, Gumecindo Altemirano, Vicente Lebrija, Rafael Fuentes, Pedro Joaquin Cervantes, Teodoro Altamirano, Nicolas Tarvaleta, Pedro G. Telles, for the sergeants; Margareto Parrera and José Francisco Geria, for the corporals; Leandro Luna and Placido Gonzales, for the soldiers; José Maria Alfaro and Manuel Contreras, Luis G. Fuentes, Ygnacio Guevora, Goregorio Parra, Estanislao Altominano, José G. Como, Rafael Mendez, Santiago Galicia, José Maria Luna, José M. Vallejo, José Anto. Cal, José M. Tello, Luis Garcia, Cristobal Rosales, Miguel Martinez, Manuel Garcia, Lorenzo Cano, and Francisco Luna.

Before me:

IGNACIO S. MENDIZAVAL, *Secretary.*

A true copy:

IGNACIO MENDIZAVAL,
Secretary of the Command.

ZONGOLICA, *July* 26, 1865.

A true copy:

JOSÉ ANTONIO RUIZ, *Secretary.*

TLACOTALPAM, *August* 2, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

THE MILITARY COMMAND OF THE DISTRICT OF JUCHITAN.

In the town of Juchitan, on the 27th of July, 1865, the town council, the people and the troops of Juchitan, and San Blas, of Tehuantepec, having assembled in the hall of sessions, under the presidency of the citizen political chief, to consider the affairs of the country; having stated the chief objects of the meeting, after a short discussion, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas Juchitan has always been one of the most loyal districts in defence of the republic and of liberal institutions, and has been abused by a few persons who wished to sell their country to a bold adventurer, announcing falsely that this district was disposed to acknowledge the perishing empire now established in the city of Mexico, and upheld only by French bayonets;

Believing it to be the duty of every Mexican who loves independence and his country, and the government established by the spontaneous and free will of the citizens, to banish every suspicion of treachery imputed to him by miserable enemies, and to contradict them solemnly; to show their determination to defend the autonomy of their country at every sacrifice; and holding it a sacred obligation of every good citizen to let his country know what his sentiments are in regard to it, the people of Juchitan, fulfilling this duty, declare:

1. That they have not nor will they ever recognize the imperial government established by French bayonets in Mexico, taking advantage of its weakness, and imposing upon the people against their free will, depending only on the feeble support a few spurious Mexicans can lend them.
2. That they will resist that government by all means in their power, and oppose all authorities and decrees emanating from it.
3. They respect and observe the authorities and decrees ordained by the constitution of 1854 and the reformed laws, as whatever tends to national independence and territorial integrity.
4. They solemnly protest against all that has been said about their acknowledging the empire, as it is absolutely false, for this part of the country has always considered that form of government as illegitimate and opposed to national sovereignty.
5. Copies of these proceedings shall be transmitted to the governor and military commander of the free and sovereign State of Oaxaca, that by him they may be remitted to the civil and military chief of the eastern coalition, as well as to other officers and military chiefs of the republic.

And so the meeting closed, with the following signatures to this document:

Signed by Cosme D. Gomes, 1st lieutenant; Luis P. Municipal, Feliciano Torres, mayor; José de Jesus Nicolas, Anastacio Giron, Pantaleon Jimenez, Mariano Martinez, Rufino Pineda, Mariano Guerra, Pedro Esteban, Pedro Vicente, Feliciano Castillo, Dionisio Torres, Col. P. Gallegos, Apolonio Jimenes, Anastasio Castillo, Nazario de la Rosa, Augustin Gutierrez, Mariano Martinez, Albino Roblena, Miguel Vasquez, Antonio Orozeo, Alexandro Lopez, Lieutenant R. Martinez, Manuel R. Ortiz, Gervacio Marin, Miguel Lopez, Regino Sanchez.

A certified copy:

GOMEZ.

JUCHITAN, *July* 28, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 10, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of the 25th of October last, and the ten enclosures which accompanied the same, which you communicated for the information of the government of the United States.

You are pleased to call my particular attention to the most significant of these documents, namely, to a proclamation dated October 2, 1865, and to a decree of the 3d of the same month, issued by the so-called emperor of Mexico, in the latter of which the penalty of death is to be imposed upon all Mexicans who are in arms against his authority in that republic.

In reply I have the honor to inform you that your despatch and its accompaniments, for which you will accept my thanks, have received the consideration to which they are justly entitled from this government.

You will accept, sir, the assurances of my renewed and very distinguished consideration.

W. H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, December 30, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you, for the information of the United States government, the documents expressed in the accompanying index[1] showing the state of affairs on the oriental line of the Mexican republic, including the States of Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Puebla, Oaxaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas.

In these documents you will find despatches from General Garcia, chief of the said line; from the governor of the State of Chiapas; and a very important report of General Baranda, commissioner of General Garcia.

I accept this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

Index of documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington, with the note of this date, to the Department of State of the United States.

No. 1. September 29, 1865.—The constitutional governor of the State of Chiapas communicates to Mr. Romero the good feeling and enthusiasm of the people of Chiapas for the cause of national independence.

No. 2. September 29, 1865.—From the same to the same on the same subject.

No. 3. November 3, 1865.—Colonel Figueroa's official report to General Garcia of his action with the enemy on the 12th of October last, and the occupation of Teotitlan del Camino, as the result.

No. 4. November 11, 1865.—General Garcia reports to President Juarez the state of affairs on the line of his command.

No. 5. December 30, 1865.—Report of General Baranda, commissioner of General Garcia, on the state of affairs on the eastern line, to the Mexican legation at Washington.

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 30, 1865.

No. 1.

[Translation.]

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT—CHIAPAS.

HONORABLE SIR: I take great pleasure in congratulating you, in the name of the people of this State, under my command, on the brilliant success you have achieved, by remaining in your position as minister near the government of that great nation, for the good of Mexico, in whose favor that gigantic people has always felt the greatest sympathy, and especially now, when a foreign enemy is endeavoring to conquer the country.

May these wishes be the sincere expression of the sentiments of patriotism that animate these people for the good of a cause, which is not theirs exclusively, but a vindication of entire humanity, and at the same time of attachment to your person. The people of this magnanimous but unfortunate republic promise themselves much from the enlightenment and highly patriotic sentiments you have shown in favor of the country that gave you birth, and, in this belief, they raise their vows to Heaven for your preservation, and unite their efforts with yours in endeavors to recover our rights, so unjustly usurped.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the protestation of my distinguished consideration and esteem.

Our country and liberty! Tuxtla Gutierrez, September 28, 1865.

J. PANTALEON DOMINGUEZ.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the government of the Mexican republic near the government of the United States of North America, in Washington.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 30, 1865.

No. 2.

[Translation.]

Private correspondence of the governor of Chiapas.

TUXTLA GUTIERREZ, *September* 29, 1865.

MUCH RESPECTED AND ESTEEMED SIR: I do myself the honor to address you, for the purpose of informing you of the situation of the States constituting the new eastern coalition, that you may have the pleasure of seeing the great progress they have made in defence of the national cause, so iniquitously opposed, without right or reason, by the sworn enemies of all progress and advancement.

After the deplorable loss of Oaxaca and the capture of the worthy general-in-chief of the old eastern line, the States forming it were reduced to political entities, isolated and independent, and weakened in power for want of a central union, which had ceased to exist in consequence of those recent events. But this state of things was soon changed.

The States of Chiapas and Tabasco had already agreed with the coast towns south of Vera Cruz, through their respective governors, upon the necessity of renewing the bonds of union between them, to insure greater strength and respectability. As soon as they had been dismembered, they accredited their respective commissioners, who met in the capital of Tabasco, and proceeded, according to instructions, to appoint a new chief to fill the vacancy. General Alejandro Garcia, who was chief of the southern coast, was the person selected. In this manner these States gained greater strength to resist the advances of the enemy, and silence his boasts and threats.

Public opinion is now firm and uniform in all of them, and the people are disposed to continue the struggle without hesitation and with a true faith in the future.

The last news from Oaxaca is of the greatest importance; an uninterrupted series of victories has been achieved, promising a speedy return of the republican forces to that capital. They are now cruising in various directions, disturbing and checking the imperial government everywhere.

The people of the Zongolica highlands have arisen, and, following their example, many towns of Vera Cruz and Huasteca have done the same. The town of Juchitan continues here the old constitutional government firmly and uncompromisingly, and it is to be hoped it will soon help Tehuantepec, where I have sent forces from this place for that purpose.

There is a detachment of the enemy in Jonuta that came from Yucatan, but it is certain it cannot withstand the considerable force sent against it from this State and the State of Tabasco.

Peace and public tranquillity have become proverbial in the towns under my command, and they are likely to continue; but if they should be disturbed, contrary to my belief, I assure you the normal condition will soon be restored, or I shall pay the last tribute I owe to my country.

Such is our actual situation, and I hope it will improve daily, if fickle fortune does not turn against us.

Please accept the expressions of consideration and esteem with which I have the honor to subscribe myself your most humble and obedient servant,

J. PANTALEON DOMINGUEZ.

Señor DON MATIAS ROMERO, *Washington.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 30, 1865.

No. 3.

[Translation.]

[From the Boletin Oficial, vol. 1, No. 18.—Tlacotalpam, November 16, 1865.]

NORTHERN LINE.—HEADQUARTERS OF THE COLONEL IN COMMAND.

On the 12th of last month I made a feint to attack the town of Orizaba. On hearing of my approach the troops put themselves on the defensive within the walls. At a league and a half from the town I made a countermarch in the direction of Tehuacan. The garrison of Teotitlan had left that place and assembled in Tehuacan, to defend it, as they had done at Orizaba, and our cavalry immediately occupied the deserted place.

The enemy, vexed at my deliberate march through the valley of Tehuacan, at a league and a quarter from the town, sent out one hundred and fifty Hungarian horse, who, after many efforts, managed to surprise us, and succeeded in cutting off eighty infantry recruits who happened to be serving as a rear guard that day. A few arms were lost, but those that remained on the battle-field were gathered up, when we struck our tents. The enemy's cavalry fled in all haste as soon as they got sight of our advance guard. Our cavalry, numbering one hundred and seventy, are stationed five leagues from Tehuacan, and keep the enemy in constant alarm.

I congratulate you on the reoccupation of Teotitlan del Camino, which cuts the enemy off from all hope of communication, by direct route, with the pass; and all the people around them are opposed to them. I beg you to make this known to the president of the republic.

Independence and the republic! Ixcatlan, Novembe 3, 1865.

LUIS P. FIGUEROA.

General ALEJANDRO GARCIA,
Chief of the eastern line, Tlacotalpam.

No. 4.

General Alejandro Garcia.

[Translation.]

TLACOTALPAM, *November* 11, 1865.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: * * * * * *

Colonel Figueroa made a raid through Zongolica, Orizava, and Tehuacan, near the end of last month, and on the 29th the Austrians cut off his rear guard, causing him some harm; but he recovered very soon, returned to the charge with the rest of his forces, and routed his adversaries, taking Teotitlan, whence he sent his cavalry advance five leagues from Tehuacan, without being attacked by any one as yet. I am now trying to send him some artillery, as he informs me he has lost all he had.

I will dwell upon this feat of Figueroa, because the enemy's newspapers say he was completely routed, and if any of them reach you, you may know what to believe.

Since my last letter, I have had no news from the northern part of the State; but I am not surprised at it, for the principal roads are held by the enemy; and I have full confidence in the valor and military skill of General Alatorre, who I have no doubt will keep things in good order in that quarter.

Tabasco and Chiapas preserve the same hostile attitude and undisturbed tranquillity, although the enemy's newspapers say the imperialists are preparing an invasion of the former of those States.

Another invasion of this part of Vera Cruz is also threatened; but as the invaders need all their disposable forces along the coast, they can do nothing here till the re-enforcements they have been expecting so long from France shall reach Vera Cruz.

I wish you, as always, the best health, and sign myself your true friend,

ALEJO. GARCIA.

Citizen BENITO JUAREZ,
President of the Mexican Republic, Villa del Paso.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 30, 1865.

No. 5.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—MILITARY LINE OF THE EASTERN STATES.—COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

CITIZEN MINISTER: I am commissioned by the general-in-chief of the eastern line of the republic to inform you, and through you the supreme national government, of the imminent danger these States are in of being invaded by the enemy, and probably conquered, though their inhabitants are determined to defend themselves at all risks, if you cannot contrive some remedy to prevent it.

* * * * * * * *

As might be expected at this season, my journey has been tedious, and this is the first opportunity I have had to send you the communication of the general-in-chief of the eastern line, and the one I beg you to transmit to the supreme government.

* * * * * * * *

After the loss of Oaxaca, in February last, and the capture of General Porfirio Diaz, in command of that line, the eastern States would have been left in the most dangerous confusion if the good sense of the governors of Vera Cruz, Tabasco, and Chiapas had not prompted them to contrive means to prevent the serious consequences of existing anarchy, (for there is no constitutional provision in the emergency where the only representative of the supreme government is wanting,) by establishing a central authority, and forming a compact of common defence, which began to exercise their powerful influence, thus dispersing the gloom caused by the reverses at Oaxaca. The choice made by the supreme government of a chief to fill the place of General Diaz, in conformity with that made by the States, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, increased the confidence the people have always had in the chief magistrate of the republic, and order was immediately restored without the slightest disturbance.

Before and after this supreme decree, the reconstruction of the eastern line has been continued; and if it is not now complete, the enemy has been left in quiet possession of but very few places.

The State of Vera Cruz has regained its northern half, and has organized its forces with the same discipline and order as those on the southern coast, under General Garcia, and has succeeded in repelling the enemy at every invasion; and, moreover, has recovered the territory on the Perote road almost to the gates of Jalapa.

The important canton of Zongolica, the advance guard, in the vicinity of Orizava, drove out the Austrian garrison that was oppressing it, and annexed itself to the State to which it had always belonged, (Vera Cruz,) after a hard contest with the garrison of Orizava, that could not see with indifference a troop of the loyal defenders of their country at such a short distance from them.

The possession of Zongolica is most important, as it completes the northern line, running parallel with the road from Vera Cruz to Orizava, where a very active war is waging.

The Alvarado bar is in the power of the enemy, held by two French war steamers; and though it is only eight leagues from the city of Tlacotalpam, the State authorities have never ceased to hold their headquarters in that place. It has been visited occasionally by the steamers from Alvarado, but the system of defence adopted does not give the enemy a chance to display their superior war vessels and artillery with impunity, as they usually do.

Ten months have passed since the enemy abandoned the Coatzacoalcos bar, because they could not blockade it, being very dangerous by sea, and quite accessible by land to the constitutional forces. They will not soon forget the warning they got at this place. The rest of the State is subject to the governor and military commander, and they have given the best proofs of their patriotism and determination to defend the country.

The State of Tabasco, having driven the enemy out, with great courage, at the beginning of this year, is now resting from the efforts of that desperate struggle. It has not failed to collect new means of defence: fresh forces are drilled every day, and their enthusiasm and resolution continue to increase. The enemy have respected this imposing attitude. A place near Campeche, and the town of Frontera, at the Grijalva bar, (where there are two war steamers,) are the only points in possession of the enemy, and he is there constantly molested by our forces.

The State of Chiapas, after driving out some traitor bands that were desolating the land, and sought shelter in the neighboring republic of Guatemala whenever they were pressed, (formerly this privilege was denied them,) has been troubled by no other invasion.

This State is also distinguished for the bravery of its sons, worthy defenders of the holy national cause, who did not cease to battle till they had ejected the last invader from the soil. Now it is free from the scourge, but will always be ready to oppose the invaders whenever they appear.

The campaign in Oaxaca was carried on as long as possible, considering the scarcity of means and the destruction of all its resources and means of defence during the former campaign. One force of about a thousand men, that routed the enemy several times, and went as far as the State of Puebla, now hold the mountains and harass the enemy incessantly. This will be the base of future operations for the complete recovery of the State.

We have not been able to get possession of Puebla and Tlaxcala, though there are patriots in both States who never lay down their arms an instant, and the constitutional governor of the last is in the field with a considerable force. Early last year the enemy had possession of most of the three States mentioned; but they were so often routed, they have discovered what a determined people can do when forced to defend their independence; and the few times they have returned, they have been so badly whipped, they now consider fighting in the "hot country," as they call it, very dangerous. Owing to this justly inspired terror, these States have been suffered to enjoy peace for some time; and the people, without neglecting their holy cause, have been able to hold their State and general elections within the time prescribed by law, and in the midst of the war.

The general-in-chief of the line, convinced of the necessity of the step, has kept the judicial authorities in the free exercise of their duties, even in a state of rigorous siege. This guarantee, and all others enjoyed by the inhabitants within the lines, induces them, without exception, to adhere to the cause, and contribute all their strength to its defence.

The admiration and respect that is professed for citizen Benito Juarez in all the eastern States, on account of his constancy and decision in sustaining the national cause, will cause his remaining in his thorny post to be considered as the best guarantee for the triumph of the Mexican cause, and will dispel the fears that began to arise when it was thought he would go out of power.

From this slight sketch you will see the spirit that animates the good sons of the eastern States, who have never ceased for a moment to resist the odious French intervention and the so-called empire that has sprung from it. No more sacrifices could be asked of them: they have fought with courage and determination, and almost without means.

* * * * * * * *

I have the honor of protesting to you the assurance of my respect and esteem.

Independence and liberty! Washington, December 30, 1865.

P. DE BARANDA.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *December* 29, 1865.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, January 6, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY AD INTERIM: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, the documents expressed in the following index, brought from Mexico by the last Vera Cruz steamer, which show the state of things in the eastern part of that republic in the middle of December, 1865.

I embrace this occasion to renew the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c., &c., &c.*

List of documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington to the State Department of the United States, with the note of this date.

No. 1. December 3, 1865.—Letter of a merchant in Jalapa to his correspondent in Mexico, giving a detailed account of the battle of Tlapacoyam.

No. 2. December 7, 1865.—Several letters from Vera Cruz, with notices of the arrivals of French reinforcements and munitions of war.

No. 3. December 14, 1865.—Letter from General Tapia to Mr. Romero, informing him that he has been exchanged by the French and returns to the national army.

No. 4. December 15, 1865.—Letter from a Mexican citizen in Puebla, who sends the preceding, and gives some account of General Tapia's sufferings.

No. 5. December 17, 1865.—Letter from a commercial house on the financial situation of the usurper.

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 6, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

JALAPA, *December* 3, 1865.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND, DON FELIPE: * * * *
I did not write to you to tell you about the fight in the sierra because I did not know the particulars; but now I can tell you something about it. We lost over 50 arrobas of tobacco on the way to Tezuitlan. On the 22d the republicans repulsed the imperialists, but the latter soon returned with 2,000 men and eight rifled cannons to attack 600 with three mountain pieces. The latter fought like heroes till their ammunition was exhausted; their loss was 40 killed and as many wounded; three officers killed, one of them Colonel Manuel Ferrer, and two wounded, one of whom was Major Vicente Acuña, a very brave officer. They retired in good order, and the imperialists entered the town, sacked it and burned a portion of it. The Spanish subjects have laid their claims before their consul, and so have those of Actopam; but the rest of us have to lose and say nothing.

Ferrer commanded a redoubt with sixteen soldiers and one officer. When their ammunition was exhausted the commandant ordered them to retire, as a column was marching upon them. Ferrer took a gun, with a few cartridges, and used them against the enemy. He then mounted the ruins of the redoubt, drew his revolver and made good use of its five loads. The enemy being now very near him, he threw his revolver away, crossed his arms, and waited for the final shot that killed him. The Austrians stripped him of everything—a man who had acted with so much valor—and their leader offered a handsome present for the dead man's sword.

The republicans lost one of their three cannons, and the imperial loss was considerable. The church of Tlapacoyam is filled with their wounded, and there are many in the houses at Tezuitlan and Perote. They buried Ferrer with the honors of his rank, and two Austrian officers, one of whom, it is said, was a prince. The republicans withdrew to Istacuaco or Maria Latorre, where it seems they are fortifying themselves.

These particulars are furnished by merchants from Tlapacoyam and Tezintlan recently arrived at this place.

* * * * * *

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 6, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

VERA CRUZ, *December* 7, 1865.

Landing of another re-enforcement of French soldiers.

Yesterday, immediately after the departure of the American steamer Manhattan, one thousand two hundred French soldiers, who had arrived on the previous day, in the transport Amazone, direct from abroad, were landed at Vera Cruz. To-day this force was sent into the field.

Preparations for the protection of Vera Cruz.

Preparations are going on for the protection of Vera Cruz, especially on the land side. The earthworks thrown up by the liberals some time since are being repaired and strengthened. This is "odd," in one sense. French engineers have been boasting that Mexican generals and engineers were of no account; but now it seems they can find no plan which is better for the defence of this place than the one recognized by the Mexicans, and so the French and other foreign engineers here have adopted it.

VERA CRUZ, *December* 9, 1865.

Significant preparations continued for an extensive war.

On close observation, and after careful consideration of the very significant preparations going on in the neighborhood of this city and at other points within the control of the imperial commander of this department, it does seem as though the French did not intend to withdraw, but, on the contrary, were making every preparation to meet the United States in arms at an early date. This is not the mere opinion of a "newspaper correspondent," but it is the belief of "solid men" who stand high in society and reason with sound and accurate judgment.

Mysterious proceedings at Vera Cruz.

The fortifications (especially the earthworks) around the city of Vera Cruz are daily being strengthened. The best of guns are being mounted, and the work is generally performed at night and an attempt made to do it in secrecy.

More important military transactions.

On the 6th instant the French bark Minos, from Port de France, Martinique arrived off Vera Cruz, loaded with munitions of war, while on the 3d instant a long train was sent to the city of Mexico, loaded principally with cases of arms. There were several pieces of artillery with the train.

Almost daily we hear and read of "important imperial victories," in which the imperialists attacked strongly fortified towns, and carried the fortifications only after a long and hotly contested battle. The results are as follows, on an average: captured from the enemy, four of his horses and two men; killed two men and four wounded. Loss on the imperial side, one killed, three wounded, and sixty missing.

VERA CRUZ, *December* 11, 1865.

The French accumulating ammunition.

All day to-day the French have been landing munitions of war and conveying the same from the mole to the storehouses.

The Germans in Mexico

who voted for intervention are now very sorry for having done so, as trade was never so dull here as it is at the present time. On the occasion of the late visit of the empress to Vera Cruz it was the Germans who contributed most to make "the reception" as great an affair as possible, the royal party having remarked the hitherto cold behavior of the residents of Vera Cruz.

The fortifications of Vera Cruz.

The condition of Vera Cruz, in a military point of view, is becoming very interesting to the government of the United States, as the French are changing the guns upon the fortifications, and putting heavy and new ones in the places occupied until recently by light and old pieces.

VERA CRUZ, *December* 13—*midnight.*

The French are now landing munitions of war very fast, and in large quantities. For the last two days they have been working night and day at this.

Still they come.

The last arrival of French troops was on Monday afternoon, when twelve French officers and two hundred and forty-one French soldiers of the foreign legion, and one hundred and thirty-four employés of the wagon train corps, were landed.

A bearer of despatches is here, on his way to Washington, charged, it is reported, with the delivery of communications of great importance to the United States government.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MEXICO, *December* 14, 1865.

MUCH ESTEEMED FELLOW CITIZEN AND FRIEND: The respects you sent me by Colonel ———, of Puebla, have been received, and it is with much pleasure I return the compliment.

I am also gratified to inform you that I was exchanged in Michoacan, on the

10th instant, and have been at full liberty ever since. I am now on the march, with a safe-conduct, to rejoin the republican forces. At last, after sixteen months of the most horrid and cruel imprisonment, and forgotten by the world, I have come out uninjured, and go to fulfil my duty towards my country.

I beg of you to make this known to the President of the republic, and accept for yourself the esteem and attentive consideration of your affectionate friend and servant,

SANTIAGO TAPIA.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 6, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

PUEBLA, *December* 15, 1865.

VERY DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR: * * * * *

Mr. Riva Palacio D. Vicente, who had left the country, as the papers said, because he was deserted by his men, has just effected an exchange of the Tacambaro prisoners for some Mexicans, and among them are General Santiago Tapia and General Juan Ramirez, who were here.

The former had been sixteen months in prison, and conducted himself with great magnanimity. When released, General Thun asked him where he wanted to go. Tapia replied, "A republican general always joins his own party to fight for his country."

Although Tapia's family is living in Matamoras in great distress, the good republican general did not think to visit it, but left on the 11th instant to find Riva Palacio, and offer him his services. Poor, miserably poor, he managed to reach Mexico, whence he wrote to me on the 14th, saying he intended to remain there to raise means, and mentioned the condition of his family to me, and I recommend them to you, that you may get the government to send them some assistance to Matamoras.

A true copy:

IGNO MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 6, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

Extract from a letter written by a commercial house in the city of Mexico.

MEXICO CITY, *December* 17, 1865.

The three loans put upon the market since the establishment of the empire have burdened the nation with a new debt of nearly eighty millions of dollars. Of this sum only a small part, amounting to about eight millions of dollars, has been really used for the public service.

The rest has disappeared in the amount withheld for interest in advance on the loans, the difference between the nominal value of the loans and the price at which the bonds were sold, commissions to various bankers and others, expenses of operations on the Bourse, payment of the French army, return of sums advanced for the support of the Mexican forces, subvention to the line of steamers from St. Nazaire, payments on account of the civil list of the emperor, presents to various favorites, and remittances to Miramar.

In consequence, the finance commission in Paris has at the disposition of Maximilian only a small balance, which will be barely sufficient to cover expenses during the month of January.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

MEXICO, *December* 17, 1865.

Although not in round numbers, on account of the danger of intrusting the exact figures to a letter, I propose to give you some idea of the amount of the late loans, their distribution, and the sums that remain to be disposed of, reserving for some perfectly safe opportunity the transmission to you of the exact balances and the total amount of the foreign debt since the creation of the empire.

The acquisition of these important documents will reveal to the world the infamy that has been perpetrated in seeking to load Mexico with enormous sums that have only served to pay the war expenses of France and to enrich our sovereign and other high personages connected with the present order of affairs.

Perhaps in this letter I may be able to enclose you a copy of the *revista* which is periodically sent to the United States, and in that you will find further details of the financial situation of the empire, but, as it may not be possible, I give you here some idea of it.

Total product of the loans, 360,000,000 francs. Of this—

The French army has received	$12,500,000
Bankers, commissions	5,000,000
Invested in the French rentes for the conversion of the first loan	4,000,000
Interest on the English debt	6,000,000
Difference between 100 francs and 63 francs, which was the selling price	26,500,000
Reserved for interest in advance on both loans, (discount less than 63 francs,) commissions, brokerages, and other expenses	7,500,000
Received in Mexico	8,000,000
	69,500,000
Balance remaining to the government	2,500,000
Total	72,000,000

Equal to 360,000,000 francs.

From the above sum that remains, there has to be paid on the 15th February, the stipulated time, the last payment that remains to be made on account of the famous claim of Jecker, which was settled at five millions of dollars, and of which three millions have already been paid. The remaining sum of $500,000 has already been drawn for to cover advances made by the French to the Mexican army in October and November, and two hundred thousand dollars on account of six hundred thousand due to Maximilian for salary up to the end of December.

The convention of Miramar, as it was signed on the 10th April, 1864, has been fully and duly carried out, there having been paid monthly to the expeditionary army $471,000, which is the sum monthly accruing, and which has been paid up to the 30th November of this year. In this way it is easy to see how it is that only the sum of $8,000,000 has remained to come to Mexico.

From the estimate of expenses for December, January, and February, 1865 and 1866, an idea can be formed of the sum expended by the government of Maximilian. It amounts to $10,000,000. The income from national revenues is estimated at $3,500,000. The balance of the loans is $2,500,000, thus leaving a deficiency of $4,000,000. But if, as I believe, the two millions to Jecker shall not be paid, and which are included in the above ten millions of expenses, nor the subvention to the railroad, or the $60,000 which are remitted monthly to Yucatan, nor the $15,000 monthly which are remitted to New York for the press and other purposes, as well as various other sums which are not vitally indispensable, I believe that without other sources of supply the existence of the government may be prolonged until the end of February. From that time forward, neither by the greatest extortions, nor by duplicating the exactions of to-day, can its existence be prolonged for six months more.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, February 23, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: Continuing the transmission to your department of documents coming into my hands that may give a just idea of events now occurring in Mexico, I have the honor to enclose the documents mentioned in the accompanying index, showing recent transactions on the eastern military line of the Mexican republic.

Nos. 1 and 2 show what the Mexican patriots are doing on the eastern line, comprising the States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Oaxaca, Tabasco, and Chiapas, for the independence and institutions of the republic, efforts that would be attended with better success if they had arms and ammunition, very difficult to procure in their actual position.

No. 3 contains the most important part of the republican general Don Ignacio Alatorre's official report on his defence of the town of Tlapacoyam, where his forces conducted themselves with the greatest courage.

Nos. 4 and 5 contain the correspondence between Lieutenant Colonel Zach, of the so-called imperial forces in the north, and General Alatorre, in regard to exchange of prisoners. That correspondence shows the necessity in which the invaders of Mexico are placed to acknowledge the absurdity of the usurper Maximilian's decree of the 3d of October, where the republican forces are denied the rights of belligerents; for though that decree is used to shoot the defenders of independence at certain times, on other occasions the invaders or their adherents, prompted by interest, exchange prisoners formally, and thus confess that the national forces are not composed of highway robbers.

No. 6 gives the official report of General Lazaro Muñoz on his victory at Espinal, State of Vera Cruz.

No. 7 is the report of Colonel Luis P. Figueroa on his occupation of the city of Villa Alta, in the State of Oaxaca.

No. 8 contains the terms of capitulation at Papantla, (State of Vera Cruz,) where General Alatorre retired after his defence of Tlapacoyam, and which was given up to Lieutenant Colonel Zach and his Austrian soldiers. It will also be seen in this treaty that belligerent rights are necessarily granted to the republican forces. The cause of General Alatorre's surrender is explained in General Garcia's letter to President Juarez, marked No. 2.

No. 9 is Don Mariano Ramos's account of the cruel treatment to which he was subjected while he was prisoner at Tezuitlan, of which district he was political chief under the constitutional government. This account, the original of which is in my possession, exhibits the conduct of the enemies of the Mexican republic, even towards the most respectable citizens who have the misfortune to fall into their hands.

No. 10 is a very interesting account General Porfirio Diaz gives, in a private letter, of all his movements, after his escape from the Puebla prison, on the 20th of September last. This brief narrative is another proof of the courage and bravery of this patriot general; and it shows the determination of the people of the Mexican republic to resist the empire as long as they have arms and other means to carry on the war.

Nos. 11 and 12, containing the official reports of the French agent, Luciano Prieto, to the usurper, show that Colonel Figueroa attacked the city of Tehuantepec, in the State of Oaxaca, on the 7th of January last, with a force of two thousand men. This information coming from a French source cannot be doubted, and proves that the contest in Mexico, so far from being at an end, as the French would have us believe, is hardly begun, and that the Mexican people continue to struggle for their independence and their institutions through the whole territory of the republic.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

List of the documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington to the Department of State of the United States, with the note of this date, in relation to events on the eastern military line of the Mexican republic.

No. 1. January 17, 1865.—General Garcia to Mr. Romero: Account of the condition of things, and a letter for President Juarez.

No. 2. January 17, 1865.—General Garcia to President Juarez: Information of recent events on the eastern line.

No. 3. General Garcia to General Alatorre: Official report of the defence of Tlapacoyam, south of Vera Cruz.

No. 4. November 27, 1865.—Lieutenant Colonel Zach to General Alatorre: Proposal to exchange Austrian prisoners for Mexican prisoners.

No. 5. November 29, 1865.—General Alatorre to Lieutenant Colonel Zach: Answer to the above, accepting the exchange.

No. 6. November 30, 1865.—General Muñoz to General Garcia: Official report of the battle of Espinal.

No. 7. December 21, 1865—Colonel Figueroa to Colonel Garcia: Official report of the occupation of Villa Alta, in the State of Oaxaca.

No. 8. January 15, 1866.—Terms of the surrender of Papantla.

No. 9. January 13, 1866.—Prefect M. Ramos to General Garcia: Cruel treatment of prisoners by the French.

No. 10. January 14, 1866.—General Diaz: Reports what happened after his escape from prison.

No. 11. Don Luciano Prieto: Official report of the attack of Tehuantepec, by Colonel Figueroa, with 2,000 men.

No. 12. January 11, 1866.—Same report.

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 23, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

TLACOTALPAM, *January* 17, 1866.

MUCH-ESTEEMED FRIEND: Your favor of the 25th November was received after long delay.

The letter you sent me for Colonel Mendez, governor of Tabasco, was forwarded to him by the first opportunity.

* * * * * * * * *

General Diaz wrote to me on the 22d November, from Tlapa, that he was going to begin serious operations against Oaxaca. Colonel Figueroa marched from Ixcatlan to join him, but, as you will see from my letter to President Juarez, he is now within the limits of Guerrero and Michoacan, and I do not know what has become of Figueroa. I heard to-day that he was in Tehuantepec, but the report needs confirmation.

I have no time to write more, but refer you to my letter to the President, which I enclose to you.

Your true friend,

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

Señor Don MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 23, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

TLACOTALPAM, *January* 17, 1866.

MUCH-RESPECTED FRIEND:

* * * * * * *

The situation is much as I predicted, and as I told you in my previous letters. In No. 25 of the official bulletin enclosed you will see that General Alatorre has been repulsed at Tlapacoyan, after a stout resistance, in which the soldiers proved themselves heroes, because he had not arms and ammunition enough for his troops. I sent him $2,000 in drafts, as he could make use of them in that part of the country, and empowered him to draw two thousand more from the State fund; but I fear the means reached him too late, or that it is the same there as here, there is no powder to be had, and no other munitions of war to be purchased, and for that reason General Alatorre may have to give up for want of them, in spite of his well-known courage and patriotism.

Colonel Figueroa asked me to aid him in the campaign against Oaxaca from the east, while General Porfirio Diaz was to attack from the west; but, with all I can do, I cannot get enough provisions for both of us in such an undertaking. I sent him all I had, and $1,000 in silver, with which he set out. God grant that he may not meet the fate of General Alatorre, and for the same reasons. I have not heard from him since his arrival at Villa Alta, on the 21st December. General Diaz, they say, is in Guerrero or Michoacan, and if that is so, Figueroa must be alone in the vicinity of Oaxaca. A few days ago I heard he was in Tlacolulan with his force, and to-day the chief of Tuxtepec writes me that he has taken Tehuantepec; but this last needs confirmation, for I should have heard it from Juchitan or Acayucam.

* * * * * * *

For all this, and notwithstanding the candor in which I write to you, to convince you of the danger of our situation and ask your aid, do not think we are discouraged, or that our nationality is in greater peril than before. Our courage has secured us a position, and has made the enemy dread us; so we will keep up our spirits and retain our independence to the last.

* * * * * * *

There is no more news in the part of the State of Vera Cruz which I occupy than what I have already told you about General Alatorre. We are daily threatened with an invasion by the enemy, but it does not come, nor do I think it will very soon, for they cannot spare the forces from Orizava, Cordova, or Vera Cruz.

There is nothing new in Tabasco and Chiapas, and I can say very little to you about the State of Puebla, for the governor is on his way to Tezuitlan, almost cut off from this line.

* * * * * * *

Some American officers recently came to me and offered to enlist volunteers among their countrymen in this State, to fight for Mexican independence, but I could not accept their services for want of arms.

With the hope that you will not disregard my request, and will continue to write to me, I remain your true friend, &c., &c.

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

Señor DON BENITO JUAREZ,
President of the Mexican republic, Paso del Norte,
(or wherever he may be.)

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 23, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

[From the Official Bulletin, No. 25, Tlacotalpam, January 4, 1866.]

Report of General Ignacio Alatorre on the defence of Tlapacoyan.

The great length of the report of the citizen general-in-chief of the northern coast to headquarters prevents us from giving it entire, but we will copy the most important paragraphs, that our readers may hear of the brilliant actions that have taken place in a portion of our State, and of the patriotism, valor and enthusiasm of those of the northern coast who follow the republican banner, guided by the loyal and valiant General Ignacio Alatorre.

This leader speaks thus:

"After the brilliant feat of arms executed at Tlapacoyan by my aid, General Manuel Andrade, last September, only a few encounters worth mentioning have taken place with the rebellious Indians of Misantla, which resulted in their being dispersed and driven from their mountains to the city of Jalapa, with their so-called General Calderon.

"The most noted action in the lowlands was the occupation of Huatusco by Captain Manuel Marrero, who, with two companies of infantry and cavalry, took that place after two hours' fighting, killing many of the enemy, taking thirty prisoners, sixty guns, provisions, four cornets, a war chest and other valuables.

"While this was going on in that quarter, Colonel Honorato Dominguez was raising forces in Actopam and Coatepec.

"General Lara died on the 2d, and on the 13th General Mendez arrived and told me of General Lucas's victories in the State of Puebla.

"On the 12th I received the appointment with which I have been honored, and I immediately proceeded to organize all the forces into a north division, divided into four expeditionary columns, and giving the second command to General Andrade. General Juan N. Mendez was put over the first, in Papantla; General Andrade over the second, in Tlapacoyan; Lieutenant Colonel Fernandez overthethird, in Misantla; and Colonel Honorato Dominguez over the fourth, on the road between Vera Cruz and Jalapa."

The attack which he repelled at Tlapacoyan is thus described by the deserving general:

"On the 15th the enemy took possession of Dos Cerros, with all the military apparatus of a large army on a grand campaign. They numbered over 2,000 men, of the best Austrian regiments, with eight pieces of rifled artillery and an immense train of supplies, on more than one hundred mules. My forces consisted of 200 soldiers and 250 national guards, with two pieces of mountain artillery. There were four of the enemy to one of my men. I did not think they would attack my small number with their entire force. I knew that I must get the worst in the fight, but I was determined to accept it, on account of the enthusiasm of my men, and to show the enemy what they had to expect. I ordered, therefore, the selected positions to be taken. On occupying Dos Cerros the enemy used a cannon and kept up a continued fire of musketry against my cavalry scouts, who were not injured. During the night I learned that the enemy consisted of more than two thousand men, and had ten pieces of artillery.

"On the 16th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, a strong column of infantry and cavalry moved upon Tomata Point, defended by Colonel Gonzales, who withdrew to the town with his forty men. At five in the afternoon I examined the lines of defence, and found the soldiers resolved to fight till death. I placed Commander Vicente Acuña over the Texcol, Paulino Machorro over the small fort of Izapa, and left Colonel Gonzales for the reserve. The rest of my forces, consisting of eighty men, under Colonel Miguel Perez, formed the general reserve.

"During the night there was some shooting in front.

"On the 17th, at eight in the morning, five hundred of the enemy, with two pieces of rifled cannon, swept down upon the flanks of my position, coming almost to the trenches of Izapa on my left. The trenches were occupied by fifty of my men, who kept the enemy at bay for a while, and finally dispersed them with their unerring shots, leaving the plain covered with dead bodies. The enemy did not stop till they had reached a distant part of the road, where they reformed under shelter of artillery.

"While this was taking place on the left, the rest of the enemy came down from the Gentiles heights on the right and planted a battery of six pieces in a prominent place, and opened fire upon the town and the forts of Texcol, Arenal, and Zapote. While at a distance they gave us some trouble, but when they came nearer they were closely attacked and readily dispersed. This was continued all day till 5 o'clock in the evening, when the enemy retired from our reach, part to Gentile hill and the rest to Point Tomata.

"I then prepared to attack Tomata with two hundred men. General Andrade was to lead one hundred and I the other. He left Izapa and marched parallel to Tomata, while I took the other hundred diagonally from Texcol to the same point. I found two very deep ravines in my way, which stopped my progress, but General Andrade continued to advance till he attacked the five hundred of the enemy with their artillery. The assault was terrible, but unfortunately we had to retreat with a slight loss. I then joined Andrade, and we continued to the town, the enemy not daring to follow us. Our loss during the day consisted in the death of two brave captains, Amaro and Cervantes, one sergeant, one corporal, and two soldiers; Commander Granada and Captain Torres were wounded, and ten soldiers of different companies. We also lost six horses in a charge that Captain Torres made against some of the enemy's infantry.

"The town suffered much from the artillery that day, several houses being burnt or destroyed, and a part of the principal church considerably injured. The body of an Austrian officer was brought in, one wounded soldier, three prisoners, and five carbines.

"The morning of the 18th was rainy. I sent out thirty men with officers Luyando and Aguirre, to observe the enemy's position at Dos Cerros, and a squad of cavalry explorers to reconnoitre their position at Tomata. It was ten o'clock at night and the infantry had not returned. It caused me some uneasiness for those brave men. The scouts I sent to Naranjal brought back a prisoner, two carbines, and some bloody clothing, showing the enemy had suffered in their retreat in that direction. Luyando and Aguirre returned at midnight with their thirty infantry, having been to Dos Cerros and Eytepegeo, where they found no enemy, they having probably retreated to Cuantosca and Huitamalco, to get out of the rain. On that day I had our wounded carried to the Jobo hacienda, six miles from town.

"At six in the morning of the 20th my cavalry scouts attacked Tomata. At eleven the enemy sent out some infantry and a piece of artillery and attacked Iztapa, but soon retreated. General Ortega sent me word that three hundred Austrians with two pieces of artillery were coming from Huitamalco to occupy Tomata. The rest of the day and night passed quietly.

"At six on the morning of the 22d the enemy began to move with their entire force, and at seven their artillery was in position. They opened a terrible fire upon Texcol and Izapa at that early hour.

"Two companies of skirmishers that I had ordered to the Izapa and Peñascal heights were dislodged by a large body of Austrians. At eight o'clock two columns of eight hundred men took position in front of Texcol and Izapa, and opened a terrific fire upon the latter. The brave soldiers sustaining the republican banner there waited till the enemy had come within forty paces of them, when they broke fire with such terrible effect the enemy fell back, leaving the field covered with their dead and wounded. The enemy now increased their artillery to eight pieces, and soon levelled the Texcol fort, leaving its brave defenders of one hundred and fifty men exposed to a storm of projectiles. The column that had been repulsed from Izapa now joined the rest of the enemy's forces, and came down upon Texcol. Here they were warmly received, and soon retreated. The main column returned to the charge, retreated, hesitated, and then attacked us again. My soldiers fought in an open sea of fire, and the hail of musketry and artillery made sad havoc among them. The enemy finally succeeded in taking Texcol. Many of its brave defenders were killed; among them was Colonel Manuel Antonio Ferrer, the bravest of the brave, who fought with sword and pistol till he fell.

"Once in possession of the key of all my positions, the enemy dashed on the Arenal, Zapote, and the church, scattering our soldiers in every direction. I felt that the numerical superiority of our opponents would give them the victory; so all that I could do was to march back to the plaza and retreat orderly with my remaining forces. I gathered up the wounded, collected what ammunition remained, and marched with one hundred and twenty men that evening to Ixcacoaco, less than five leagues from Tlapacoyam. I left Captain Aguirre with forty men to collect the scattering and bring up the rear.

"My losses at Tlapacoyam were one colonel, five officers, twenty-five men, and one horse among the killed. The wounded were three chiefs, two officers, twenty-eight soldiers, and four horses. One hundred and twelve soldiers were missing. Two officers and eight of my soldiers were made prisoners; five of the soldiers were badly wounded. I also lost a mountain howitzer with its caisson and ammunition.

"After their victory the enemy did not venture to send a single soldier in pursuit of us, which plainly shows how much they had suffered. Report says their loss was great; I reckon it at three hundred men."

Mr. Alatorre recommends no one, for he says they were all heroes, each rivalling the other in bravery. He mentions Lieutenant Juan Mejia, who being surrounded by the enemy, charged them boldly, and sacrificed himself before he would give up his sword. He says the coolness of Commanders Acuña, Granada, and Machorro merits the greatest praise.

General Alatorre mentions the burial of Colonel Ferrer by the Austrians; his body was borne by four captains, and his funeral was attended by all the officers.

This battle was a great calamity to our forces, but at the same time it was a triumph. The loss of the enemy was greater than our whole force. This will teach them what kind of men they have to deal with, and what they may expect while defending the unpopular and hateful cause of the empire. With many victories like this, the enemy will soon disappear from our soil, and foreign armies will no longer be found in America.

We lament the loss of Colonel Ferrer, for it is great. His sociability, his good humor, his elegant education, and his bravery, made him beloved and esteemed by everybody. He was a firm friend and a worthy leader. We must do him the justice to make known his good qualities, that his family may be proud to have had among their number such a man as Colonel Manuel Antonio Ferrer.

The general-in-chief, Ignacio Alatorre, in the defence of Tlapacoya has given another proof of his ability as a general, and of his cool courage as a soldier. We congratulate him on the defeat that has been regarded by us as a triumph, owing to his skill, activity, zeal, and well known courage. We have witnessed the pleasure that General Alatorre's courageous conduct in this affair gave to the general-in-chief of the eastern line, who has done him justice in extolling his merit.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

Correspondence between General Alatorre and Lieutenant Colonel Zach, commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in the Sierra del Norte, No. 1810.

(Official.) TEZUITLAN, *November* 27, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your note of the 25th instant, in regard to exchange of prisoners, to-day. It was directed to the commander at Tlapacoyan.

From the reputation you enjoy everywhere, I would not have believed for a moment that you would have ordered the fifty Austrian prisoners to be shot, as reprisals.

I have ordered the prisoners of Tlapacoyan to be well treated. As to reciprocal exchange, I propose to you to exchange the fifty Austrian prisoners of war, now at Mizantla, for the prisoners of war that fell into my hands on the 22d instant. This proposal may seem strange to you, but I would accept a similar proposal.

If you choose to accept my proposal, please inform the commander at Tlapacoyan, who will at once receive orders to set the Tlapacoyan prisoners at liberty.

I avail myself of this occasion, general, to say to you that I sincerely wish you to acknowledge the empire. You love your country, and could be much more useful to it in sustaining the new government than in fighting hopelessly, as you are now doing.

This last battle does honor to your military skill, but it ruins your country.

Accept the assurances of my high consideration.

Lieutenant Colonel ZACH,
Commander-in-chief of the Imperial Forces in the Sierra del Norte.

General J. R. ALATORRE, *Jicaltepec.*

[Enclosure No. 5.]

JICALTEPEC, *November* 29, 1865.

In answer to yours of the 27th, I inform you that the commander at Tlapacoyan sent two Austrian officers to the Jobo hacienda to agree upon the terms of exchange with one of my officers. The terms arranged by them was twenty-five men for a captain, ten for a lieutenant, and the soldiers man for man. Thus I hope it is settled, as it was arranged by an Austrian who knew his business and complied with the customary formalities. If you have any objections to the terms, please let me know.

In reference to the latter sentences of your letter, you will excuse me from making any answer to them. My public conduct ought to be a sufficient answer for you.

I repeat the assurances, &c.

J. R. ALATORRE.

Lieutenant Colonel ZACH.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

Report of General Muñoz on the victory at Espinal.

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMMANDANCY OF THE NORTHERN LINE.

After the events I communicated to headquarters, saying that an invasion was apprehended upon this line from the traitors of Zacapoastla, I did all I could to prepare for defence. I placed 200 men in Espinal, eight leagues south of this canton, under command of Colonel Juan N. Mendez, chief of the first expeditionary column of this northern division.

The enemy, to the number of 400 traitors, appeared yesterday before Espinal, and began the attack. They were immediately routed, as will be seen by the official report of Colonel Mendez, which reads as follows:

"At 7 o'clock in the evening of the 23d instant I heard that the enemy had occupied the hacienda of San Pedro with 300 men, and were marching on this place. So the captain of the fourth company of the first Papantla battalion immediately set out to take possession of Naranjo Pass, according to orders. I set out to re-enforce him with the other companies in El Rincon, and to defend the river; but when I reached there, I found the captain had already done so, as the enemy had crossed and taken possession of the place where he had intended to camp. Informed of this, I advanced towards the enemy's camp, with Lieutenant Colonel José Maria Zamarti, to examine their position and discover the best point of attack, since we had lost the best positions on the river. We came to Santa Catarina creek without meeting the enemy. I stationed two bands of fifteen men each at this place, under Lieutenant Manuel Fajardo and Sergeant Antonio Mata, and ordered them to open fire upon the enemy as they passed. As I was certain that I could find no better place to meet the enemy than the cemetery, I returned there, and ordered a slight intrenchment to be thrown up. I thus prepared for defence, and waited for daylight and the enemy.

"At 6 o'clock in the morning the enemy came up to the bands I had stationed on the road-sides, and a few shots were exchanged. They came on till they got in our front. They consisted of 400 men, and came shouting for the empire. They opened fire, and came rushing upon us in double-quick time; but our firmness and steady fire stopped them, and they turned our right flank. Their attack there met with no more success than in front; so they tried our left flank. Perceiving their intention, I gave orders for the second reserve to march across to that side; this was bravely accomplished. Disappointed in their expectations, the enemy began a shameful retreat. I then ordered Lieutenant Colonel Zamarti to pursue them with a company of fifty men. He followed them for two hours, till they crossed the river, when it was useless to go any further. He returned to Naranjo Pass with four prisoners.

"While this was going on I ordered the dead and wounded the enemy had left to be taken care of. There were seven dead and two wounded. Two Austrian officers were killed, and one native officer. Five guns were picked up, some loose ammunition, and one of the commander's horses. I had no doubt but many more could be found in the mountains.

"We lost not a single man on our side; only one resident of the place fell a victim to the enemy's balls.

"All the chiefs, officers, and men behaved bravely. It would be wrong to make distinctions among them, for they all did honor to their country. Yet, as the fortunate result of the action was mainly due to the bravery of Lieutenant Colonel Zamarti, I must make honorable mention of that distinguished name.

"I congratulate you upon this glorious triumph, and do not doubt that the valiant patriots I have the honor to command will conquer new laurels in defence of our dear country."

I am pleased to communicate the above to headquarters, and rejoice over a day that has brought honor to the brave republicans who are defending the sacred cause of the nation in this canton.

Independence and liberty! Papantla, 30th November, 1865.

LAZARO MUÑOZ.

General ALEJANDRO GARCIA,
Chief of the Eastern Lines, Tlacotalpam.

A certified copy:

JOSÉ A. RUIZ, *Secretary.*

TLACOTALPAN, *December* 30, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 7.]

Colonel Figueroa's report.

STATE OF OAXACA.—NORTHERN LINE.—COLONEL-IN-CHIEF.

At 6 o'clock this evening I occupied this town, after driving the enemy from their formidable positions of Puente de Piedra, Puente de Temascalapa, and Cuesta del Limon—all strong places, regularly fortified.

I shall take possession of Chuapam to-morrow. There is not a single soldier there now; those that were left there have deserted.

The traitor chief had the arms taken away; ten, however, remained on the ground.

Independence and the republic! Villa-Alta, 21st December, 1865.

LUIS P. FIGUEROA.

The GENERAL-IN-CHIEF *of the Eastern Line, Tlacotalpam.*

[Enclosure No. 8.]

Terms upon which the military question of Papantla was arranged, between the commander of the Austrian troops, Major Sachonowsky, on the one part, and Mr. Lazaro Muñoz, political chief of the line of the State of Vera Cruz, and General Ignacio R. Alatorre, chief of the forces of the same line, on the other part.

1. The republican forces shall be disbanded, and the sums necessary to carry them home shall be advanced to the soldiers on account of the empire. These same forces shall take care of the garrison of the place, till a force composed entirely of Austrians shall replace them, which shall be on the day after the ratification of these terms by the commander-in-chief of the imperial column, Major Sachonowsky, who will sign them. Previous to that day an officer will come to receive the munitions of war remaining in the place, the artillery and the spare guns. The generals, chiefs, and officers shall retain their arms.

2. The generals, chiefs, and officers in the place who do not spontaneously volunteer to adhere to the empire, shall have full liberty to go where they please with the necessary securities, and without being molested in any manner. As many of them cannot set out very soon because their families are not here, or for other reasons, a month shall be allowed them to leave in. This month shall begin on the day that the place is occupied by the Austrian troops. All of the generals, chiefs, and officers shall have passports granted them as soon as they request it, giving them due protection. A list of all the generals, chiefs, and officers who do not submit to the empire, shall be made out and delivered to Mr. Sachonowsky.

3. The wounded and sick of the republican forces, now in the hospital of Papantla, shall be attended and taken care of, and shall receive the pay corresponding to their rank; this pay shall be on account of the empire. When they have recovered, they shall have full liberty to go where they please, and passports shall be given them, with all the necessary guarantees, and money shall be given them, on account of the empire, to take them to their places of residence.

4. The debts contracted by the republican forces in the cantons of Hapacoyan and Mizantla shall be recognized and paid. Those who have been political and military chiefs of those cantons, Mr. Miguel Perez and Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Andicochea, shall arrange this business, and shall certify the debts, which shall not exceed eight thousand dollars; and the debt shall be subject to liquidation by the imperial commissary in his name.

5. The decision of the political question shall be made separately and alone with Lazaro Muñoz, after these terms are ratified, and the imperial commissary and the commissioner who comes in his name.

6. Six copies of these terms shall be made out and signed by the proper persons; three shall remain in the hands of the general-in-chief of the republican forces, the other three in the hands of the commander of the Austrian forces.

SACHONOWSKY.
ALATORRE.

PAPANTLA, *January* 15, 1866.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL.
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 23, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 9.]

PRISON OF THE CONCEPTION CONVENT IN PUEBLA,
January 13, 1866

MY MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND: I will proceed to inform you of my situation. I had the misfortune to be taken prisoner at Zopiloapam, on the 18th of last month. Five months ago I was political chief and military commander of the district of Texiutlan, for the republican government, and in that capacity I labored incessantly, with the few loyal left in the district, for the triumph of the national cause.

After our last defeats at Tlapacoyan, Ixcamaco and Zanjamala, the governor, Don Fernando Ortega, endeavored to fall back to Papantla, and charged me with the collection of a loan he had imposed upon the estates in my district. The discharge of this duty was very dangerous, as the enemy in large bodies occupied Hueytamala and Mecapalco, and made frequent excursions to the other estates in the lowlands, but my duty and the need of money for the troops made me brave every danger.

At first I executed my commission entirely alone, without much difficulty; I had to devise many ways and suffer much mortification on account of the avarice and obstinacy of three or four proprietors, who tried to get off from paying small sums. They even put themselves under the protection of the Austrian commander at Mecapalco; they gave a description of me, and mentioned places where I might be found; they furnished men and mules to hunt me, until I was caught at last.

As my vigilance and precaution had disappointed the enemy up to this time, they determined to disguise themselves as lowland muleteers, besmearing their bodies and faces with dirt, like the laborers in that country.

I was at Zopiloapan, the estate of my friend, Rafael Avila; we had just breakfasted and had gone out to look at the road where mule-gangs were passing now and then loaded with sugar, flour, mats and other goods, on the way to Papantla. Presently a drove of eight mules came up; one man was on the front mule, and three or four followed on foot, clad in coarse cotton and palm hats. When they got to the foot of the hill of the farm, they halted to water their beasts at a rivulet that ran near. About five hundred yards behind them three other muleteers, without mules, made their appearance. This circumstance attracted my attention, and I remarked to my companion that there seemed many drivers for so few mules. My horse was saddled and I was going to mount, when Mr. Avila said, "Don't be afraid; there is my son just coming from the field behind the last men; if they had been enemies they would have taken him and his horses." This reasoning seemed correct, and we looked at the passing muleteers. When they got close up to us, all seven darted upon us like lightning, drawing their knives and revolvers, and proclaimed us their prisoners. We found, too late, that all the men were Austrians except the one mounted in front, whom I recognized as a man from Mecapalco. The mule loads were fictitious; the rolls of matting contained ammunitions and the rifles of those who had apprehended us.

In less than five minutes thirty infantry and ten cavalry, all Austrians, came dashing upon us. They surrounded the house, broke it open and took whatever they wanted. Saddles and harness, provisions and clothing, carpenters' tools, everything was taken, just as if the house had been a strong citadel defended by a powerful enemy. I immediately told them who I was, and assured them that the owner of the place had taken no part with me. They would not listen to me, but secured us, Don Rafael, his son and me, in a room, and tied a stable boy and an old cook; all others on the place managed to escape. Every cabin was searched, and everything that could be of any use was taken. A double sentry was placed over us, and the officers themselves stood watch over us during the night. They shot a bullock and built large fires out of the fencing to cook it, and eat everything they could lay their hands on. The next day they took us five prisoners, like malefactors, to Mecapalco, each horse led by a dragoon and a foot soldier. Of course they took my papers, my sword, the only arm I had with me, and my knapsack of provisions, hanging on a nail. We were locked up at Mecapalco in the same manner, a soldier all the time on guard before me. The officer who had charge of me in Mecapalco accused me of having said to a servant, at the Mirador farm, that Don Fernando Ortega would soon come and release me. "That is not so," I replied, "for all I did was to write to the owner of that ranch, and to the owners of Coaxocota, Canoas, and of this place, who tried to avoid the payment of their taxes; I said I could patiently bear my present misfortune, but some day the defenders of the national cause would revenge me." The papers that were taken from me will show what I am; that, as a faithful servant of the republican government, I have obeyed commands and the inspirations of patriotism in defence of the national cause; but there is not a single document or declaration of any kind among them to prove me a bandit or an assassin. I am ready to suffer the full rigor of the law, but I am not willing that Mr. Avila and the others who were taken with me should suffer, because they are innocent.

This declaration did no good; we were carried to Texuitlan, where I repeated what I had said to Major Zenowiski. I don't know for what reason, but the next day after our arrival Mr. Avila, his son and servant, were set at liberty, after the farm-house had been sacked and abandoned.

I was to have been sent to the fortress of Perote the next day, but the tears of my family induced the authorities to let me remain one more day to have my clothes washed. All the clothes I had were what I wore, for I had lost all the rest in my visits to Zacapoastla, Tetela, Alcuacatlan, and other places in the mountains and lowlands.

On the 23d I was put on a miserable horse and escorted by Don Ermenegildo Carrillo, one sergeant and two Austrian dragoons. The four good horses of Mr. Avila, my own, and everything we had, was declared booty.

From the 23d to the 29th of December I was confined in a dark, dirty prison; was not permitted to see any one, nor even to write to my family. I requested to be brought to this place, that I might have the comfort of seeing my children, Albert and General Ramirez, who had been six months in prison.

On the 30th and 31st the journey from Perote to this city was continued, my horse being fastened to that of a lancer. One officer, twelve Mexican cavalry, and two Austrian officers, one sergeant and two soldiers, escorting an unfortunate man like a criminal, attracted the attention of the people along the road, and gave me great mortification, because they could not know who I was, or the cause of the outrage. My arrival was in the night, as fortune would have it.

At eight o'clock I was before the door of Mr. Thun's house, in Old Post Office street, with my guards. An orderly was coming out as the Austrian lieutenant went in. He brought back a written paper, and I was taken by the guards to the hospital, and from their to this convent.

At my request they took me to the jail where my son was confined, with fifty of our unfortunate companions. Generals Tapia and Ramirez had been exchanged; so, of course, we did not see them. I embraced my son Albert, after fourteen months' separation. When he was wounded by a shot, at Tezuitlan, I was in Zacapoastla; and for some days I thought he was dead, for his wound was very serious. When he began to recover, he was taken at Couxtoca, where he happened to be with two of his sisters and Ramirez, who had just married one of them. They were at the wedding feast; and he intended to settle down and go into some business to support our distressed family. Vain resolutions! They were denounced, captured, and led to prison, no attention being paid to their excuses or requests.

The consolation of being with my son did not last long. An adjutant came to the prison the next day, the 1st instant, with an order signed by Mr. Thun, that I should be separated from my son, and not allowed to communicate with any one. And here I have been to this day, in a room, having a sign written over the door with charcoal—"El Gabinete Negro"—The Dark Closet—often without light at night, and during the first days needing everything to make my situation tolerable. Slowly I obtained a few comforts, and I have lately managed to write, secretly, to several friends, informing them of my misfortune.

The barbarous decree of the 3d October weighs upon my heart, and though it has not yet been carried out, a fatality, a revenge, or some other incident might cause the completion of my sacrifice, and perhaps it would remain unknown for some days to the world, and particularly to the republicans.

I am the only chief here who has been captured since the decree. The officers and soldiers who were taken prisoners at Tlapacoyam and Izcuacaro have been exchanged for fifty Austrians who were in our hands. I have no hope of exchange: the last have been surrendered, and I am still in Perote, perhaps forgotten.

The rigor and care with which I am guarded, the imprudence of our leaders, and the crimes of some perverse men who exist, might cause the death of some Austrian chief outside of the batle-field, and then I would be the certain victim of reprisal.

I am not afraid of death, and I can bear it; but I do not wish to be buried in the sad obscurity that has always attended me by nature or by circumstance, and I wish my posthumous reputation to be beneficial to my children.

I have struggled ten years for the supreme principles of democracy, with my voice, my pen, and my sword. Though my efforts have been on a small scale, they were as great as my genius and my means would allow, and my sacrifices have been many.

I lost a beloved mother from grief at my joining the revolution. I spent a fortune of five thousand dollars in raising a squadron of cavalry that served in the State of Vera Cruz during the revolution of Ayutla, and afterwards in the campaigns and sieges of this city and district of Tepeaca. And the rest of my property was lost at the sacking of Acatzinco, where the last walls of my house were destroyed.

* * * * * *

Calumny throws her poison at the unfortunate who cannot defend themselves, and this evil is the one I most dread, for it is hard, when I am doing my best for my country, to hear it said I am not doing my duty, that I have turned traitor and been pardoned. These are the slanders that kill or injure the honor of a citizen.

These are the reasons that induce me to write to you, begging you as a good Mexican, who would care for the reputation of a man in adversity, now that your pure and disinterested patriotism has placed you, pen in hand, against the empire, that you will consecrate a few lines to me at present, if possible without compromising you in any manner.

Your estimable paper has a large circulation, and it would be very agreeable to me to let my fellow-citizens know that I have done my duty, and that I am ready to seal with my blood the political creed I adopted in my childhood, and have never once changed.

Your true and affectionate friend,

MARIANO E. RAMOS.

Mr. Rafael J. Garcia,
Editor of La Idea Liberal, present.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

Washington, *February* 23, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 10.]

STATE OF OAXACA, SANTA LUCIA, MONTE VERDE,
DISTRICT OF TLAXIACO, *January* 14, 1866.

* * * * * * * * *

I am going to tell of what happened to me after my escape up to the present time, and if you have read what I wrote before this will be a tedious repetition.

I made my escape on the 20th of September, at midnight. On the 22d and 23d I had two skirmishes with the traitors who pursued me; the first was with twenty cavalry at Tehuicingo, the second with forty at Piastla. The rest of the month was taken up in going to Tapla, where I took a small force of the national guards and returned to meet Visoso, who was still within the limits of Puebla with Guerrero, and had been one of my most vigorous persecutors. I overtook him at Tulcingo; a fight took place, the enemy retreated and left everything, money, arms, and ammunition, in my hands, besides forty dead upon the ground,

After this, placing all my booty in the hands of General Alvarez, I went to Providencia to have a conference with him; I was well received in all the towns, and at the headquarters of the south. The governor was disposed to give me what he had, that is, arms and ammunition, but no money, because he had none. I could get any number of troops from the south, on condition that I supported them from the time they enlisted. While at Tixtla, on my return from Providencia, I heard that a column of the enemy, consisting of seven hundred men of all arms,.traitors and Austrians, had occupied Tlapa, while about two thousand French and traitors threatened El Paso del Mescala, from Iguala. I took three hundred infantry from Chilapa with a few mountaineers and marched upon Tlapa. The enemy retreated, leaving Visoso with two hundred and fifty men to watch us. I had to discharge the men from Tlapa because I could not maintain them: I gave Visoso positive information of this, when I was sick in Tlapa and he twenty-one leagues distant at Comillipa, and he was very much emboldened by this. On the 3d of October I ordered the military commander to march the national guard into the square; he did not know why it was done; after the morning parade, I started out and on the 4th soon after sunrise I had given Visoso a good whipping. He left eighty-one dead, three officers among them, twenty-four prisoners, arms, horses, &c. I obtained some re-enforcements there, with Bernardino's cavalry, which made me one hundred cavalry and as many infantry. I returned to Tlapa, and went from there to Silacayoapam, which I reached on the 13th, the traitor garrison having escaped before my arrival. I organized the authorities and the national guard, and then went to do the same at Tlaxiaco; but I had hardly been three days in the place, when a column of Austrians and traitors of seven hundred men made their appearance. I was compelled to evacuate the place, so, on the 22d, I left Tlaxiaco and retreated only as fast as the enemy pursued me, but so slowly that I only went seventeen leagues in one week, while the enemy came nine. The Austrian column returned to Oaxaca, where it was needed, and left one hundred and fifty men to watch me, while three hundred were stationed in Tlaxiaco. I prepared to attack those that were watching me, but hearing of my intention they retreated to Tlaxiaco. I now got the aid of one hundred and fifty infantry and approached Tlaxiaco. The enemy came out to meet me, and were beaten in two different encounters, after which they retreated to the town. I took four horses, fourteen lances, five guns, four prisoners, one bugle, six muskets, and scattered thirty of their men. I cannot exactly tell the number of killed and wounded; they say they had but one killed and five wounded. I had one lieutenant killed; I was two days in possession of part of the town, within pistol-shot of the enemy, and they did not dare to attack me; but as they were expecting re-enforcements, and I had no such expectations, I had to go to the towns where I could get provisions for fifty horsemen and one hundred and sixteen infantry. I had to discharge one hundred and forty men, because I could not feed them without trespassing upon the inhabitants. While I was threatening Tlaxiaco, Silacayoapam was evacuated by the enemy and reoccupied by the political chief with his national guards.

Atlhough five hundred re-enforcements have arrived for the enemy in Tlaxiaco, and one hundred of them are Austrians, they have not ventured to attack me.

This is all I have done up to this time; I will inform you of my future movements as they take place. I have ordered the poll-tax to be reduced to one real, and have given back the excise to the State, as it was in 1864. I have not been able to pass to the northern part of this state; I sent my orders everywhere, but have received favorable answers only from Figueroa and Juchitan. This is a good time to effect much, and to extend the eastern line much more than it was in 1864, but I have no means and can do nothing.

Your true friend.

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

C. Matias Romero, *&c.*, *Washington.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

Washington, *February,* 1866.

[Enclosure No. 11.]

MEXICO.

The steamer Vera Cruz arrived at New York yesterday, from Vera Cruz the 23d and Havana the 28th, with the latest Mexican news.

We read in the New Era, of Mexico: A supplement to the Oaxaca Bulletin brings us the text of the official report of a defeat suffered by the dissidents at Tehuantepec. Here is the translation of the document:

"Tehuantepec, *January* 7, 1866.

"I take great pleasure in informing you that at 7 o'clock this morning the dissidents of Juchitan assembled by Figueroa, made their appearance in the suburb of San Blas, to the number of two thousand infantry and cavalry, with the intention of attacking Tehuantepec.

"They divided their troops into three columns, one on the hill, and began the attack. Two of the columns assaulted our fortifications on the north and south. They were bravely defended. I then sent a reserved section, protected by artillery, to attack the enemy on the hill. With an impetuosity worthy of all praise, it drove them in disorder, and took possession of the heights.

"Those that had attacked north and south could not stand the warm reception our garrison gave them, and they soon retreated in confusion.

"I cannot at present say what was the enemy's loss, but I am told it is over one hundred killed, and Masimiano Vera is among the number. We took one hundred guns, six chests of ammunition, and some horses. On our side, as far as I can ascertain, the loss was seven killed, among them one officer, and thirty wounded, some of them seriously.

"LUCIANO PRIETO,
"*The Political Prefect General.*"

[Enclosure No. 12.]

PREFECTURA POLITICO OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC,
January 11, 1866.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor of communicating to you that on the 7th instant, at 7 o'clock in the morning, the liberals from Juchitan, re-enforced by others from the mountains, the latter of whom came down on the 4th, and all of whom were under the orders of Figueroa, attacked this place, being over two thousand strong and divided into three columns. One column moved directly against the fort on the hill, and the other two columns moved from the north and south, so as to flank the fort and gain possession of the breastworks. Being aware of the fact that the possession of the aforesaid hill would be of great advantage to the enemy, I detached a column to drive them back. This column was successful in attaining the desired result, as the fire which it opened on the enemy was so severe that he could not stand it, and therefore broke in all directions. At the same time I ordered a general fire along the whole line of the breastworks, which checked the columns advancing from the north and south. Finally these columns had to retire, after suffering considerable loss.

In this engagement, which lasted little over one hour, and which redounds much to the credit of Tehuantepec, the enemy lost one hundred and eighteen killed, and among the number Figueroa.

* * * * * *

LUCIANO PRIETO,
Political Prefect and General Commanding.

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 9th of March, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, the documents contained in the annexed index, received by the last steamer from Vera Cruz, showing the state of affairs in the military eastern line of the Mexican republic.

I accept the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

Index of documents sent by the Mexican Legation in Washington to the Department of State of the United States, with the note of the 9th of March, concerning events on the military eastern line of the Mexican republic.

No. 1, February 14, 1866.—General Garcia to Mr. Romero. Remission of several packages for the federal government of Mexico.

No. 2, February 14, 1866.—General Garcia to President Juarez. Report of the state of affairs on the eastern line.

No. 3, February 9, 1866.—General Garcia to General Mejia. Official despatch of General Alatorre, relating to the loss of the coast north of Vera Cruz, and the condition of the south coast, for want of means.

No. 4, February 14, 1866.—General Garcia to General Mejia. Official despatch of Colonel Don Luis Figueroa, concerning the battle of Tehuantepec, on the 7th of January, 1866.

No. 5, January 20, 1866.—General Diaz. Report of his last movements in the State of Oaxaca.

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

TLACOTALPAM, *February* 14, 1866.

SIR: I have received your two estimable letters of the 3d and 20th of January last, and will now answer them. * * * *

You will also see what I say to Mr. Juarez and the department of government in regard to the presidential question. I am sure all the people of that line will vote for him to continue in the presidency of the republic, till a new election can take place, and as the acts have not yet been printed, I transmit to you a copy, in case you should need it in your diplomatic relations with that government; and should you want the printed proceedings before I receive them, you can make use of my official despatch to the department, as it is an exact expression of the truth and a certain announcement of the result this affair is going to have.

I have no time for more, but referring you to my official communications, I remain your affectionate friend,

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

Minister DON MATIAS ROMERO, *Washington.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

TLACOTALPAM, *February* 14, 1866.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I had the honor of receiving your estimable favor yesterday, dated in Chihuahua on the 1st of December last, which I now have the pleasure to answer.

* * * * * * * *

With your usual good judgment you advise me to attack Orisava, Cordova, Jalapa and Vera Cruz, while General Diaz is operating in the State of Oaxaca. That has been my intention for some time, but I could not accomplish it, because, as I told you several times since last May, there are no arms here, and we do not know where to get them; consequently my forces cannot be increased by a single man, for I would not have a gun to give him. I have been able to procure small quantities of powder and lead at exorbitant prices, but I cannot get arms, for none are manufactured in this section, and the enemy prevents their import by sea from other countries by means of their navy. Neither you nor Mr. Romero have been able to send me any, though I have repeatedly asked for them since I was appointed general-in-chief of the eastern line in May last.

For these and other reasons, I repeat that I wish to give up the command of this line to General Diaz, if I could communicate with him, for I had rather continue to fight for national independence with less responsibility and fewer serious inconveniences.

You will see from my despatches to the war department, that General Alatorre has at last given up the northern coast of this State, for want of means to carry on his heroic defence of that portion of the country; and that General Figueroa was defeated on the 7th instant at Tehuantepec, after attempting a coalition with General Diaz near Oaxaca, which could not be effected.

I had anticipated General Alatorre's misfortune, and even told you of it, for he had not enough arms and ammunition to resist, and I had none to send him. I sent him $2,000, at a considerable sacrifice, to purchase a few necessary articles, but as the sum was small, and arms could not be procured, he suffered an inevitable disaster. I have just now learned officially that the Austrians, violating the capitulation of Papantla, have sent General Alatorre a prisoner to Mexico, and did not grant him passports to go where he pleased, as they did the other chiefs and officers. Colonel Figueroa's forces, all we have on the road between here and Oaxaca, were in a very bad condition after the defeat at Tehuantepec, and I have continued to aid them up to this time with ammunition and money, as far as my means would allow, and I am going to send them clothes, for they were nearly naked when they returned from Tehuantepec.

There is nothing particular in the State of Tabasco. The governor of Chiapas is sending armed forces and ammunition to aid Juchitan.

It is again reported that a hostile expedition is to invade this part of the State from Vera Cruz. It may be true this time, as it is announced that the column under Count Thun, who concluded the treaty with Alatorre and has now nothing to do, will turn its attention to the southern coast.

I learn through the papers that you are at Paso del Norte.

I wish you well, and desire that you continue your estimable correspondence with your friend and servant,

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

President DON BENITO JUAREZ, *Paso del Norte.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC—HEADQUARTERS OF THE EASTERN LINE, NO. 3.

CITIZEN MINISTER: With a letter I addressed to the constitutional President of the republic, through the citizen minister of the republic in Washington, I sent No. 25 of the official bulletin of headquarters of the eastern line, containing an extract from the long despatch on the defeat at Tlapacoyan, by General Ignacio R. Alatorre, chief of the northern forces in the State of Vera Cruz, on the 30th of November last.

I presume the supreme government heard of that disaster by the despatch. The mishap was caused by the want of arms and ammunition; and from what I wrote at that time the President will learn of a still greater disaster in that quarter, the principal cause of which was a want of those same elements of war.

My prophecy was unfortunately fulfilled. General Alatorre sent me the following report from Papantla, dated the 8th of January last:

"I will give you an account of the latest military events that have taken place on this line, and their final results. As some of the chiefs and officers who fought under me may happen in your part of the country, they can give you a verbal account of the particulars of the events to which I now refer in a very general manner.

"After the defence of Tlapacoyan, (a report of which I sent you with the account of General Mendez's victory in Espinal,) I left ninety men in Ixcacoaco, five leagues from Tlapacoyan, under General Andrade. The rest of the Zamora battalion that had taken part in the defence mentioned marched to Mizantla, and joined the main body.

"I permitted the national guards of Pital, Jicaltepec, and Nautla, with the exception of eighty men, the garrison of Ixcacoaco, to disband, and go home temporarily, to provide themselves with clothing, which they absolutely needed. After the events of Tlapacoyan, I called together the chiefs to deliberate upon the best steps to take in case the enemy continued their incursions on the line. We decided the best thing to be done was to concentrate all the forces at one point, and gather all the resources we could, to make the best defence possible under the circumstances. The place chosen unanimously for concentration was this town.

"The heroic defence of Tlapacoyan by my forces a short time previous awed the enemy, and kept them at bay. They did not dare to attack me till they were prepared for a regular campaign against this town of Papantla and the places I held. The advanced force of Ixcacoaco was beaten on the 17th of December last by 400 men from Tlapacoyañ. Notwithstanding the numerical inequality, they prepared for the combat, resolving, at least, to make such a resistance as to cause some damage to the enemy; but a column of the latter, taking a circuitous road that had been stopped up by an abatis, as was supposed, came out in the rear of the small republican force, which had to disperse to save themselves from useless destruction. The picket of the Llave battalion, in the centre of the village of Ixcacoaco, was surprised by the enemy and scattered, losing the safe of the second column and all the money it contained, 3,000 gun-cartridges, and a few arms. Besides this, they lost one officer killed, several soldiers wounded, and twelve prisoners. Although the enemy's force that came up in our rear spent four hours in opening the road we had stopped by felling trees, we had no notice of their coming from the pickets we had sent to watch them. I mention this to show the selfishness and indifference that prevails in those towns, and which has caused me much harm.

"Almost at the same time with these events at Ixcacoaco, news came to me from Zacapoastla that great preparations were making for a descent on Papantla. Now was the time for the concentration of the troops to save them from being cut up in detail. In the mean time, to stop the advance of the Austrians that threatened to come out from Ixcacoaco, I gathered the men I had disbanded in that section, ordered out the national guards of Pital, Jicaltepec, and Nautla, had them armed, and assembled them in Maria de la Torre, a place I had already ordered to be fortified.

"When about to give orders for the third column of the division to leave Mizantla, it occurred to me that it would be wrong to leave that place, whose inhabitants had given me so much assistance, to the ravages of the mutinous Indians, from which it had previously suffered. The place must be protected from the savages; and this was hard, because the garrison must be withdrawn. After much reflection, and consultation with my officers, I determined to leave Mizantla to the care of the Austrian forces, who would certainly protect it from the Indians. Now, the time occupied in this arrangement would give me leisure to move to Papantla, which I could not do if the enemy resolved to oppose me vigorously. I addressed Major Schonowsky, the commander of the imperial forces in the Sierra, and told him why I was obliged to put Mizantla under his protection. An eight-days' armistice was agreed upon, during which time I had all of my forces and supplies moved to Papantla, only leaving a few troops to hold the pass to Maria de la Torre. Mizantla was, therefore, occupied by a column of Austrians on the 26th of December, the same day the troops I had left to guard it came out. On the 27th I went to Papantla. The rest of the troops I had left to guard the road came in on the 31st. As soon as the armistice expired, which was on the 28th at six in the evening, the enemy moved towards us.

"All of our troops, including the first column under General Mendez, who had remained in the neighborhood since his victory at Espinal, amounted to 477 men, with three pieces of artillery, and very little ammunition. I detailed all my plans of operation to Colonel Honorato Dominguez, of the fourth column, and gave him instructions to act according to emergency. From my first arrival at the place, I feared my campaign would soon be at an end.

"This apathy of the inhabitants had often before given me much uneasiness. The political chief of the line announced to me at once that it would be impossible to obtain supplies for the support of my forces; and he told me frankly that what was given to me the first day was all I could get, and it was with much difficulty that was obtained. Huasteca had submitted to the empire a few days before my arrival; Martinez had given up everything. Had I anticipated that I would not have returned to the place.

"I assembled General Muñoz, the political chief of the line; General Ortega, (governor of Puebla, who had taken refuge here because his State was entirely invaded,) and Generals Andrade and Mendez, to consider what was to be done in this critical situation. We resolved that an armistice should be obtained at all hazard, to give us time to reorganize. To effect this, a commissioner was sent to Mr. Esteva, informing him that it would be acceptable if the licentiate Galicia could come and make honorable arrangements to prevent the effusion of blood in this town. Information of this step was given to the Austrian commander, requesting him to suspend operations on the place. The object we had in view was to give up Papantla to the enemy, for it could be of no use to us, and then have time to move to some other more desirable locality, where we could carry on the war to a better advantage.

"When our commissioner delivered the note to Mr. Schonowsky in Texuitlan, he consented to the armistice, but insisted that his troops should hold the river, and advanced his columns accordingly to different points. I had sent General Mendez with my first division on a foraging expedition in the district of Texuitlan, but he had to fall back to avoid a collision with the enemy, which would break the armistice we so much needed.

"The enemy were not satisfied with occupying a few points on the opposite side of the river. On the 1st they crossed over to this side, and we could not prevent them, for our force was not large enough to defend all the fords.

"On the 10th they established themselves in San Pablo, four leagues northeast of this place, and at the hacienda del Rincon, six leagues southeast. They numbered 1,500 men, with eleven pieces of rifled mountain artillery, and plenty of ammunition.

"On the same day General Mendez's column was re-enforced by one hundred men under Colonel Lorenzo Fernandez, of the Zamora battalion, and stationed itself at Agua Dulce to watch the enemy at Rincon hacienda.

"On the 11th the enemy advanced upon Agua Dulce. Our troops waited for them, and the battle began at eight o'clock in the morning. The hundred men of the Zamora battalion, with some slight assistance, under the command of their gallant colonel, formed a line of battle in the open field, and met the imperialists with such determination that they fled in great disorder, followed by our men for a league. They left two pieces of artillery and fourteen boxes of ammunition on the field, and most of their men and mules fled to the woods. The Zamora Actives then returned to their former position and formed a line of battle. The ground was level. They had hardly formed when eighty or one hundred Austrians suddenly attacked them with great fury. After a few rounds our soldiers charged bayonets, but could not resist the impetuosity of the hussars. The enemy had turned their left wing, and despite the gallant efforts of the brave Lieutenant Colonel Fernandez and his worthy officers, one of whom was killed in battle, the victory escaped us.

"Unfortunately General Mendez's column, composed of the national guards imperfectly organized, could give no assistance to Fernandez's men, and the enemy recovered what they had lost in the beginning of the fight, with the exception of one piece of artillery and the prisoners that had been sent to this town. A part of the national guard, under Colonel Miguel Perea, stationed at Tesolutla, was also surprised and routed the same day by the enemy's column from San Pablo.

"After those unfortunate events, that cost us three officers killed and four wounded, thirty-six soldiers killed, nine wounded; one colonel and eleven soldiers prisoners, and the dispersion of all of our forces that had taken part in the combat, our situation was much worse, as might be expected.

"Soon after the battle of Agua Dulce, the commissioner we had sent to the Austrian commander to protest against the advance of his troops during a negotiation, returned, bringing a letter agreeing to an armistice till Mr. Galicia and General Thun should arrive with forces to garrison San Pablo and Agua Dulce. He told the commissioner he was sorry the battle had occurred; he had ordered his troops to take possession of Agua Dulce, but he thought it was not occupied. In the letter he proposed a conference between General Muñoz and himself at Rincon, to arrange the positions of the two armies till Messrs. Thun and Galicia should arrive. The consultation took place, and it was agreed that the enemy should occupy Rincon and San Pablo, but Agua Dulce should be neutral ground. This took place on the night of the 11th and we returned the next day.

"On the 13th Mr. Muños received a letter from Don Ignacio Toledano in Rincon, stating that he was Galicia's commissioner, and had come to attend to the business. Haste was urged in this letter, as the Austrians were anxious to break the armistice. This was true; the commander in San Pablo had opposed the armistice, and was determined to advance, having already made a demonstration to that effect against positive orders.

"An Austrian captain who came on the 13th to arrange an exchange of prisoners, and small-arms for the piece of artillery we had taken, showed by his manner and vague answers that they did not intend to observe the armistice, and I thought we had better retire. Mr. Toledano was written for. He could not come; so, on the morning of the 14th, we had to go back to the enemy's camp, whence we returned with Major Schonowsky commander, of the Austrian forces, and two of his officers, to this place to conclude the agreement.

"After some discussion, where we were the weak against the strong, the terms which I enclose you were agreed upon. They were literally complied with; the greater part of the troops have left, and I with the officers will soon quit. The Austrians came in on the 16th, leaving a garrison, and then going to Tezuitlan or Zacapostla on the 18th. As is stated in the caption of the terms of treaty, only military affairs are treated of. Everything in relation to the canton of Papantla was settled on other bases formed two months ago by the imperial commissioners. I presume Mr. Muñoz, who had charge of the arrangement, will give you the particulars.

"Thus, general, has the campaign of the northern line ended. I regret it; but I and my companions in arms have fought confidently, and have suffered all sorts of hardships and privations, until circumstances rendered it impossible to continue the struggle longer. My trouble is great; but I could not change the decrees of fate, that have brought me to this extremity after nine months of terrible contest. My trouble is great; but my conscience and that of my subalterns are calm, because we know our duty has been accomplished, and our honor has come out of the trial untarnished."

I regret being obliged to send you this, with a copy of the capitulation mentioned, for the information of the supreme magistrate of the republic.

I tried in vain to furnish General Alatorre with arms and ammunition to defend the northern coast of this State. I wrote to the president several times since last May, to send me arms, as none could be had in this part of the country, except at a very high price, and not many of any kind remained. As the enemy have possession of all the seaports, they have very carefully excluded all articles contraband of war.

General Alatorre also did all he could to keep up the defence of that line; and although I sent him an order for $2,000 which he collected in Tecaltepec, it was of little use, for he needed arms and ammunition which could not be obtained; so that, with all his bravery and patriotism he could not longer resist the large number of Austrians that came down upon him, amply provided with every necessary of war.

That important part of our territory then must remain in the power of the enemy, not for the want of inclination of the good Mexicans to defend it, but for want of the means of resistance.

Thus the enemy, victorious at Papantla, with nothing to attract their attention elsewhere, may realize their original design to invade the rest of the State of Vera Cruz, where the purest republican sentiments and the most tried patriotism has prevailed. If that should be the case, it is my duty to repeat it here, so that you may inform the President, we have no means in the line and cannot procure any, though I have applied to the governor of the State, to the President of the republic, and to our minister in Washington, to whom I sent a special commissioner for that purpose, who has not yet returned.

My situation for these reasons is very precarious, and it is my duty to inform the supreme government of it; but I do not wish to insinuate that we are in despair, or intend to shrink from the performance of our duties. You may be sure, Mr. Minister, we will all do our duty, but I must repeat, we can do nothing without arms. This I said to the President in my despatch of the 30th of November last: "Let the enemy come upon us in all their strength, I will die like a good Mexican in defence of my beloved country, and that is all they can ask of me; but if this portion of the republic is lost for want of resources, I am not responsible for it."

With such intentions, I protest to you the assurances of my respect.

Independence and liberty? Tlacotalpam, February 9, 1866.

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

The Citizen MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE,
Paso del Norte, (or wherever he may be.)

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC.—HEADQUARTERS OF THE EASTERN LINE.

On the 27th of January last, citizen Colonel Luis P. Figueroa wrote me from Seyaltepec, as follows:

"As a result of my expedition against the enemy in this State, I send you a report of my assault, capture, and abandonment of Tehuantepec. At 8 o'clock on the night of the 5th I surprised the enemy, cutting off the rear guard at Mistequilla, and countermarching to Comitancillo.

"At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 7th I set out for Tehuantepec, where I arrived at half past 7. I immediately arranged the attack with my two columns, under Ramirez, Zaragoza, Sarmiento, the Zaragoza battalion under Colonel Cosme Damian, Gomez, and Commander Crisoforo Canseco. The signal of attack being given, fire was opened upon the enemy, and they were soon driven by our valiant forces from their strongholds of San Blas Hill, the convent of Santo Domingo, and their intrenchments. Victory was smiling upon us, with the prospect of possessing a fortified town, defended by 1,500 men and two pieces of rifled cannon, when the auxiliaries from Juchitan, who were ordered to hold the San Blas Hill, rushed into the town to participate in the general fight, where they were desperately cut to pieces and were compelled to retreat.

"I did my best to keep the forces together, and retain possession of the place; but all my efforts were vain, and I saw my defeat would be complete if I did not withdraw my forces; so I fell back with considerable loss of dead and wounded, lamenting the death of the intrepid squadron commander Pedro Sanchez. I am generally opposed to the recommendation of those who do their duty merely; but on this occasion I must commend every man I have, from the soldier to the highest officer, and I am compelled to specify the battalion commanders citizens Jesus Ramirez, Ramon Sarmiento, and Felipe Zaragoza, and squadron commander Lorenzo Guzman, in my recommendation, to your particular attention.

"In short, every man did his duty; and I beg you, in your report of this feat of arms to the superior authorities, that you recommend all my subordinates."

I communicate this for your information, calling your attention to the recommendation of Colonel Figueroa to some of his chiefs.

Independence and liberty! Tlacotalpam, February 14, 1866.

ALEJANDRO GARCIA.

The citizen MINISTER OF WAR,
Paso del Norte, (or wherever he may be.)

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

YOSONDUA, STATE OF OAXACA,
January 20, 1866.

VERY DEAR FRIEND: * * * * * *

On the 6th of this month, for the purpose of drawing out the Austrian garrison from Silacayoapam, I threatened Tlaxiaco, succeeded in my plan, and took possession of the former place. I intended by this same movement to attract an Austrio-traitor column, which was marching to attack Figueroa.

On making my appearance before Tlaxiaco, its garrison, superior in number to my forces, under Ramirez de Acevedo, came out to meet me. My cavalry (the same that Ramos had at Oaxaca in 1860) drove them back three times. We could not follow them on account of the deadly fire from the tower and high buildings in the vicinity. I remained two days within gunshot of Tlaxiaco, and the enemy did not venture out to attack me a fourth time.

Having heard that their re-enforcements were approaching, I withdrew four or five leagues, and marched through several towns of the district, hoping the enemy would come out to give me battle; but I was mistaken—the aid came and began to fortify, while I had possession of all the towns except Tlaxiaco. Silacayoapam is still in our power, held by one of my commanders, who also holds Huajuapam and the neighboring places.

I have several plans on hand that I cannot mention to you till they are carried out, either with success or failure. They are grand schemes, but I must have money to carry them out; I dare not attack them in my present condition.

The district of Iuquila is quiet with the garrison I have there.

I hope you will assist one who is working with all his might for the cause of independence, and has a sincere friendship for you.

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Minister of the Republic at Washington.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 9, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 14th of March, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, copies of two letters received to-day from General Porfirio Diaz, commanding the eastern military division of the Mexican republic, dated at Atoyaquillo, State of Oaxaca, the 2d of February last; one of which is addressed to the President of the republic, and the other to me, reporting his late movements against the enemy, and the precarious condition in which he finds himself for want of means.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

ATOYAQUILLO, STATE OF OAXACA,
February 2, 1866.

VERY DEAR FRIEND: I received your estimable favor of the 18th of December to-day, and with it the communications to which you allude; the others you mention have not reached me yet.

I enclose you an open letter to the President; it and the one I wrote to Mr. Godoy, of which you must have a copy, contain the chronicle of my movements up to this time; you can refer to them.

I am sorry that you have to speak to me in such a positive way in regard to means; it deprives me of hope for the future. You say the loan "has not realized our hopes;" so I must say my hopes are gone, too. As I am in want of money also, I can do nothing. You may be sure a very small sum now would be worth more than millions hereafter; for my men are discouraged for want of pay, and those who come to me I am obliged to send away, because I cannot arm them and support them.

* * * * * * * *

Tehuantepec was attacked by Figueroa and the Juchitecs, and I attacked Tlaxiaco on the 6th of January: these are the only two battles this year.

There was a rising in Miahuatlan on the 24th, and the rout of traitors at Silacayoapam on the 28th. Now a serious expedition is coming against me, and it is to be seen how I am to meet it. The annexed letter will give you an idea of my situation, and show you the scanty means I have to resist the Austrians and traitors that are coming down upon me.

I remain your affectionate and sincere friend,

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

The citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 14, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

ATOYAQUILLO, STATE OF OAXACA,
February 2, 1866.

MUCH ESTEEMED AND RESPECTED SIR: Yours of the 10th of November last only reached me to-day, and with it the copy of your order restoring me to my former command. It is authenticated by our minister in Washington, and I will make known its contents to the officers commanding in different parts of the line.

You may imagine how much I need resources, and the great good I could do if I had them; but, if your situation in that particular is as bad as mine, I ask no help, only I must let you know that I need it, and will do what I can with my ragged men and their old muskets.

I send a report of my operations, from my liberation to the first of the year, to Mr. Godoy, and as he may have transmitted a copy to you, I will only relate what occurred in January.

An attack on Tehuantepec aroused Juchitan from its apathy, if it did no other good; and after what has happened, it will not soon submit to the empire again. My agents in Miahuatlan and Ejutla aroused themselves on the 24th of January, and sent me the Austrian traitor officials of the former place as prisoners.

I had an encounter on the 6th with the enemy, in the suburbs of Tlaxiaco, and obtained a few arms and horses. They lost four killed, eight wounded, four prisoners, and many missing. I threatened Nocchistlan, too. My object was to bring the greater part of the forces from Oaxaca to Mixteca. In this I succeeded. I then marched to Miahuatlan, leaving a small force here, under Leiva, to prevent the enemy from going to Oaxaca from Mixteca.

On the 28th of January a party of traitors attacked Silacayoapam, and was repulsed by our national guards, leaving their leader dead upon the field. Some arms were obtained by this victory.

I might now take advantage of the people's exasperation, but I have no means to arm and support them, and that injures my influence and disheartens the people. You must not believe that the forces I have are well armed; many of them only have lances, for that is the weapon most easily and cheaply made.

I have seen the decree prolonging the presidential term, and bringing General Gonzales Ortega to trial. The news was well received here; only Ruiz and our enemies, who hoped for a domestic disturbance, murmured, when they thus saw their expectations disappointed. Our friends in Oaxaca were more enthusiastic in regard to this matter than when they expressed their adhesion for us on another occasion.

Continue to write to me.

Ever at your command, with sincere esteem,

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

To Citizen President Licentiate BENITO JUAREZ.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *March* 14, 1866.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of September 15th, October 17th, December 10th and 30th, 1865; also, those of January 6th, February 23d, and March 9th and 14th, 1866, with their respective accompaniments; all of them relating to the military operations of the eastern division of the army of the Mexican republic.

Thanking you for these interesting documents, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*,
Washington, D. C.

No. 7.

MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosure)	April 3, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 2, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with enclosure)	Oct. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Feb. 24, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 17, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 3d of April, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you copies of the numbers 64 and 65 of the "official paper of the Mexican republic," issued on the 4th and 7th of February last, in which were published several official reports of the advantages obtained by the national forces of Mexico against the French invader.

* * * * * * *

In the same number (64) there is published the official report of the victory which the national forces obtained at Chilapa, in the State of Guerrero over the enemy, which to the number of three thousand attacked that place.

* * * * * * *

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

STATE OF GUERRERO.

Official report of the rout of 3,000 *traitors under Vicario at Chilapa.*

General Juan Alvarez, well-deserved of his country, in his communication of the 14th, reports the following from his son Diego, general of the division in Chilapa:

"We attacked the enemy this day, the 10th, at Zapotal, in sight of Chilapa, at half-past three in the afternoon.

"Vicario and Carranza fell upon us with three thousand traitors, and at half-past four they were completely routed. They reformed on Oquituco hill, but were soon dislodged by our brave men. We took three pieces of artillery, all their lost arms, their pack-mules, and many other things too tedious to mention. The fight continued till dark. I will give you the particulars to-morrow.

"The enemy lost a great many, killed, wounded, and prisoners. We are in pursuit of him. On our side we have but few killed and wounded."

Beware, you traitors of Acapulco! There is but a short time for you to live. No other inhabitants will be molested, but death to traitors!

JOSÉ M. HERRERA.

CAMP AT SABANA, *November* 16, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

PROCLAMATION.

The energetic and enthusiastic language used by the general, in the address to his men, and the firm faith he has in the defence of his country, increases the merit of his invincible soldiers from the mountains of the south.

General Diego Alvarez, constitutional governor of the State, and chief of the southern division, to the troops of his command:

SOLDIERS: The tenth day of November will be ever memorable in the history of the struggle of the republic to preserve its independence. You have come from a great distance to help your brothers of the first brigade, who have contended with the hardships of a rigorous siege, and have sustained the place intrusted to their valor with heroic constancy. Neither hunger nor thirst, nor the constant fire of traitors, nor even death in its most frightful aspect, could bend their indomitable courage. Imperishable glory to these loyal sons of Guerrero

Trusting to the superiority of their arms, the enemy dared to attack you, without uniform or epaulettes, but full of patriotism, and you have taught them the value of republican soldiers.

I am proud to thank you in the name of the supreme constitutional government and the State; and in calling you its sons, to see in each one of you a presage of triumph. The path you have taken in following my instructions in the combats, from the officer to the soldier, assures me new days of glory in the future for the republic, till we drive the stranger from the soil and punish the traitors.

Brave men of the 1st and 2d brigades, you have deserved well of your country and of the State.

Generals, chiefs and soldiers, you are worthy of being free people, and now, as formerly and in future, the south shall be the classic land of liberty, the terror of tyrants and the impregnable bulwark of national independence.

Let us sustain the republic, and the supreme constitutional government.

DIEGO ALVAREZ.

HEADQUARTERS IN THE TOWN OF CHILAPA, *November* 11, 1864.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 2, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge your communications of March 31 and April 3 and 7, 1865, with their respective enclosures, transmitting, for the information of this government, accounts of the condition of affairs in Mexico, and of the events occurring there, connected with the operations of the forces contending in that republic.

You will be pleased to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the interesting information you have so kindly communicated, while I avail myself of the occasion to reiterate to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c.,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 10th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you, for the information of the government of the United States, several documents translated into English, mentioned in the index annexed, which give an account of public events which have taken place in Mexico. They relate to divers events, places and times, and the reading of which contributes to give an idea of what is passing in that republic.

I avail of the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

No. 2.

[Translation.]

Diego Alvarez, constitutional governor of the State of Guerrero, and commander-in-chief of the division of the south, to its inhabitants.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Proclamations in our country have been made in such profusion, and so little care has been taken to speak the truth to the people, or to fulfil the promises and protestations made to them through this medium, that an honourable man, in the fulfilment of his duty, blushes to have recourse to such measures. But, placed by your free suffrage at the head of the State, I feel obliged to make use of this means, however discredited it may have become, that I may give you in a few words a faithful view of the position in which the State is placed at the present time, and the well-founded hopes which we entertain that the efforts and sacrifices of all good Mexicans will be crowned with success and accomplish the final triumph of the national independence.

At the moment I address you there is a fleet of five French steamers at anchor off the port of Acapulco. On the 26th ultimo a rigid blockade of the port was declared, but up to the present time the city has not been occupied by a military force of the enemy. It is announced that this will be done shortly, and that an attempt will be made to open communication with the capital from this point.

In anticipation of such an attempt, I have given such orders as the circumstances require, counting on the hearty co-operation and ardent support of our valiant countrymen. The news of the arrival of the enemy's troops will, no doubt, give new courage to the traitors who occupy Iguela; for they, true to the character of renegades of all countries, count on the support of the invader to animate the courage and obtain the adhesion of the people to the monarchical farce which they wish to impose on them. Our valiant troops are ready to receive them with their accustomed bravery.

In all the other districts of the State, with the exception of small bands which are too insignificant to deserve mention, the public tranquillity has not been broken.

Such is our situation. I come now to speak of the hopes which I entertain of the preservation of the integrity of the nation. The Dano-Germanic question is the first which presents itself for our consideration. From the effervescence which it had produced at the end of December, we have reason to believe that Europe is at this moment on the eve of a constitutional war. Then comes the Polish question, in which European despots are at variance, for in it they see results favorable to democracy. Next follows Italy, the solution of which question is the destruction of ultramontanism and of the French protectorate in Rome. Finally, the triumph of the federal troops of the United States over the southern confederates, which will place that government in a position to sustain the Monroe doctrine, and to carry out that policy so vital to the security of the nations of North America.

The consequences of any one of these questions, which may be expected at any moment, will make it impossible for Louis Napoleon to send re-enforcements to Mexico, and even oblige him to withdraw his army, leaving the traitors to their fate, even admitting that such a step should not be forced on him by the opposition he has aroused in his own parliament and army, and in the majority of the French nation.

In the mean time our true Mexicans are showing a bold front to the enemy in every portion of the republic. In the barrancas of Beltran the noble Uraga with eleven thousand troops; in Zacatecas the heroic Gonzales Ortega and the skilful Doblado with eight thousand; in Oaxaca the intrepid Porfirio Diaz with ten thousand: near Zoluca the indomitable nephew of General Guerrero, Vicente Riva Palacio, with four thousand; Vega, in Sinaloa, with a numerous army; Negrete and Alcalde in the immediate vicinity of San Luis Potosi; Corna in Tamaulipas; Pesqueira in Sonora; Patoni in Durango; Berrioza Bel in Michoacan; and, finally, our beautiful State of Guerrero with twelve thousand valiant *surianos* determined to sacrifice everything to their liberty and independence.

Fellow-citizens: The time has come for the country to know who are her faithful sons and who are the cowards that are trafficking in the blood of their brothers, or looking on with indifference and supineness, forgetful of their honor, while the soil of their country is defiled by the foot of the invader. This trial was necessary to prove the strength of our patriotic and democratic sentiments.

When, in ancient Rome, the gladiators were brought to the amphitheatre to fight with wild beasts, on passing before Julius Cæsar they exclaimed, "Cæsar, they who are about to die salute thee." Thus the imbecile traitors of their country, like those poor victims in the arena, hail with servile and frantic acclamations the French Emperor, at whose hands their nationality is about to perish. There is only wanting to complete the simile that these miserable creatures should meet their fate by the sword of the *sccairs* of their master. This consummation will not fail them unless fate is anticipated by the just vengeance of the nation.

In 1808 the armies of the first Napoleon were brought into Spain under the pretext of terminating the civil discords and bringing about happiness and civilization. Spain, like ourselves, was divided by political factions; but national instinct showed them that these dissensions should be forgotten, and that thenceforth there should be only two distinctions, "patriots" and *afrancesados*. These last were more numerous than among ourselves. The French armies occupied all the cities and fortresses; were constantly receiving re-enforcements, for they had only to cross the Pyrenees to find themselves in the heart of Spain. They were veteran troops; their means of transport abundant. Everything contributed to make permanent a domination commenced in invasion and ending in conquest; and, notwithstanding all this, they were driven ignominiously out of Spain by her patriotic people, after having suffered the most tremendous sacrifices of life.

The present Napoleon, who parodies his uncle in everything, is seeking to repeat in our country this tragic comedy, and will obtain, beyond a doubt, the same result. If Napoleon the Great was obliged to abandon an enterprise which was the prelude to his fall, though supported by numerous and powerful armies, with only the Pyrenees in his way, which he could pass at pleasure; with traitorous auxiliaries more numerous and more influential than those of his nephew, who, however obsequious he may be, can believe that a different result awaits in our own country; Napoleon the Little, when his army is a band of guerillas, at two thousand miles from their country, disseminated over a territory larger than France and Spain together, and with the Atlantic ocean, that sepulchre of so many illusions, lying between him and France. Reflect well on this, fellow-citizens, and you will be convinced that the associate of Jecker, of Marquez, of Mejia and other bandits, has sent his army to end its career in the forests and fastnesses of Mexico; and this catastrophe is only the certain precursor of his fall. If he cannot resemble his uncle in his military prowess, he certainly will in his unhappy end.

Fellow-citizens: Prepare to fill the ranks of those who have fallen in battle. Lay upon the altar of your country all political distinctions. There are no other distinctions than those of patriot and traitor; no other standard than that raised by our patriotic fathers in 1820 and 1821. War, unremitting and without truce, to the invader of our country and his traitorous allies. *Viva la independencia!* Long live our constitutional government! La Providencia, March 4, 1864.

DIEGO ALVAREZ

The other papers mentioned in this letter, and its reply, will be found under the head of "Present condition of affairs in Mexico," (No. 2.)

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translated.]

MEXICAN LEGATION,
Washington, 24th of February, 1866.

Mr. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to transmit to him for his information a copy of an extract from a letter which he has just received from General Alvarez, commander-in-chief of the southern division of the national army of Mexico, dated the 20th of January last, from La Providencia, in which an account is given of two victories obtained by the forces of said division, over the invaders who occupy Acapulco.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Translation.]

LA PROVIDENCIA, *January* 20, 1866.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND:

* * * * * * * *

"Hereabouts nothing has occured of importance beyond the occupation of Acapulco by the invaders. The enemy is still shut up in that city, and has suffered two defeats at the hands of our forces, on the 3d and 14th instant, which have greatly demoralized them; several of them were killed and wounded, and they were compelled to fall back upon the fortress of San Diego. This is equivalent, as you know, to leaving us masters of the city. The climate, besides, is decimating them."

* * * * * * * *

JUAN ALVAREZ.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO,
Mexican Minister, New York.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

FEBRUARY 24, 1866.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 17, 1866.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to Mr. Romero, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his note of the 24th ultimo, enclosing an extract of the letter of General Alvarez to him of January 20th last, giving an account of the operations of the southern division of the republican army of Mexico under his command.

Mr. Romero will be pleased to accept the thanks of the Secretary of State for the information communicated.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 8.

RESTORATION OF SLAVERY OR PEONAGE IN MEXICO, UNDER THE DECREES OF MAXIMILIAN.

List of papers.

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward, September 10, 1865.

Mr. Otterbourg to Mr. Seward, September 29, 1865, with three accompaniments, namely: decree on immigration of September 5, 1865; regulations for the same, of same date, and decree respecting rural estates in the district of Cordoba.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Speed, October 2, 1865, asking opinion on the above decrees.

Mr. Speed to Mr. Seward, October 21, 1865—opinion on decrees.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, October 5, 1865, with three accompaniments, namely: decree of immigration of September 5, 1865, and regulations for the same; also speech of the so-called emperor of the 16th of August, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero, December 10, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow, November 2, 1865.

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward, November 24, 1865, with one accompaniment, namely: Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, November 22, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow, December 14, 1865.

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 13.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, September 10, 1865.

* * * * * * * *

The official paper published in this city, last evening, contained several important decrees issued by Maximilian on the fifth of the month, as it now appears. Among others is one with regard to colonization. As will be seen by a reference to the paper—a copy of which is sent enclosed herewith—this decree has been drawn up solely (though not ostensibly) with the view of inducing our southern planters to emigrate, with their slaves, to Mexico. Although the first article of the "reglamento" which accompanies the decree declares that "in conformity to the laws of the empire, all men of color are free by the simple fact of treading the Mexican soil," yet the remaining articles show clearly that the blacks who may come here under the contracts mentioned in the "reglamento" will be reduced to a state of peonage, which, in its practical workings, is but slavery disguised. The article third obliges the "patron" to maintain the children of his workmen. If the laborer dies the patron becomes the guardian of his children, who, until they attain their majority, are to remain in the service of the patron, under the same conditions as those agreed to by the father. In Mexico this majority is not reached until the man is twenty-five years old. If, in addition to this, it is considered how easy it is to bring the laborer into debt to the patron, and that, according to the system of peonage, the peon must remain with the master until he has paid the debt, and if it is considered, also, that but very small wages will be paid—as the patron is obliged to agree in the original contract (which is to be for a term of not less than five nor more than ten years) to feed, clothe, and lodge the workmen, and to provide for them in cases of sickness—it will be seen at once that in many, if not the majority of cases, the contract will be in reality a contract for life.

Thus Maximilian is proposing to inaugurate here a system which may, hereafter, give Mexico as much trouble as slavery has caused to the United States. Two considerations have led me to write on this subject. The first is, that only the best and most industrious negroes will come here with their old masters. The idle and the vicious will remain in our country. If I am correct in this supposition, the question is of some importance to our government. In the second place, I have thought you might deem it advisable to have the true nature of these contracts made clearly known to the black population of the south.

It is said that M. F. Maury, formerly in charge of the Washington Observatory, will be appointed imperial commissioner of immigration.

* * * * * * * *

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. H. CORWIN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State of the United States.

Mr. Otterbourg to Mr. Seward.

No. 18.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Mexico, September 29, 1865.

SIR : I have the honor to inform the department that, in conformity with instructions received from our chargé d'affaires residing here, this consulate has been directed to issue passports when required.

Enclosed I have the honor to transmit the translations (No. 1) to which I referred in despatch No. 17.

I have the honor to be, sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARCUS OTTERBOURG,
United States Consul.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State of the United States of America, Washington.

[For the other two decrees, see note of Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, October 5, 1865.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Considering that there exist in the district of Cordoba, department of Vera Cruz, various rural estates which, in consequence of insolvency proceedings and other legal questions raised about the ownership of them, have been neglected in their principal parts, thereby depriving agriculture and the population of the fruits which they ought to produce; considering that said estates secure large sums of money by mortgage in favor of the clergy, which now belong to the public treasury by virtue of the laws of "desamortization," and that, in consequence of the abandonment in which these estates have been left, their actual value does not, in any manner, suffice to cover these claims; considering that notwithstanding the number of years that the said questions have been at issue, it has not been possible to terminate them, because the interest of the debtors is opposed to the clearing of the rights of their creditors, thereby doing much injury to the public treasury; we decree:

ARTICLE 1. The rural estates designated as follows, and which are situated in the district of Cordoba, shall be taken possession of on the ground of public utility: Haciendas del Rosario, de San Antonio, de Ojo de Agua Grande, de Ojo de Agua Chico, de Santa Ana, de la Concepcion Palmillas, de San Francisco, de Toluquilla, rancho del Buena Retiro, hacienda de Guadalupe a la Punta, de Cacahuatal, and de San José del Corral and Venta Pasada.

ART. 2. Our minister of improvements (Fomento) will order these estates to be appraised, in order that the interested parties shall receive the indemnity to which they may be entitled by the laws, as soon as it will be made clear, by legal process, what is due the public treasury upon the said estates for the mortgages of the clergy, and who are the legitimate proprietors of them.

ART. 3. The same minister will appropriate the said estates to colonization, dividing them into small lots, and taking care to secure their value, in order to pay it over, as part of the indemnity due for them, to those who may be entitled to it, when the investigations mentioned in the preceding article will have been made,

Given at Chapultepec, on the 5th of September, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By the Emperor:

The MINISTER OF IMPROVEMENTS. In his absence the sub-secretary,

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA.

(For the other decrees see Mr. Romero's letter of October 5, 1865.)

Mr. Seward to Mr. Speed.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, October 2, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith an extract from despatch No. 13, of September 10, 1865, received from William H. Corwin, esq., the chargé d'affaires of the United States in Mexico, and also translations of the decrees recently issued by the party exercising authority in the city of Mexico in relation to the immigration and colonization in that country, referred to in that despatch.

I submit these papers with the view of ascertaining whether, under said decrees, peonage or any other form of slavery can be instituted in Mexico.

I will thank you for an opinion at your earliest convenience.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Hon. JAMES SPEED,
Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Speed to Mr. Seward.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE,
October 21, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d day of October, together with an extract from despatch No. 13, of William H. Corwin, chargé d'affaires of the United States in the city of Mexico, and also translations of decrees recently issued by Maximilian, now exercising the authority of an emperor in Mexico, in relation to immigration into and colonization in that country.

You ask me whether, under these decrees, peonage or any other form of slavery can be instituted in Mexico.

The decrees, of which you have sent to me copies, are, in substance, as follows:

It is recited that, considering the scant population of Mexican territory, it is desirable to give the fullest guarantees of property and liberty to immigrants. It is then decreed—

1. That Mexico shall be open to emigration from all nations.
2. Agents of emigration are to be appointed, and their power and duties prescribed.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, and 9th articles set out and declare what shall be the rights and privileges of emigrants.

The 6th article reads thus: "Immigrants who wish to bring, or cause to come, working-men, in considerable numbers, of whatever race they may be, are authorized to do so; but these working-men will be the object of special protective regulation."

The second decree is supplementary, and in it are the special protective regulations for working-men referred to in the 6th article. These regulations read as follows:

1. In conformity with the laws of the empire, all men of *color* are free by the fact, alone, of having trod on Mexican territory.
2. They *shall* make with the patron who shall have engaged them a contract by which he shall bind himself to feed, clothe, lodge, and take care of them in their sickness, as well as to pay them a salary, the amount of which shall be settled between them. The patron shall bind himself, besides, to deposit to the credit of the working-man a sum equivalent to one-quarter of his salary in the savings bank, which will be further mentioned below. The working-man shall, at the same time, bind himself to his patron to execute the work to which he shall be set during the term of five years at least, and ten years at most.
3. The patron shall bind himself to provide subsistence for the children of his working-men; in case of the death of the father, the patron shall have the guardianship of the children, and they shall remain in his service until the age of majority, on the same condition that the father was.
4. Every working-man shall have a book, inspected by the local authority, on which shall be given his description, the indication of the place where he works, and a certificate of good life and conduct. In case of change of patron, the consent of the first patron shall be inscribed on the book.
5. In case of the death of the patron, his heirs, or the individuals who have acquired his property, are bound towards their working-men on the same terms the patron was; and the working-man, on his part, is bound in respect to the new proprietor in the terms of his first contract.
6. In case of desertion, the working-man apprehended shall be employed, without any pay, on the public works, until he shall be reclaimed by his patron.
7. Every unjust act of the patron towards his working-man shall be turned over to the courts.

8. Special commissioners of the police shall watch over the execution of the present regulation, and shall, by virtue of their office, prosecute those contravening the same.

9. The government will establish a savings bank for the ends hereinafter mentioned.

10. The patron shall deposit in the bank every month, to the credit of the working-men, a sum equal to one-quarter of the salary to which they are entitled by reason of their contract.

11. The working-men may, besides, deposit in the savings bank the sum of which they shall have full credit.

12. The deposits shall have the advantage of five per cent. annual interest.

13. At the close of their engagement, the working-men, on the presentation of their book, shall receive their peculium integrally.

14. If, on the expiring of the contract, the working-men be disposed to leave their money in the savings bank, they can withdraw the interest due, or leave it on deposit; and in the latter case it shall be capitalized with the primitive capital, and shall also bear interest.

15. In case of death, intestate, or without heirs, the peculium of the working-men shall pass into the possession of the public treasury.

The sixth article of the decree and regulations is inconsistent and contradictory. Whilst the sixth article of the decree speaks of working-men of every race, the regulations under it seem to embrace men of color only.

Notwithstanding the broad declaration in the first regulation, that all men of color are free by the fact alone of having trod on Mexican territory, it is manifest that in the subsequent regulations a grinding and odious form of slavery is sought to be established.

Slavery is a law by which one man asserts dominion over the conduct of another, either for a specified time, or for life.

The law of slavery makes the man a mere machine, controlled and governed by another. The slave has but little occasion to exercise and use the noble faculties of his mind. The physical man is alone of value to the master or patron, and he, of course, looks only to the physical wants of the slave.

That the regulations make slaves of working-men and their families is evident:

1st. They are required to sell themselves for not less than five nor more than ten years.

2d. They are required by law, no matter how circumstances may change, or things may occur that were not reasonably within the contemplation of the parties, to specifically fulfil the engagement.

3d. They must execute every work to which they shall be set by their patron during that time.

4th. They cannot feed, clothe, lodge, or take care of themselves, either in health or in sickness.

5th. They cannot provide for the subsistence of their children, nor educate them, unless by permission of the patron; and in case of death, their children become the slaves of the patron until their majority.

6th. The patron or master can sell or dispose of them to whom he pleases.

7th. They may complain to the police of the harsh treatment of their master, but have no right to petition for or seek a change of any law which may be regarded as oppressive or unjust to them or to their class or country.

8th. If the police refuse to hear their complaints, or, hearing, deny interference, they are without redress.

9th. These regulations contemplate that the working-men require physical comforts only; their minds must remain uncultivated, their morals neglected, and their religious training not cared for.

10th. There is no provision by which the working-man can purchase himself or his time, or release and improve the condition of his children.

11th. What is to become of the working-man and his children after he shall have faithfully served his term is not provided. Is he to be a free citizen, or is he still to be regarded as a working-man, and again compelled to sell himself and his family?

I have no hesitation in saying, that these regulations constitute a law which deprives working-men of rights which we in this country regard, and which in every well-organized community should be regarded, as estimable, inalienable, and indestructible, and certainly makes them slaves. The history of this country, and particularly the history of the troubles from which we are just emerging, shows that no society can be organized permanently and remain at peace within its own borders, and with the outside world, where these great and important rights are denied to any considerable class of men.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES SPEED,
Attorney General.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 5th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy, in English, of the so-called law which on the 5th of September last was issued at Chapultepec by the ex-archduke of Austria, Fernando Maximilian, so-called emperor of Mexico, in which, under pretext, apparently, of inviting foreign emigration to Mexico, he has adopted a plan which has for its purpose to call to that republic the disaffected citizens of the United States who are not disposed to acknowledge the authority of this government, nor to accept the consequences of the war, by admitting them, with their prejudices and their peculiar system of labor, already well tried in the southern part of the United States.

According to the information I have received, founded on facts, and which I have communicated to your department, the Emperor of the French, and his agent in Mexico, considering that in the country there were not elements sufficient to sustain them, have taken means to call to it all persons they supposed animated by any hostility against the United States.

The arrangements made with ex-Senator Gwin, of California, had that object, but as that individual was recognized as a declared enemy of the United States on the close of the civil war here, it was thought not advisable to irritate this country by carrying out the plans which had been agreed upon with him.

In place of them, there has been another combination, which, under a different form, it is hoped, may produce the like results. For this new plan they have gone to the extreme of practically re-establishing in fact, in Mexico, the odious institution of slavery. The so-called law of the ex-archduke of Austria goes accompanied by a regulation signed by the same Maximilian, of which I also enclose a copy in English, whose first article, to cover appearances, declares that, "according to the laws of the empire, all men of color are free from the mere fact of stepping on Mexican territory;" but those following establish a slavery so much the more odious, because it is not restricted to color or determination of caste.

The working-men—name they give to the slaves—will make, according to such regulations, a contract with their master, called *patron*, by which he will bind himself to feed, clothe, and lodge them, and support them in sickness, and pay them a sum of money in conformity with the conditions agreed upon between them. The fourth part of the sum will be lost to the working-man almost, because he cannot dispose of it nor of the interest while his contract lasts, according to terms of articles 13 and 14. "The working-man will engage at the same time with his patron to do the work to which he may be assigned for the term of five years at least, and ten years at most." "The patron will engage to maintain the children of his working-men." This slavery is hereditary, because, according to article 3 of the regulation, "in case of the death of the father (working-man,) the patron shall consider himself tutor of the children, and they shall continue in his service until majority on the same conditions as was the father." The heirs of the patron will hold, in their turn, these working-men in conformity with article 5. To complete the odious practices of the holders of slaves, the regulation referred to contains (article 6) an article against fugitive slaves, by which, "in case of desertion, the workman, when caught, shall be assigned, without wages at all, to the public works until his patron comes to reclaim him." To consummate this work of iniquity, article 15 provides that in case of death "ab intestato," or without heirs, the peculium of the working-man shall pass into the control of the public treasury.

It is really an extraordinary thing, and almost incomprehensible, that when slavery has received a death-blow in the only country that could revive it, and when it has been shown by facts that its existence is an evil, social, moral, and political, there can be in the world a usurper who, without having established his authority in the country he tries to dominate over, should attempt to re-establish that odious system for the purpose of strengthening himself, and merely changing the name for the purpose of deluding the world.

As this system of labor might be taken for what in Mexico is called peonage, and as that may be considered here as an institution equivalent to slavery, I think it expedient to show to you, that on some estates in the tierras calientes, to the south of Mexico, there has in fact been, through the abuses of the proprietors and the influence they enjoyed, something that might be compared in its practical effects with what the ex-archduke of Austria has now established in his aforesaid decree, but such abuses, besides being restricted to a very narrow district, were never sanctioned by the Mexican laws, and the national government of that republic has taken especial care to correct them and root them out. It was reserved for the ex-archduke of Austria to sanction such an abusive practice by a law which, if it goes into force, will be executed throughout the whole extent of the Mexican territory.

Before concluding this note, I think it proper to remit to you copy of the speech which was delivered in Mexico on the said 16th September by the said archduke of Austria, Fernando Maximilian, in which he expresses what he calls his irrevocable determination not to leave Mexico upon any consideration, whatever may be the circumstances. This is one proof more that the Emperor of the French is very far from desisting from his outrageous attempt to deceive the people of Mexico into acceptance of the yoke of a European monarchy.

It is satisfactory to me to avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

No. 1.

We, Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, in consideration of the sparseness of the population in the Mexican territory, in proportion to its extent; desiring to give to immigrants all possible security for property and liberty, in order that they may become good Mexicans, sincerely attached to their new country, and having heard the opinion of our board of colonization, do decree as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Mexico is open to immigration from all nations.

ART. 2. Immigration agents shall be appointed, who will be paid by the government, and whose duty it shall be to protect the arrival of immigrants, and instal them on the lands assigned them, and assist them in every possible manner in establishing themselves. These agents will receive the orders of an imperial commission of immigration, specially appointed by us, and to whom, through our minister of improvement, (Fomento,) all communications relating to immigration shall be addressed.

ART. 3. Each immigrant shall receive a duly executed title incommutable of landed estate, and a certificate that it is free of mortgages.

ART. 4. Such property shall be free from taxes for the first year, and also from duties on transfers of property, but only on the first sale.

ART. 5. The immigrants may be naturalized as soon as they shall have established themselves as settlers.

ART. 6. Immigrants who may desire to bring laborers with them, or induce them to come in considerable numbers, of any race whatever, are authorized to do so; but those laborers will be subject to special protective regulations.

ART. 7. The effects of immigrants, their working and brood animals, seeds, agricultural implements, machines, and working tools, will enter free of custom-house and transit duties.

ART. 8. Immigrants are exempted from military service for five years, but they will form a stationary militia, for the purpose of protecting their property and neighborhoods.

ART. 9. Liberty in the exercise of their respective forms of religious worship is secured to immigrants by the organic law of the empire.

ART. 10. Each of our ministers is charged with carrying out such parts of this decree as relate to his department.

Given at Chapultepec on the 5th day of September, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By the emperor:
The Minister of Improvement. FOMENTO.
MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA,
Sub-Secretary, in the absence of the Minister of Improvement.

A true copy:
F. D. MACIN, 2d *Secretary.*
WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

Regulations.

Under article 6th of the foregoing decree we ordain as follows:

1. Under the laws of the empire all persons of color are free by the mere act of their touching Mexican territory.

2. They shall make contracts with the employer who has engaged or may engage them, by which such employer shall bind himself to feed, clothe, and lodge them, and give them medical attendance; and also pay them a sum of money according to whatever agreements they may enter into with them. Moreover, he shall deposit in the savings bank herein mentioned, for the benefit

of the laborer, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of his wages. The laborer shall, on his part, obligate himself to his employer to perform the labor for which he is employed for a term of not less than five nor more than ten years.

3. The employer shall bind himself to support the children of his laborers. In the event of the father's death, the employer will be regarded as the guardian of the children, and they will remain in his service until they become of age, on the same terms as those agreed on by their father.

4. Each laborer shall receive a book certified by the local authority, in which book his description, the statement of his place of labor, and a certificate of his life and habits will be entered. In case of a change of employer, the consent of the former employer shall be entered in this book.

5. In case of the death of the employer, his heirs, or whoever may acquire his estate, shall be bound to the laborer in the same manner in which such employer was, and the laborer on his part shall be bound towards such new proprietor on the same terms as in his former contract.

6. In case of desertion, the laborer, when arrested, shall be placed, without pay, on public works, until his employer presents himself to claim him.

7. In case of any injustice of the employer towards the laborers, he shall be brought before a magistrate.

8. Special police commissioners will watch over the execution of these regulations, and officially prosecute all violators thereof.

9. A savings bank will be established by the government for the following objects:

10. The employers shall deposit in said bank, every month, for the benefit of the laborers, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of the wages which each is entitled to under his contract of employment.

11. The laborers can deposit, in addition, in the savings bank, in money, such sums as they may desire.

12. These deposits shall bear interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

13. At the end of his engagement, and on presentation of his book, the laborer shall receive the entire amount of his savings.

14. If at the end of his engagement the laborer wishes to leave his money in the savings bank, he can then receive the interest accrued; or if he wishes to leave this also, it will be added to his capital, and also draw interest.

15. In case a laborer should die intestate, or without heirs, his property shall pass to the treasury of the government.

Given at Chapultepec on the 5th day of September, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By the emperor:

The Minister of Improvement, (fomento.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA,
Sub-Secretary, in the absence of the Minister of Improvement.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN, *2d Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

No. 3.

On the anniversary of the independence of Mexico, the 16th of September, the so-called emperor Maximilian delivered the following speech:

GENTLEMEN: This is a family festival, a festival of brothers, which unites every one of us this day under the folds of our glorious banner. The day upon which our immortal Hidalgo, elevating with unprecedented valor his patriotic voice, united the heroes of a new Mexican era, will be forever, to the sons of our country, a day of rejoicing, because we then celebrate the inauguration of our nationality, because every good Mexican must renew by an oath the promise to live for the greatness, the independence, and the integrity of his country, and show himself always ready to defend it with all his heart and soul. The words of that oath are the first uttered by a good Mexican. I solemnly repeat them now. My heart, my soul, my labor, and my lawful efforts belong to you and to our beloved country. No influence in this world can make me waver in my duty; every drop of my blood is Mexican now, and if God sends fresh dangers to threaten our country, you will see me fight in your ranks for its independence and integrity. I am willing to die at the foot of our glorious banner, because no human power can wrest from me the trust with which you have endowed me. What I say must be said by every good Mexican; it must efface past rancors; it must bury party hatred. Every one must live for the good of our beloved country. Thus united, and following the path of duty, we will be strong, and the principles which form the basis of our task will infallibly triumph.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN, *2d Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 10, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 5th October last, with several important accompaniments, which you were pleased to communicate for the information of the government of the United States. In reply, I have the honor to inform you that it has already received the consideration of this department, and that measures have been adopted which are deemed proper to meet the exigencies which it presents.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 296.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 2, 1865.

SIR: The condition of the emancipated slaves or freedmen within the United States is at this moment very properly a subject of deep interest. The establishment of the perfect equality of men of the African race with men of other races throughout the whole continent is a policy which the United States may hereafter be expected to cultivate with constancy and assiduity. Certain decrees, bearing on the subject of immigration, which are understood to have been promulgated by authorities acting in Mexico, in opposition to that republic, have arrested the attention of this government. The law officer of the government has submitted to this department an opinion, that if those decrees were carried into execution they would inevitably operate to reduce into a condition of peon slavery working-men of the African race, and, of course, such of the freedmen before mentioned as, with or without their intelligent consent, might be brought within the jurisdiction of Mexico.

If European opinion can be regarded as established in reference to any one political question, it is settled that African slavery in any form ought henceforth to cease throughout the world. We do not doubt that the Emperor of France cordially and fully concurs, as we do, in this humane sentiment. I have, therefore, to request you to place a copy of the opinion of the Attorney General, herewith enclosed,* in the hands of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, and ask that the attention of the French government may be directed to the question which the Attorney General has discussed with ability, and with an anxious desire to arrive at just conclusions.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., &c.

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.

No. 202.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 24, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your instruction, No. 296, covering the opinion of Mr. Attorney General Speed in reference to certain decrees relating to emigration which have recently been promulgated from the city of Mexico, and to enclose a copy of a communication addressed by me, in compliance therewith, to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs on the 22d instant.

I am, sir, with great respect, your very obedient servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Bigelow to Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys.

[Enclosure.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 22, 1865.

SIR: Recalling the conversation which I had the honor to hold with your excellency on the 17th ultimo, in relation to the alleged levy of Egyptian troops for involuntary service in Mexico, and the representations I then made in regard to the natural unwillingness of my government and country people to see slavery in any form replanted either within our territory or on our borders, I beg to invite your excellency's attention to certain recent decrees bearing upon the subject of emigration to Mexico, purporting to emanate from authorities acting in opposition to that republic. In the opinion of the law officer of my government, these decrees, if enforced, would inevitably reduce to the condition of peon slavery working-men of the African race, and of course such of the freedmen of the United States as may have already been, or hereafter may be, seduced to go there without a full and intelligent comprehension of their liabilities. That your excellency may understand the grounds for this conclusion, I am instructed to transmit to your excellency a copy of the Attorney General's opinion, which will be found enclosed, and to invite the attention of the imperial government to the questions there discussed. In complying with these instructions of my government, I avail myself of the language of the despatch containing them to say that, "If European opinion can be regarded as established in reference to any one political question, it is settled that African slavery, in any form, ought henceforth to cease throughout the world. We do not doubt that the Emperor of France cordially and fully concurs, as we do, in this humane sentiment."

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* The opinion of the Attorney General referred to herein is that previously inserted under date of October 21, 1865.

I pray your excellency to accept assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be your excellency's very obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

His Excellency M. DROUYN DE LHUYS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 329.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 14, 1865.

SIR: Your despatch of the 24th of November, No. 202, with its accompaniment, has been received. The note which you addressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject of peon slavery in Mexico is approved.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*,

M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Mr. Bigelow.

PARIS, *15th of January*, 1866.

SIR: You did me the honor to communicate to me in the course of the month of November a letter addressed to Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, by the Attorney General of the United States, on the subject of the decrees issued by the emperor Maximilian concerning immigration and colonization in Mexico. That document constituting a judgment upon interior acts of the Mexican government, I could only receive it as a piece of information. I was careful to point this out to you at the time, declining also any discussion upon measures to which the Emperor's government was absolutely foreign. In acknowledging receipt, therefore, according to your desire, of your letter of the 22d November, I consider myself bound to state the verbal reply which I had to make thereto.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Mr. Bigelow to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Paris, 16th of January, 1866.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's communication, dated the 15th instant, relative to certain decrees recently promulgated in Mexico upon the subject of immigration and colonization. Your excellency refuses all explanation of the inadmissible passages of one of these decrees, to which I had the honor to call your attention in a note of the 22d of November last, upon the plea that they relate to measures of internal administration, with which the Emperor's government had nothing to do.

Although the line separating the responsibility of the imperial government from that of the political organization it has planted in Mexico is traced with some indistinctness, I am certain my government will learn with satisfaction that France, which was one of the first powers to hold up slavery to the execration of mankind, declines all responsibility as to the attempt (although made under protection of her flag) to re-establish that institution in a country which had expressly stigmatized and abolished it.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

JOHN BIGELOW.

His Excellency M. DROUYN DE LHUYS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No. 9.

RAISING OF THE BLACK FLAG BY MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO.

List of papers.

Mr. Otterbourg to Mr. Seward	Oct. 19, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with ten accompaniments)	Oct. 25, 1865.
Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward	Oct. 28, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with an accompaniment)	Nov. 20, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Nov. 3, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Nov. 28, 1865.
Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward	Nov. 30, 1865.
Mr. Seward to Romero	Dec. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with one enclosure)	Jan. 5, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with four enclosures)	Jan. 22, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Feb. 20, 1866.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	March 10, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	March 14, 1866.

Mr. Otterbourg to Mr. Seward.

No. 20.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Mexico, October 19, 1865.

SIR: Enclosed I have the honor to transmit the translation of a proclamation and decree, which may be read with interest at the department.

I have the honor to be, sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARCUS OTTERBOURG,
United States Consul.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State of U. S. America, Washington.

(For enclosures to the above letter, see exhibits eight and nine to note of Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, which follows.)

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 25th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Continuing my transmission to your department of the principal documents that can give the United States government an idea of the principal events now taking place in Mexico, I now have the honor of sending to you those mentioned in the enclosed index, some of which were brought by the last steamer from Vera Cruz, and others, although of older date, I think important.

As most significant, I must call your attention to the usurper's proclamation, dated in the city of Mexico, the 2d instant, and to his so-called decree of the 3d of the same month. In the first, the ex-archduke supposes, contrary to the fact, that the constitutional President of the Mexican republic had abandoned the national territory, and from this false hypothesis he concludes that the defenders of independence, whom he calls bandits, in obedience to orders received from the French, have no leader. It is nothing new for the usurper to call those patriots, who sustain the cause of independence and the institutions of Mexico, bandits; nor is it new for him to treat them as such, with a severity that would be called excessive if applied to criminals of the lowest order. He showed the same determination in his official communication to his minister, Velazquez de Leon, of the 3d of November last, of which I also enclose a copy. Now, Maximilian wishes to regulate this established system of assassination, and has issued his decree of the 3d instant, which creates the most informal military tribunals, extending their jurisdiction to every person in the country found armed without license from his so-called government, whatever may the numbers and character of the force to which he belongs. In this decree, excessively tyrannical, he condemns to death every armed man who is not a French soldier or a traitor, and even those who will proffer information which may aid the defenders of their country, and sanctions severe penalties for the mere act of concealing a patriot or circulating alarming news; and it has been carried out by his French directors, who have been, by the system of courts-martial, sending to the scaffold the captive patriots called *guerrilleros,* and even military officers of the national army who could not be called so.

This extraordinary severity is in open contradiction to the studied mild promises made in his first proclamation, on landing at Vera Cruz, which I also send to you, dated the 23d of May, 1864.

If the Mexican patriots have been waging a legitimate war during the existence of the national government on Mexican territory, in the usurper's opinion, what must be thought of his conduct in lending himself as a blind instrument in this war, and in declaring, when there is no change of circumstances, that those fighting in a legitimate war are bandits, and must be assassinated?

Under No. 10 I send a copy of the usurper's address delivered the end of last month, on the occasion of the erection of a statue to Morelos, in Guardiola square, city of Mexico. All the eulogies he makes upon that distinguished leader in the first war of independence are now literally applicable to the citizens defending the independence of their country in this second war of the same kind, and equally as just and sacred as the first. With unexampled inconsistency the usurper now declares those patriots bandits, and orders them to be assassinated within a certain time by means of courts-martial.

I also enclose two protests made at Tacambaro on the 10th and 24th of May last, and signed by several French officers, taken prisoners by a republican force. In them you will perceive the generous and philanthropic conduct of the Mexican troops towards their prisoners, contrasting strangely with the decrees and barbarous conduct of their enemies.

I also enclose a general order from the army of the centre, showing the most recent organization of the national forces in that part of the territory of the republic.

In conclusion, you will see among these documents two acts: one passed by the town and county of Longolica, in the State of Vera Cruz, and the other by the town and county of Juchitan, in the State of Oaxaca, in which the inhabitants declare their hostile sentiments towards the so-called empire, which takes place whenever the force of French bayonets is removed.

I take advantage of this occasion to renew the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

A list of the documents sent by the Mexican legation in Washington to the Department of State of the United States, with his note of the 25th of October, 1865, *on events recently taken place in Mexico.*

No. 1. July 26, 1865.—Act passed in the town of Zongolica, State of Vera Cruz, protesting against intervention and the empire, and offering obedience to the President of the republic.

No. 2. July 27, 1865.—Act passed in Juchitan, State of Oaxaca, protesting against the establishment of an empire in Mexico by the French army, and acknowledging the republic.

No. 3. Order from general-in-chief of the army of the centre, regulating the first division of the army of the centre, operating in the State of Michoacan.

No. 4. April 11, 1865.—Declaration of an officer and several soldiers of the foreign legion, expressing their determination to remain as prisoners of war in Tacambaro, and not fight against the republic.

No. 5. May 24, 1865.—Various French prisoners of war protest to remain in prison at Tacambaro until exchanged according to the laws of nations.

No. 6. May 28, 1865.—Proclamation by the usurper to the Mexicans, published in Vera Cruz, on landing at that port.

No. 7. November 3, 1864.—The usurper declares in a letter to Velazques de Leon that the people are in his favor, and his adversaries must be persecuted and punished as bandits.

No. 8. October 2, 1865.—Proclamation of the usurper to the Mexicans, asserting that President Juarez had quit the territory of Mexico, and all defenders of the republic were outlaws.

No. 9. October 3, 1865.—Decree of the usurper ordaining all prisoners of war to be executed within twenty-four hours, and those who aid the republicans or do not inform on them, &c., and imposing several penalties on citizens who do not or cannot resist them.

No. 10. September, 1865.—The address of the usurper on the erection of the statue of Morelos, in Guardiola square, city of Mexico.

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

In the town of Zongolica, chief town of the canton of the same name in the State of Very Cruz, on the 26th of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the room of the town hall, assembled the persons whose names are signed to this act, and presided over by Leandro Almador, who stated the object of the meeting.

Whereas the proposition of foreign intervention was accepted by some of the towns of the republic of Mexico in consideration of offers made to sustain the government legally established in the country, and this promise has not been kept, nor can it be, for the intervenors, with their partisans, deceiving and imposing upon the people, have pretended to establish a monarchical government that can never be approved by any loyal Mexican, because it is not legitimate, and their emperor was elected by a small number of persons who met in the capital and determined upon his inauguration. This was called a meeting of *notables*, (and in fact they were all notable traitors to their country,) and was evidently illegal, for the States had not a single representative. Thus wrongfully established, this illegal government has given open evidence of instability, and the free children of Anàhuac will never permit a foreign despot, supported by bayonets, to control their destiny. But if the intervenors had allowed the Mexicans a free election, the government so constituted would have been considered legitimate, whereas it now wants every feature of legitimacy in its constitution.

Therefore, keeping in mind the sacred principles of the laws of nations pertaining to a people who comprehend their duties and desire to shake off the yoke of tyranny, this assembly has resolved as follows:

1. The canton of Songolica disavows the government of Maximilian as illegal, because it has not been rightfully established.
2. It acknowledges as legitimate the government of citizen Benito Juarez, wherever he may be, because he was lawfully inaugurated President according to the provisions of our Mexican codes.
3. These resolutions, intending to defend our independence, acknowledge as chief he who may be at the head of the national troops by legal appointment.
4. All urgent steps to be taken in our cause are left to the leader of the troops in this place, as he is rightfully entitled to authority.

Signed by Leandro Almador, Gumecindo Altemirano, Vicente Lebrija, Rafael Fuentes, Pedro Joaquin Cervantes, Teodoro Altamirano, Nicolas Tarvaleta, Pedro G. Telles, for the sergeants; Margareto Parrera and José Francisco Geria, for the corporals; Leandro Luna and Placido Gonzales, for the soldiers; José Maria Alfaro and Manuel Contreras, Luis G. Fuentes, Ygnacio Guevora, Goregorio Parra, Estanislao Altominano, José G. Como, Rafael Mendez, Santiago Galicia, José Maria Luna, José M. Vallejo, José Anto. Cal, José M. Tello, Luis Garcia, Cristobal Rosales, Miguel Martinez, Manuel Garcia, Lorenzo Cano, and Francisco Luna.

Before me.

IGNACIO S. MENDIZAVAL, *Secretary.*

A true copy:

ZONGOLICA, *July* 26, 1865.

YGNACIO MENDIZAVAL,
Secretary of the Command.

A true copy:

TLACOTALPAM, *August* 2, 1865.

JOSÉ ANTONIO RUIZ, *Secretary.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

THE MILITARY COMMAND OF THE DISTRICT OF JUCHITAN.

In the town of Juchitan, on the 27th of July, 1865, the town council, the people, and the troops of Juchitan and San Blas, of Tehuantepec, having assembled in the hall of sessions, under the presidency of the citizen political chief, to consider the affairs of the country; having stated the chief objects of the meeting, after a short discussion, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas Juchitan has always been one of the most loyal districts in defence of the republic and of liberal institutions, and has been abused by a few persons who wished to sell their country to a bold adventurer, announcing falsely that this district was disposed to acknowledge the perishing empire now established in the city of Mexico, and upheld only by French bayonets;

Believing it to be the duty of every Mexican who loves independence and his country, and the government established by the spontaneous and free will of the citizens, to banish every suspicion of treachery imputed to him by miserable enemies, and to contradict them solemnly; to show their determination to defend the autonomy of their country at every sacrifice; and holding it a sacred obligation of every good citizen to let his country know what his sentiments are in regard to it, the people of Juchitan, fulfilling this duty, declare:

1. That they have not nor will they ever recognize the imperial government established by French bayonets in Mexico, taking advantage of its weakness, and imposing upon the people against their free will, depending only on the feeble support a few spurious Mexicans can lend them.
2. That they will resist that government by all means in their power, and oppose all authorities and decrees emanating from it.
3. They respect and observe the authorities and decrees ordained by the constitution of 1854 and the reformed laws, as whatever tends to national independence and territorial integrity.
4. They solemnly protest against all that has been said about their acknowledging the empire, as it is absolutely false, for this part of the country has always considered that form of government as illegitimate and opposed to national sovereignty.
5. Copies of these proceedings shall be transmitted to the governor and military commander of the free and sovereign State of Oaxaca, that by him they may be remitted to the civil and military chief of the eastern coalition, as well as to other officers and military chiefs of the republic.

And so the meeting closed, with the following signatures to this document:

Signed by Cosme D. Gomes, 1st lieutenant; Luis P. Municipal, Feliciano Torres, mayor; José de Jesus Nicolas, Anastacio Giron, Pantaleon Jimenez, Mariano Martinez, Rufino Pineda, Mariano Guerra, Pedro Esteban, Pedro Vicente, Feliciano Castillo, Dionisio Torres, Col. P. Gallegos, Apolonio Jimenez, Anastasio Castillo, Nazario de la Rosa, Augustin Gutierrez, Mariano Martinez, Albino Roblena, Miguel Varquez, Antonio Orozeo, Alexandro Lopez, Lieutenant R. Martinez, Manuel R. Ortiz, Gervacio Marin, Miguel Lopez, Regino Sanchez.

A certified copy:

GOMEZ.

JUCHITAN, *July* 28, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

General order of the central army—Distribution of its forces.

The citizen general-in-chief of the army has disposed that the first division be organized in the following manner:

Its commander-in-chief is citizen Brigadier General Vicente Riva Palacio; and its second, citizen General Nicolas Regules.

The first brigade, under the command of citizen General Regules, second in command of the division, shall be composed of the first, second, third, and fourth battalions of Michoacan, second corps of lancers of the regular army, second lancers of Toluca, and third of Michoacan, (formerly Caballos lancers,) and the Solorio section, with a half mountain battery.

The second brigade shall be formed by the fifth, sixth, and seventh battalions of Michoacan, the first corps of Toluca lancers, third of the same, (formerly the Pachuca squadron,) with a section of mountain artillery, the whole commanded by citizen Colonel Pedro Garcia.

The third brigade, under command of citizen Colonel Ignacio Zepeda, shall be formed of the eighth Michoacan battalion, the seventh corps of permanent lancers, the corps of active Jalisco lancers, with a section of mountain artillery.

The fourth brigade, under command of citizen General Estevan V. Leon, shall be composed of the Zitacuaro forces, the Guerrero lance corps, commanded by Colonel Castillo, and the southern expeditionary section of Toluca, with a section of mountain artillery.

The fifth brigade, commanded by citizen Colonel Leonardo Valdez, shall be composed of the Nuñez battalion, and the first and second squadrons of the Huetamo loyals, with a section of mountain artillery.

The Garnica section shall be composed of the tenth Michoacan battalion, and the first corps of lancers of the same State, formerly called the liberty lancers.

The Ronda section shall be composed of the ninth Michoacan battalion, and the second lancers of the same State, formerly the Puruandiro lancers.

Citizen Colonel José Maria Mendez Olivares shall be major general of the division.

Citizen Lieutenant Colonel Luis Santa Maria Cruzado shall be adjutant of the first brigade; citizen Squadron Commander Lorenzo Contreras shall be adjutant of the second brigade; citizen Lieutenant Colonel José Maria Gomez Humaran shall be adjutant of the third brigade; citizen Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Castillo, of the fourth brigade; and citizen Squad Commander Jesus Barajas, of the fifth brigade.

Citizen Commander Fernando Gonzales shall be commissary of the first division; citizen Captain Miguel Alvarado, commissary of the first brigade; Trinidad Valdez, of the second; Simon Becerra, of the third; and the fourth and fifth brigades shall retain their present purveyors.

By supreme command:

Major AGUIRRE.

Communicated:

F. G. AGUIRRE.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

We, the undersigned, wounded in the battle of to-day, in this city, and accepting the offer of the commander-in-chief of the republican army of the centre to let us remain here on account of our condition, not being able to travel, and in accordance with the rules of war, promise upon our word of honor to remain here as prisoners of war to the said general-in-chief, and not to leave or take up arms against the forces of the republic, even when invaded or occupied by the enemy of that army.

The commander of the Belgian forces especially, who was in the place before the attack, binds himself by his word of honor, and the four soldiers attending him, to remain as prisoners under the same conditions as the other wounded Belgians who sign this protest with him and his attendants.

We also declare that we sign this protest without compulsion of any kind whatever, and only on account of the kindness of the commander-in-chief of the republican army of the centre, who respects the rights of humanity and the law of nations.

Done in Tacambaro on the 11th of April, 1865.

Signed by Major Teygad, Captain Schrimager, Lieutenant Carlot; soldiers, Pierre Schoos, Pierre Corthout, Delange, (sergeant,) Briart, Peters, Joseph Spenders, Frederick Frevens, Desmit, (musician,) Kaller, (corporal,) Ziffars, and many others.

A true copy.

TACAMBARO, *May* 24, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.—Translation.]

Declaration made to General Salazar, at Tacambaro, the 10*th of May*, 1865, *by Joseph Alfred Wanderbach, (sergeant,) Leopold Le Sueur, and Francois Ronchon, first regiment zouaves, and prisoners of war.*

General Salazar, chief of the third division of the republican army, wishing us to be as comfortable as possible, being his prisoners, and thinking the town of Reyes would be a better place for us, has decreed as follows:

1st. That he has the best feelings for us, on account of the exchange proposed by Baron Neigre, commander of the French forces to which we belong, now in Morelia; that this exchange was delayed because they hoped to hear good news from commanders near our forces, and in case of captures there, it would be preferred to exchange them instead of others of more distant divisions.

2d. As General Salazar believes it will be better for us, he has had us brought to Reyes, requiring of us a protest, on word of honor, that when set at liberty we will consider ourselves as prisoners of war till exchanged. We make this protest in due form, binding ourselves not to violate it, but to regard it as a treaty made on our word of honor, to be confirmed by Baron Neigre, conformably to the laws of war.

3d. This protest shall be made duplicate, in French and Spanish, one copy to remain in General Salazar's hands, the other to be retained by us, the subscribers.

J. A. WANDERBACH,
Captain of Zouaves.
L. LE SUEUR,
RONCHON.

MILITARY COURT OF THE THIRD DIVISION.

The preceding protest was made before me, military judge of this division, and in the presence of the citizen secretary.

GUILLERMO SAMUDIO.

ROSENDO TAUREGUI, *Secretary.*

A true copy:

J. MENDOZA, *Secretary.*

TACAMBARO, *May* 24, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 6.—Translation.]

Proclamation.

MEXICANS: You have longed for my presence. Your noble nation, by a universal vote, has elected me henceforth the guardian of your destinies. I gladly obey your will. Painful as it has been for me to bid farewell forever to my own, my native country, I have done so, being convinced that the Almighty has pointed out to me, through you, the great and noble duty of devoting all my might and heart to the care of a people who, at last tired of war and disastrous contests, sincerely wish for peace and prosperity—a people who, having gloriously obtained their independence, desire to reap the benefits of civilization and of true progress only to be attained through a stable constitutional government. The reliance that you place in me, and I in you, will be crowned by a brilliant triumph if we remain always steadfastly united in courageously defending those great principles which are the only true and lasting bases of modern government, those principles of inviolable and immutable justice, the equality of all men before the law; equal advantages to all in attaining positions of trust and honor, socially and politically; complete and well-defined personal liberty, consisting in protection to the individual and the protection of his property; encouragement to the national wealth, improvements in agriculture, mining, and manufactures; the establishment of new lines of communication for an extensive commerce; and lastly, the free development of intelligence in all that relates to public welfare. The blessing of God, and with it progress and liberty, will not surely be wanting if all parties, under the guidance of a strong national government, unite together to accomplish what I have just indicated, and if we continue to be animated by that religious sentiment which has made our beautiful country so prominent even in the most troublous periods.

The civilizing flag of France, raised to such a high position by her noble Emperor, to whom you owe the new birth of order and peace, represents those principles. Hear what, in sincere and disinterested words, the chief of his army told you a few months since, being the messenger of a new era of happiness: "Every country which has wished for a great future has become great and powerful."

Following in this course, if we are united, loyal, and firm, God will grant us strength to reach that degree of prosperity which is the object of our ambition.

Mexicans: The future of your beautiful country is controlled by yourselves. Its future is yours. In all that relates to myself, I offer you a sincere will, a hearty loyalty, and a firm determination to respect the laws and to cause them to be respected by an undeviating and all-efficient authority.

My strength rests in God and in your loyal confidence. The banner of independence is my symbol; my motto you know already: "Equal justice to all."

I will be faithful to this trust through all my life. It is my duty conscientiously to wield the sceptre of authority, and with firmness the sword of honor.

To the empress is confided the sacred trust of devoting to the country all the noble sentiments of Christian virtue and all the teachings of a tender mother.

Let us unite to reach the goal of our common desires; let us forget past sorrows; let us lay aside party hatreds, and the bright morning of peace and of well-deserved happiness will dawn gloriously on our new empire.

MAXIMILIAN.

VERA CRUZ, *May* 28, 1864.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 7.—Translation.]

MY DEAR MINISTER VELASQUEZ DE LEON: On returning from my laborious journey into the department of the interior, during which I have received in every city, town and village the sincerest proofs of sympathy and the most cordial enthusiasm, I have derived two important truths. The first is, that the empire is a fact firmly based upon the firm will of the immense majority of the nation, and that in it there is depicted a form of government of real progress, and one that suits best the wants of the people. The second is, that this immense majority is desirous of peace, tranquillity and justice—blessings that it expects and anxiously asks of my government, and which I, keeping in view my sacred duties to God and the people who have chosen me, am resolved to give them.

Justice will have for its foundation institutions suitable to the epoch, and in which I am laboring with unceasing zeal. To re-establish peace and tranquillity through all this fine extensive country, and to promote with speed its prodigious riches, my government is determined to employ all its efforts and energy. If until now it has shown forbearance to its political adversaries, to allow them time to know the national will and unite themselves to it, henceforth it is under the imperious obligation to combat them, for their banner no longer bears a political creed, but is only a pretext for robbery and slaughter. My duties of sovereign oblige me to protect the people with an arm of iron; and in order to correspond to the wishes loudly expressed from all parts, we declare, as head of the nation, with a full consciousness of our sacred mission and of the duty imposed upon us, that all the gangs of armed men who still infest some parts of our beautiful country, desolating it, disturbing and threatening the hard-working citizen in his labor and liberty, must be considered as bands of banditti, and fall, in consequence, under the inflexible and inexorable severity of the law. We therefore command all functionaries, magistrates and military commanders of the nation to pursue and destroy them with all their power. If our government respects every political opinion, it cannot tolerate criminals who break the first of liberties which it is called upon to protect—that of the person and that of property.

Given at the palace of Mexico, the 3d of November, 1864.

MAXIMILIAN.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*.

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 8.—Translation.]

Proclamation of his Majesty the Emperor.

MEXICANS: The cause which Don Benito Juarez defended with so much valor and constancy has already succumbed under the force, not only of the national will, but also of the very law which that officer invoked in support of his pretensions. To-day even the faction into which the said cause degenerated is abandoned by the departure of its chief from the native soil.

The national government for a long time was lenient and exercised great clemency, in order to give the chance to misled and misinformed men to rally to the majority of the nation and to place themselves anew in the path of duty. It has fulfilled its object; the honorable men have assembled under its banner, and have accepted the just and liberal principles which regulate its politics. The disorder is only maintained by some leaders carried away by unpatriotic passions, and assisted by demoralized persons who cannot reach to the level of political principles, and by an unprincipled soldiery, the last and sad remnants of the civil wars.

Hereafter the contest will only be between the honorable men of the nation and the gangs of criminals and robbers. Clemency will cease now, for it would only profit the mob who burn villages, rob and murder peaceful citizens, poor old men and defenceless women.

The government, resting on its power, from this day will be inflexible in its punishments, since the laws of civilization, the rights of humanity, and the exigencies of morality demand it.

MAXIMILIAN.

MEXICO, *October* 2, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 9.—Translation.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Having heard our council of ministers and our council of state, we decree:

ARTICLE 1. All persons belonging to armed bands or corps, not legally authorized, whether they proclaim or not any political principles, and whatever be the number of those who compose the said bands, their organization, character, and denomination, shall be tried militarily by the courts-martial; and if found guilty even of the only fact of belonging to the band, they shall be condemned to capital punishment within the twenty-four hours following the sentence.

ART. 2. Those who, belonging to the bands mentioned in the previous article, will be captured with arms in their hands, shall be tried by the officer of the force which has captured them, and he shall, within a delay never extending over twenty-four hours after the said capture, make a verbal inquest of the offence, hearing the defence of the prisoner. Of this inquest he will draw an act, closing with the sentence, which must be to capital punishment, if the accused is found guilty, even if only of the fact of belonging to the band. The officer shall have the sentence executed within the twenty-four hours aforesaid, seeing that the criminal receive spiritual assistance. The sentence having been executed, the officer shall forward the act of inquest to the minister of war.

ART. 3. From the penalty established in the preceding articles shall only be exempted those who, having done nothing more than being with the band, will prove that they were made to join it by force, or did not belong to it, but were found accidentally in it.

ART. 4. If, from the inquest mentioned in article two, facts are elicited which induce the officer holding it to believe that the prisoner was made to join the band by force, without having committed any other crime, or that he was found accidentally in it, without belonging to it, the said officer shall abstain from passing sentence, and he shall send the accused, with the respective act of inquest, to the proper court-martial, in order that the trial be proceeded with by the latter, in conformity with article one.

ART. 5. Shall be tried and sentenced conformably with article one of this law: 1st. All those who will voluntarily assist the *guerrilleros* with money or any other means whatever. 2d. Those who will give them advice, information, or counsel. 3d. Those who voluntarily, and knowing that they are *guerrilleros*, will put within their reach, or sell them, arms, horses, ammunition, subsistence, or any articles of war whatever.

ART. 6. Shall also be tried conformably with the said article 1st: 1. Those who will hold with the *guerrilleros* such relations as infer connivance with them. 2. Those who voluntarily and knowingly will conceal them in their houses or estates. 3. Those who, by word, or writing, will spread false or alarming reports, by which public order may be disturbed, or will make against it any kind of demonstration whatever. 4. All owners or administrators of rural estates who will not give prompt notice to the nearest authority of the passage of some band through the same estates. Those included in paragraphs 1st and 2d of this article shall be punished by imprisonment from six months to two years, or by hard labor from one to three years, according to the gravity of the case. Those who, being included in paragraph 2d, were the ascendants, descendants, spouses or brothers of the party concealed by them, shall not suffer the penalty aforesaid, but they shall remain subject to the vigilance of the authorities during the time the court-martial will fix. Those included in paragraph 3d of this article shall be punished by a fine of from $25 to $1,000, or by imprisonment from one month to one year, according to the gravity of the offence. Those included in paragraph 4th of this article shall be punished by a fine of from $200 to $2,000.

ART. 7. The local authorities of the villages who will not give notice to their immediate superiors of the passage through their villages of armed men will be ministerially punished by the said superiors by a fine of from $200 to $2,000, or by seclusion from three months to two years.

ART. 8. Whatever resident of a village who, having information of the proximity or passage of armed men by the village, will not give notice of it to the authorities, shall suffer a fine of from $5 to $500.

ART. 9. All residents of a village threatened by some gang, who are between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five years, and have no physical disability, are obliged to present themselves for the common defence as soon as called, and for failing to do so they shall be punished by a fine of from $5 to $200, or by imprisonment of fifteen days to four months. If the authorities think it more proper to punish the village for not having defended itself, they may impose upon it a fine of from $200 to $2,000, and the said fine shall be paid by all those together, who, being in the category prescribed by this article, did not present themselves for the common defence.

ART. 10. All owners or administrators of rural estates, who, being able to defend themselves, will not prevent the entrance in the said estates of *guerrilleros* or other malefactors; or, after these have entered, will not give immediate information of it to the nearest military authority; or will receive on the estates the tired or wounded horses of the gangs, without notifying the said authority of the fact, shall be punished for it by a fine of from $100 to $2,000, according to the importance of the case; and if it is of great gravity, they shall be put in prison and sent to the court-martial, to be tried by the latter conformably with the law. The fine shall be paid to the principal administrator of rents to which the estate belongs. The provision of the first part of this article is applicable to the populations.

ART. 11. Whatever authorities, whether political, military, or municipal, shall abstain from proceeding, in conformity with the provisions of this law, against parties suspected or known to have committed the offences provided for in said law, will be ministerially punished by a fine of from $50 to $1,000; and if it appear that the fault was of such a nature as to import complicity with the criminal, the said authorities will be submitted, by order of the government, to the court-martial, to be tried by the latter, and punished according to the gravity of the offence.

ART. 12. Thieves shall be tried and sentenced in conformity with article 1st of this law, whatever may be the nature and circumstances of the theft.

ART. 13. The sentence of death pronounced for offences provided for by this law shall be executed within the delays prescribed in it, and it is prohibited that any demands for pardon be gone through. If the sentence is not of death, and the criminal is a foreigner, even after its execution, the government may use towards him the faculty it has to expel from the territory of the nation all obnoxious strangers.

ART. 14. Amnesty is granted to all those who may have belonged, and may still belong, to armed bands, if they present themselves to the authorities before the 15th of November next, provided they have not committed any other offences subsequently to the date of the present law. The authorities will receive the arms of those who will present themselves to accept the amnesty.

ART. 15. The government reserves the faculty to declare when the provisions of this law will cease.

Each one of our ministers is charged with the execution of this law in the part which concerns him, and will give the necessary orders for its strict observance.

Given at the palace of Mexico on the 3d of October, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, charged with the ministry of state,
JOSÉ F. RAMIREZ.
The Minister of War,
JUAN DE DIOS PEZA.
The Minister of Improvement,
LUIS ROBLES PEZUELA.
The Minister of the Interior,
JOSÉ MARIA ESTEVA.
The Minister of Justice,
PEDRO ESCUDERO Y ECHANOVA.
The Minister of Public Instruction and Religious Worship,
MANUEL SILICEO.
The Sub-Secretary of the Treasury,
FRANCISCO DE P. CESAR.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 10.—Translation.]

ADDRESS.

MEXICANS: We celebrate, to-day, the memory of a man born in obscurity, from the lowest ranks of the people, and who occupies now one of the highest and most illustrious places in the glorious history of our country. A representative of the mixed races, to whom man's false pride, outraging the sublime precepts of our gospel, refused to grant what is due to them, he has written his name in golden letters on the pages of immortality. How has he done it? With two qualities which are the virtues of a true citizen: the patriotism and courage of an indomitable conviction.

He wanted the independence of his country; he wanted it with the consciousness of the justice of his cause; and God, who helps always those who have faith in their mission, had gifted him with the peculiar qualities of a great leader. We have seen the humble son of the people triumph on the battle-field; we saw him, a poor curate, govern the provinces under his command in the difficult moments of their painful regeneration; we saw him die in shedding blood like a martyr to freedom and independence; but this man will live forever, for the triumph of his principles is the basis of our nationality.

As a free and democratic country, Mexico has the happiness to show the history of its regeneration and freedom represented by heroes belonging to all classes of human society, of all the races who form now an indivisible nation. This happiness constitutes its futurity. Every one of them has worked with the same patriotic zeal for the good of the country. All of them have the same rights of enjoying the benefits of their arduous task, and thus to proclaim equality, which is the only and true basis of a nation which respects itself.

Let the movement which we inaugurate to-day for Morelos's one hundredth anniversary be a stimulant to new generations, so that they learn from the great citizen the qualities which make the invincible strength of our nation.

True copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 25, 1865.

Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward.

[Extracts.]

No. 14.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, October 28, 1865.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches Nos. 105 and 106, dated, respectively, September 14 and 30. They were both received by me yesterday morning.

In my despatch No. 13, of September 10, I informed you that M. F. Maury, formerly of Washington, would probably be appointed by Maximilian "imperial commissioner of immigration." Since that time he has received this appointment, become a naturalized Mexican citizen, and been named honorary counsellor of state. J. B. Magruder, formerly an officer in the regular army of the United States, and lately a general in the confederate army, has also become a Mexican citizen, and been charged with the supervision of the survey of lands for colonization. Their scheme for bringing planters from the United States to Mexico promises even thus early to prove an almost complete failure. I mention these gentlemen on account of the prominent positions which one of them, at least, has held under the United States government.

* * * * *

On the 13th of this month Colonel Ramon Mendez, with four hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry soldiers, overtook and defeated, at Santa Ana Amatlan, the liberal forces, amounting to one thousand men, mostly infantry, under the command of General Salazar. The imperialists took prisoner Arteaga, general-in-chief of the army of the centre; Salazar, the general commanding and governor of the department; four colonels, five lieutenant colonels, eight captains, and many other subaltern officers. They also captured four hundred of the troop, the armament, horses and park.

It has been reported here for the last three days, and generally believed, that on the 21st instant Generals Arteaga and Salazar and the four colonels were shot in Uruapan. No official account of the disposition made of them has been published.

* * * * *

The second of this month, Maximilian issued an address to the Mexican people, which he begins by saying: "The cause which Don Benito Juarez sustained with so much valor and constancy has now fallen, not only by the national will, but before the law itself, which this chief invoked in aid of his titles. To-day even the little band into which said cause degenerated is abandoned by the departure of its chief from his native country." He then goes on to say that the national government for a long time has been indulgent and prodigal of its clemency, in order to allow those who had been misled, who did not know the facts, to unite themselves to the majority of the nation, and place themselves again in the path of duty; but that this indulgence now ceases, as those alone who burn towns and who rob and assassinate peaceable citizens, miserable old men, and defenceless women, would profit by it.

In accordance with the idea contained in the above-mentioned address, on the 3d instant a decree was published, the first article of which declares, that all those who may belong to armed bands which may not be legally authorized, whether they proclaim or not any political pretext, and whatever may be the number of those who form the band, their organization and the character and denomination which they may give themselves, shall be judged by courts-martial, and if found guilty, although it may be only of the fact of belonging to the band, shall be condemned to capital punishment and executed within twenty-four hours. Other articles provide for the punishment of those who may have corresponded with, secreted, or in any way aided those mentioned in article first; but I refer particularly to article first, as it shows that all those belonging to the armies fighting for the republican government will be shot if taken prisoners by the imperial troops. Article fourteenth grants an amnesty to all those who may have belonged or who may now belong to such armed bands, if they present themselves to the authorities before the fifteenth of next month.

* * * * *

Some time next month, probably on the 5th, the emperor will leave this city to visit Yucatan; the empress will accompany him as far as Jalapa.

Your obedient servant,

WM. H. CORWIN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 20th of November, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: In my note of the 25th October last I sent you a copy of a decree dated 3d October, issued by the usurper who pretends to be the ruler of Mexico, authorized by his signature and those of his accomplices, members of his cabinet, in which all Mexicans defending the independence of their country, and even those who conceal or aid the patriots in any way, are ordered to be shot without trial or judgment of any kind.

This barbarous and bloody decree, the most cruel ever yet seen, has already begun to be executed. It is now my painful duty to inform you that on the 13th of October last the Generals Arteaga and Salazar, and Colonels Diaz Paracho, Villa Gomez, Perez Milicua, and Villanos, five lieutenant colonels, eight commandants, and a number of subordinate officers, were surprised and taken prisoners by the French forces in the town of Santa Ana Amatlan, State of Michoacan, as appears from the official despatch sent to the usurper, of which I enclose a copy in French.

These generals and colonels belonged to the regular army of the republic, were officers of education and profession, and had fought for the independence of their country from the time the French first landed in Mexico.

General Arteaga had reached the highest rank in the Mexican army, and had recently succeeded ex-General Uraga in command in the army of the centre. He was thoroughly loyal, a patriot without blemish, and enjoyed a high reputation of honesty and probity among his fellow-countrymen of all political shades. His constancy and suffering in the campaign against the French, Austrian and Belgian invaders in the State of Michoacan, for the last two years, would suffice to give him a great reputation, if he had not already possessed one. His humanity was proverbial, as the French, Belgian, and Austrian soldiers who were taken prisoners by his forces at different times can testify.

The other chiefs and officers who were made prisoners with General Arteaga, though they had not arrived at the high position of their leader, were not less respectable and worthy.

These distinguished Mexicans were executed in accordance with the above-mentioned bloody decree of the usurper of Mexico. I have information, of the truth of which unhappily, there is no doubt, that the two generals and four colonels were barbarously sacrificed in flagrant violation of the laws of war, and every principle of justice. But the consequences of these sanguinary murders must finally be favorable to the cause of Mexican nationality; for such acts of barbarism will not be tolerated by the Mexican people, who will punish the invaders and their instrument, so openly violating all the customs of nations and every principle of justice.

In communicating to you the news of these unpleasant events, I embrace the occasion to renew the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the Estafette, a French paper published in the city of Mexico, of the 31st Oct., 1865.]

Colonel Mendez made the following report to the war department of his expedition against the disaffected of Michoacan:

On the 6th I left Morelia with the imperial battalion and two squadrons of the 4th regiment of cavalry, commanded by Colonel Wenceslaus Santa Cruz, and took the road to Patzcuaro, where I arrived on the 7th. The rest of my brigade joined me in the night, and on the 8th I started for Uruapan, where all the forces of the enemy, under Arteaga, were assembled.

I arrived in sight of Uruapan at 3 o'clock on the 9th, but a severe storm prevented me from entering the town. The streams had risen so high, my forces were separated into three sections. I could not cross the torrents till midnight. The enemy had several divisions. One of 700 men, under Ronda and Riva Palacio, started towards Paracho; another, of 600 men, under Zepeda, Martinez, and Simon Gutierrez, took the direction of Los Reyes; and the rest of the forces were commanded by Arteaga and his subordinates, Salazar and Diaz Paracho. He had many officers following his headquarters, and forces to the number of ten or twelve hundred men. This column marched towards Tancitaro.

On the 10th I rested awhile, intending to pursue Arteaga. It is useless to inform you that I flanked the enemy, instead of fronting them, so as to threaten both detachments and deceive Arteaga, who was my main object.

On the 12th I left San Juan and reached Tancitaro, where the enemy was posted. He left, and I pursued with my guerillas for three leagues. I was sure of overtaking him and whipping him before night, but that would not secure the leaders, so I made a halt at Tancitaro.

At 2 o'clock this morning I took 400 infantry with 300 cavalry and started for Santa Ana Amatlan, where I would wait for Arteaga and defeat him. In fact, the enemy could not believe it possible for me to march twelve leagues a day in such hot weather. It did cost me fourteen men, and most of the horses of the 4th regiment are foundered; but I attained my end: the enemy is completely routed.

Among my prisoners is the commander-in-chief, *Arteaga*, General Salazar, Colonel Diaz Paracho, Villa Gomez, Perez Milicua, and Villanos, five lieutenant colonels, eight commanders, and a large number of subordinate officers, a list of whose names I will send you. All the supplies, munitions of war and horses, mostly useless, have fallen into our hands. We have 400 prisoners, most of whom I will release, as they were enlisted by force along the line of march.

The government alone can appreciate this victory. I must make honorable mention of Lieutenant Rangel, of the 4th cavalry, whom I promised, in his Majesty's name, to promote to a captaincy, and for whom I solicit the cross of knight of the order of Guadalupe. This brave officer entered the city at the head of twenty men, and we are much indebted to him for the victory. Second Lieutenant Navia, of the imperial battalion, with only eight men, followed Rangel. I have made him no promises, because he belongs to my battalion. In due time I will make a proper report of the gallant conduct of these two officers, that the worthy may wear upon their breasts an honorable signal of their bravery, serving to encourage their companions.

I congratulate your excellency, and beg you to inform my august sovereign of this memorable day. God grant you many years.

RAMON MENDEZ, *Colonel.*

This achievement, one of the most glorious of the campaign, does the greatest honor to Colonel Mendez, and simplifies the task of pacificating Michoacan. Arteaga, without being a skilful general, is an honest and sincere man, who has distinguished himself more than once in his career by traits of humanity. Justice to the conquered.

CH. DE BARRES.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 297.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 3, 1865.

SIR: I am directed by the President to request you to ask the serious attention of the French government to the military proceedings in Mexico, by which native Mexicans, taken captive while adhering in war to their own republican government, are denied rights which the law of nations invariably accords to prisoners of war.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. SEWARD.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 320.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 28, 1865.

SIR: With reference to my despatch of the 3d instant, No. 297, it is now my painful duty to acquaint you that information has been received from the minister of the republican government of Mexico accredited to this government to the effect that the sanguinary policy referred to in the above-named despatch has actually been inaugurated by the execution of several distinguished officers of the liberal forces who had been surprised and captured by the imperialist forces in the town of Santa Ana Amatlan, namely, Generals Arteaga and Salazar, and Colonels Diaz Paracho, Villa Gomez, Perez Milicua, and Villanos, five lieutenant colonels, eight commanders, and a number of subordinate officers.

It devolves upon me to instruct you again to call the serious attention of the imperial government to this subject, and to inform Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys that these reports have been received with the most profound concern by the government of the United States. If upon investigation they should prove, as there is too strong ground for believing, that they are well founded, we cannot suffer ourselves to doubt that, so far as the government of France is concerned, it can never countenance proceedings which are so repugnant to the sentiments of modern civilization and the instincts of humanity.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 209.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 30, 1865.

SIR: * * * * * * *

He (Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys) here referred to the representation I had made in regard to the shooting of the Mexican prisoners taken in war, and also to the case of Madame de Iturbide. "Why," he said, "do you not go to President Juarez? We are not the government of Mexico, and you do us too much honor to treat us as such. We had to go to Mexico with an army to secure certain important interests, but we are not responsible for Maximilian or his government. He is accountable to you, as to any other government, if he violated its rights, and you have the same remedies there that we had."

* * * * * * * * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 10, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your two communications of the 25th of October last, and the ten enclosures which accompanied the same, and 20th of November, which you communicated for the information of the government of the United States.

You are pleased to call my particular attention to the most significant of these documents, namely, to a proclamation dated October 2, 1865, and to a decree of the 3d of the same month, issued by the so-called emperor of Mexico, in the latter of which the penalty of death is to be imposed upon all Mexicans who are in arms against his authority in that republic.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that your despatches and their accompaniments, for which you will accept my thanks, have received the consideration to which they are justly entitled from this government.

You will accept, sir, the assurances of my renewed and very distinguished consideration.

W. H. SEWARD.

Señor Matias Romero, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

Mexican Legation in the United States of America,
Washington, 5th of January, 1866.

Mr. Acting Secretary: On referring to my notes of the 25th of October and 20th of November last to your department, relative to the declaration of war to the death made by the French and their agents in Mexico against the citizens of that republic who are defending the independence of their country, and especially to the assassination of Major General Arteaga and several of his companions in arms, conformably to the spirit of that determination, I now have the honor to send you the copy of a letter from that general to his mother, written from Uruapan, dated October 20, 1865, on the evening of the day before his sacrifice.

This important document shows, in the first place, that the assassination of General Arteaga is an accomplished fact, notwithstanding the endeavors of the French to conceal it; and it shows, moreover, that it was premeditated and executed by orders from Mexico, or by command of the French general-in-chief of the invading army, or by the French agent in that city, on whom they try to lay the responsibility of their conduct.

It appears, in fact, as well from the letter I enclose as from the official report of the capture of those officers, which I sent you in my note of the 20th November last, that they were captured since the 13th of October, and it is inferred from the same letter that they were shot on the 21st of the same month, after a period of eight days. If they had been executed according to the usurper's sanguinary decree of the 3d of October, without the interference of the superior French agents residing in the city of Mexico, they would have been tried by a court-martial within twenty-four hours after their capture, (art. 2,) and shot within the next twenty-four hours, (art. 1;) and, besides, the term of eight days was more than enough time to send from Uruapan to the city of Mexico and get an answer about the destiny of the prisoners.

The assassins have not had the manliness to assume the responsibility of their crime, but have tried to conceal it, or impose the guilt of it upon an unhappy traitor officer who has joined the conquerors of his country.

I accept this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. William Hunter, *&c.*

[From the Idea Liberal of Puebla, No. 107, December 16, 1865.]

[Translation.]

The letter of General Arteaga from Uruapan to his mother, lady Apolonia Magallanes, on the day before he was shot, has been published in the *Libertad de Mejico*, with a brief preliminary comment. We republish this document, which our readers will certainly recognize and remember:

"Through the favor of Señora Magallanes, mother of the unfortunate General Arteaga, we are enabled to insert into our columns his farewell letter from Uruapan the day before he was shot. As political sensitiveness is now very tender, we can say but little about the young Aguas Caliente who has gone down to the grave a sacrifice of the revolution. Yet, without wounding these susceptibilities, we are pleased to say that our beloved countryman wrote to his mother, on dying, '*that he could leave her nothing but a spotless name;*' * * and Arteaga might have died rich; for he has held prominent positions ever since 1855, where he could have realized a handsome fortune; * * but he dies poor, and all he has to leave his mother and family is *his good name*. With veneration and gratitude we gather these declarations from the verge of the tomb, and save them for the pages of our history that will some day be written in the annals of Mexico, free from prejudices and party hate, where every one will have his own. Meantime we sympathize with the Arteaga family in its sorrow, and ask ineffable peace for it in eternity."

Here is the letter:

"URUAPAN, *October* 20, 1865.

"MY ADORED MOTHER: I was taken prisoner on the 13th instant by the imperial troops, and to-morrow I am to be shot. I pray you, mama, to pardon me for all the suffering I have caused you during the time I have followed the profession of arms, against your will.

"Mama, in spite of all my efforts to aid you, the only means I had I sent you in April last; but God is with you, and he will not suffer you to perish, nor my sister Trinidad, *the little Yankee*.

"I have not told you before of the death of my brother Luis, because I feared you would die of grief; he died at Tuxpan, in the State of Jalisco, about the first of January last.

"Mama, I leave nothing but a spotless name; for I have never taken anything that did not belong to me; and I trust God will pardon all my sins and take me into his glory.

"I die a Christian, and bid you all adieu—you, Dolores, and all the family, as your very obedient son,

"JOSÉ MARIA ARTEAGA.

"DOÑA APOLONIA MAGALLANES DE ARTEAGA, *Aguas Calientes*."

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 22d of January, 1866.

MR. ACTING SECRETARY: In reference to my notes of the 25th of October and 20th of November last, and of the 5th instant, relative to the so-called decree of the usurper of Mexico, issued the 3d of October, ordering the assassination of all Mexicans defending the independence of their country, and especially to the assassination of General Arteaga and some of his companions in arms, I now have the honor to transmit to you various documents relating to this same subject, showing how far the barbarism of the usurper and his abettors is carried.

The first of these documents is a letter from General Don Carlos Salazar, of the national army of Mexico, who was captured and sacrificed at the same time with General Arteaga, to his family, a short time before his death. In it are found sentiments of the purest patriotism, and a consciousness of the fulfilment of duty. General Salazar suffered death with the resignation of a true martyr.

These iniquitous assassinations occasioned an energetic protest, a copy in English of which is enclosed, of the Belgian officers who were made prisoners in the battle of Tacambaro on the 11th of April, 1865, and remained in General Arteaga's hands from that time, as prisoners of war, addressed to the usurper Ferdinand Maximilian.

You will here see the great contrast between the conduct of the Mexican authorities and the usurper's agents in the treatment of prisoners taken from the legion of mercenary adventurers, who even doubted whether the rights of war would be accorded to them or not; the usurper's agents, in violation of every principle of justice and every sentiment of humanity, assassinate every *Mexican* who defends the independence of his country.

It is not alone in Michoacan that these horrible crimes have been committed, but wherever French soldiers have dominion similar scenes are witnessed. There was a like case in Tamaulipas lately, the particulars of which you will find in the notes exchanged, at the beginning of this month, between General Weitzel, commanding the United States forces on the Rio Grande, who protests in the name of the civilized world against these excesses, and the traitor Thomas Mejia, the French agent at Matamoras, and a person calling himself R. Clay Crawford, general of division in the Mexican army.

These communications, of which I enclose copies, have been published by the papers of this country, and their authenticity is not doubted.

I profit by this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[Extract from La Idea Liberal, of Puebla, No. 109, December 23, 1865.]

The *Sombra* says in its number 19, of the present:

"*Another letter of mourning.*—We insert below the letter of Don Carlos Salazar to his family, just before his death. It shows the republican chief did not consider himself included in the coarse appellations of assassin, robber and bandit applied to him by the Pajaro Verde, and other papers of that class, as well as to all opposers of the empire. This is the letter:

"URUAPAN, *October* 20, 1865.

"ADORED MOTHER: It is seven o'clock at night, and General Arteaga, Colonel Villa Gomez, with three other chiefs and myself, have just been condemned. My conscience is quiet; I go down to the tomb at thirty-three years of age, without a stain upon my military career or a blot upon my name. Weep not, but be comforted, for the only crime your son has committed is the defence of a holy cause—the independence of his country. For this I am to be shot. I have no money, for I have saved nothing. I leave you without a fortune, but God will aid you and my children, who are proud to bear my name. * *

"Direct my children and my brothers in the path of honor, for the scaffold cannot attaint loyal names.

"Adieu, dear mother. I will receive your blessings from the tomb. Embrace my good uncle Luis for me, and Tecla, Lupe and Isabel; also, my namesake, as well as Carmelita, Cholita, and Manuelita; give them many kisses, and the adieu from my inmost soul. I leave the first my silver-gilt watch; to Manuel I leave four suits of clothes. Many blessings for my uncles, aunts, cousins and all loyal friends, and receive the last adieu of your obedient and faithful son, who loves you much,

"CARLOS SALAZAR.

"Mrs. MERCEDES RUIZ DE CASTAÑEDA.

"POST-SCRIPT.—If affairs should change hereafter—and it is possible they may—I wish my ashes to repose by the side of my children, in your town."

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *January* 22, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Another posthumous letter.

The *Sombra* says:

"We publish below the letter of Colonel Villa Gomez, who was shot with Arteaga and Salazar, as a farewell to his father, in his last moments:

"URUAPAN, *October* 20, 1865.

"MY DEAR FATHER: I employ my last moments in writing to you. I would like to leave an honored name to my family; I have worked for it, defending the cause I embraced, but I could not succeed. Patience! But I believe you will not be ashamed to own a son who never left the path that you traced out for me so honorably, by precept and example. I have always acted honorably, and have no compunctions of conscience; I have behaved as a man of honor, and am not sorry for it; no one can complain of me, for I have injured no one. I hope this will be some solace to your sorrow, and will make you proud of my memory, ever pure and without a stain. I die content.

"Give my last adieus to my brother and all my friends, reserving for yourself the heart of a son sacrificed upon the altar of his country.

"T. VILLA GOMEZ.

"DON MIGUEL VILLA GOMEZ."

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *January* 22, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

The *Republica*, a liberal journal representing the interests of the republican army of the centre, and issued at Nocupetaro, in the State of Michoacan, has published the following documents in French and Spanish:

To the General commanding the Republican Army of the Centre:

GENERAL: Our hearts were filled with indignation upon learning the outrages committed upon officers of your army by Colonel Mendez; and we cannot do less than send the following protest to Maximilian, which we are convinced will be concurred in by all our brothers. We beg, therefore, general, that you will cause it to be sent to the other Zitacuaro prisoners, who will hasten to sign it, in order that it may be laid before Maximilian's cabinet as speedily as possible. Accept, general, the expression of the respect of your prisoners,

BREUER,
GUYOT,
FLACHAT,
VAN HOLLENBECK.

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*
WASHINGTON, *January* 22, 1865.

TACAMBRO, *October* 23, 1865.

SIR: We have learned with horror and dismay of the act committed by Colonel Mendez, who, in violation of all the laws of humanity and war, has executed a number of officers of the liberal army taken prisoners by him. In all civilized countries military officers respect prisoners of war. The liberal army—to which you refuse to accord even the name of army—pays a greater respect to those laws than the leaders of your forces; for we, who are prisoners, are respected by all, from generals down to private soldiers. Were we not with a genuine liberal force, the act of Colonel Mendez might provoke a bloody revenge; and we Belgians, who came to Mexico solely in order to act as a guard to our princess, but whom you have forced to fight against principles identical with our own, might have expiated with our blood the crime of a man who is a traitor to his country. We hope, sire, that this act of barbarity will not remain unpunished, and that you will cause the laws existing among all civilized nations to be respected. We protest most earnestly against this unworthy act, hoping that the Belgian name will not much longer continue mixed up with this iniquitous war.

BREUER,
GUYOT,
FLACHAT,
VAN HOLLENBECK,
and two hundred others.

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*
WASHINGTON, *January* 22, 1865.

TACAMBARO, *October* 24, 1865.

To the Representatives of the Belgian Nation:

GENTLEMEN: The Mexican question has frequently been discussed by you, but the chief point has been the legality or illegality of recruiting for the Belgian legion. Now, however, an event of great gravity obliges us to call your attention to it anew. The lives of two hundred Belgian prisoners are involved. Considering the question some time back, the force was intended solely as a guard of honor voluntarily offered for the protection of a Belgian princess. The emperor, disregarding the special service for which the legion was destined and the neutrality of the Belgian nation, ordered us to take the field, and being Belgian soldiers, we obeyed, and marched to the front cheerfully, animated by the love of war. Although we achieved triumphs, we also, unfortunately, sustained reverses, and two hundred of us Belgians are prisoners. Without taking our position into consideration, the emperor recently issued a decree which may cause terrible results. It announces to the republicans that after the 15th of November all persons caught with arms in their hands would be shot. At the commencement of this month an imperialist colonel, named Mendez—an ex-republican, who sold himself to the empire—a man hating the Belgians, took a large number of prisoners from the republican army in a fight, including two generals and several officers of high rank, whom he caused to be shot, without regard to military law, and without waiting for the expiration of the period fixed by the decree, stating, after the execution, to persons who remonstrated with him upon the enormity of the deed, "What matters it? They can only revenge themselves upon the Belgians." This alluded to the fact that all the other (French) prisoners had been exchanged.

We expected that all the Belgian prisoners would be put to death; but the republic of Mexico being great and generous, like all free nations, deferred to act until after learning the action of the administration of the empire toward this Colonel Mendez.

The emperor is very fond of this man. He has already sacrificed our brave colonel, and he may sacrifice the lives of all the Belgian prisoners.

Gentlemen, it is incumbent upon you to intervene. The Belgian legion desired long since to return to its native country. It did not wish to take part in this iniquitous war, or to serve longer under an empire wherein such deeds are allowed to be committed.

Representatives of the nation, your duty calls you to act wherever the Belgian name is at stake. This is not a question of party, but of nationality.

Representatives of Belgium, remember our motto, "Unity and Strength." It behooves you to speak. We call upon you in the name of Belgium, whose honest confidence has been abused. Representatives of Belgium, it behooves you to see that the blood of Belgians be not sacrificed. In the name of the country do your duty.

BREUER,

On behalf of the Belgian prisoners taken by the republican army.

A true copy: IGNO. MARISCAL,

Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *January* 22, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *January* 3, 1866.

MORE BARBARITIES OF THE IMPERIALISTS.

A train of fifteen carts recently left Matamoras for San Fernando, loaded with valuable goods, and guarded by a small number of imperial troops. When about five leagues from the city it was captured by a party of liberals. The owner succeeded in making his escape, and reported the facts to General Mejia, the imperial commander, who despatched a force of the contra-guerillas and rural police in pursuit of the captors. About ten leagues from the city they overhauled the liberal party, surprised them as they were at breakfast, and after a desperate resistance succeeded in capturing them. Eleven were killed at the first fire, and the balance were captured and taken to the city. As is usual, arrangements were immediately made for the trial of the prisoners, preparatory to their being shot. The following correspondence has taken place in reference thereto between General R. Clay Crawford and the officers in command of the respective shores of the Rio Grande:

General Crawford to General Weitzel.

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS, *January* 1, 1866.

GENERAL: Information has just reached me that a number of soldiers belonging to the army of the republic of Mexico were this morning captured in battle by the soldiers of the so-called emperor of Mexico, and that, by the orders of the traitor Mejia, they are to be shot to death at daylight to-morrow.

I wish, general, to protest, in the name of humanity, against this violation of the usages of civilized warfare, and to request that you, on the part of the republic of the United States of America, prevent this atrocious murder of patriots in cold blood by the tools of the Austrian usuper.

The opinions of the people and of the government of the United States in relation to the inhuman orders of Maximilian are well known.

To permit the patriotic soldiers of a sister republic, with which we preserve diplomatic relations, to be butchered within sight of the flag of the United States, and within sound of an army of United States troops, is to prove false to every principle held dear by an American citizen.

As an officer of the army of the Mexican republic I earnestly ask, general, that you prevent the commission of this dreadful crime.

I have the honor to be, general, your obedient servant,

R. CLAY CRAWFORD,
General of Division Army of Mexico.

Major General GODFREY WEITZEL,
Com'dg District of Rio Grande and 25th army corps.

General Weitzel to General Crawford.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, January 2, 1866.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday.

I have notified General Mejia of the opinion which I firmly believe my government holds on that subject, and have entered solemn protest in writing against the act.

General Mejia replies that he is obliged to obey the orders of his government.

I will notify my superiors of this; but I have positive, written orders not to commence hostilities without instructions so to do.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL, *Major General, Commanding.*

R. CLAY CRAWFORD,
General of Division, Army of Mexico.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE RIO GRANDE,
Brownsville, Texas, January 2, 1866.

GENERAL: I understand that you have taken seventeen prisoners from the liberal forces, and that you intend to execute them.

In the name of the entire civilized world I protest against such a horrible act of barbarity. I believe it will stamp the power which you represent with infamy forever.

To execute Mexicans fighting in their own country, and for the freedom of their country, against foreign power, is an act which, at this age, will meet with universal execration.

I cannot permit this to be done under the eye of my government without, on its behalf, entering this solemn protest.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WEITZEL, *Major General, Commanding.*

Major General TOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

IMPERIAL ARMY MEXICO, DIVISION MEJIA,
Headquarters Matamoras, January 2, 1866.

GENERAL: I acknowledge receipt of your communication dated this day.

I find myself under the necessity of repelling energetically the participation which you pretend to take in the internal concerns of this country.

The business to which the protest in your note refers has now been brought before competent tribunals, and no one has a right to suspend the proceedings.

For your individual cognition I will add that the persons in question are accused of having taken by force of arms thirteen wagons, twenty-six mules and horses, and robbed thirteen persons.

It would be very strange, general, if in the middle of this nineteenth century the bandits and fighting robbers were to receive help and protection from the civilized world.

By the same occasion I see myself obligated to remind you of the contents of the letter which I had the honor to address you on the 21st of last December. I shall return without answer all communications of the character and couched in the language of the one now before me.

Accept, general, my esteem and consideration.

TOMAS MEJIA,
General Commanding line of the Rio Grande.

Major General WEITZEL,
Commanding Western District of Texas, Brownsville.

The following is the letter of the 21st of December, referred to in the foregoing communication:

IMPERIAL ARMY MEXICO, DIVISION MEJIA,
Headquarters Matamoras, December 21, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your letter dated 19th instant, transmitting me the instructions which you have received from New Orleans, and informing me that I must consider as belligerents the Juarist bands of Mexico, without applying to them the name of bandits, seeing that the government of the United States recognizes that of Juarez, for whom these forces are fighting.

Hereafter, general, I will not answer letters of the character and couched in the language of the one which now occupies me.

The Mexican authorities do not receive other commands, nor do they submit to any other will, than that of the government of Mexico. The conduct of the forces to whom you allude, and the decree of October 3 last, have defined uniformly the position of said forces in the country, and in that position will they now be considered in Mexico.

Accept, general, the assurance of my highest consideration.

TOMAS MEJIA,
Commanding line of Rio Grande.

Major General WEITZEL,
Commanding District Rio Grande.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 20th of February, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to enclose you two printed communications, of undoubted authenticity, which passed between General Riva Palacio, acting as commander of the army of the centre of the Mexican republic, and General

Bazaine, commander-in-chief of the French army now invading that republic The first is from Tacambaro, (State of Michoacan,) the 27th of November last, in regard to an exchange of prisoners, soon afterwards effected; and the second is from the city of Mexico, the 16th of the same month.

I also enclose a passport, in French and Spanish, given by the said General Bazaine to General Don Santiago Tapia, one of the prisoners exchanged at the time, who showed it to me in New York, on his way to the northern frontier, where he has gone to continue his duty as a soldier and patriot.

My object in sending you these documents is to keep the United States government informed of the conduct of the invaders of Mexico, and I now call your attention to the inconsistency of treating Mexicans as belligerents, after once having denied them that right. The French agent, Maximilian, after having denied all rights of belligerents to the soldiers of the republic, whom he proclaims as bandits in his decree of the 3d of October last, and shoots without trial, in conformity to his decree, even though they belong to regularly organized forces, now the commander-in-chief of the invaders negotiates a formal exchange of prisoners with General Riva Palacio, whom he calls general and flatters with courteous language for his humanity to French prisoners. To say the least, this signifies an acknowledgment of the rights of belligerents to the forces of the republican army. The evident object of this inconsistency is to gain the release of the French prisoners; and it is an open confession, forced from the invaders of Mexican soil, that those forces defending the independence of their country are not disorganized bands of highway robbers, as they assert, and it is unjust and absurd to deny them the considerations usually extended to all belligerents throughout the civilized world.

I embrace the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguised consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[Extract from No. 29 of La Republica, published in the State of Michoacan de Ocampo.

No. 1403.]

EXPEDITIONARY CORPS OF MEXICO,
OFFICE OF THE MARSHAL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
Mexico, November 16, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your favor through the politeness of Captain Miñon. I am pleased at the sentiments of humanity that have animated you in this affair. Anxious to assist you in this particular, I am disposed to do all I can to bring about a good understanding.

Therefore I have the honor to inform you that I have given orders for the exchange to take place in the town of Acuitzco, on the 2d of December, between 8 and 10 o'clock in the morning.

In this exchange, I place at your disposal—

First. General Canto and all the officers taken prisoners with him by Colonel Potier.

Second. All the officers taken prisoners in Tacambaro by Colonel Vanders Smissen.

Third. All the officers taken prisoners in Santa Anna Amatlan by General Mendez.

Fourth. All the soldiers taken prisoners in Morelia. And, finally, if you wish it, Generals Tapia and Juan Ramirez, taken prisoners in Oaxaca and kept in Puebla.

All the prisoners in Morelia will be delivered to you on the 2d. In regard to Generals Tapia and Ramirez, I give my word of honor to set them at liberty in Puebla, with safe conducts to go where they please, as soon as I hear that the exchange is made.

I have appointed Captain Bocarmé, of the Belgian regiment, to supervise the exchange of prisoners. Captain Antonio Salgado will accompany him, and he will be escorted to the town of Acuitzco by a Belgian company of 50 or 60 men and a few Mexican cavalry.

I hope, general, you will accept the good intentions offered you on this occasion.

The number of officers sent you from Morelia will be * * *

I will not close this letter without thanking you for your kindness and attentions towards the prisoners.

Please accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

BAZAINE,
Marshal of France.

General RIVA PALACIO.

A copy of the original:

JESUS RUBIO, *Chief Clerk.*

TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS, *September* 27, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.—GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.—NO. 52.

HEADQUARTERS AT TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS,
November 27, 1865.

I have received, with much pleasure, through Captain Miñon, your proposals for an exchange of prisoners; and your excellency may rest assured that I will not oppose in any manner, but will do all I can to assist the exchange; and I will order all the prisoners in Zirandaro and Huetamo, Belgians and Mexicans, to be delivered to your excellency's commissioners.

Lieutenant Colonel Augustin Linarte, escorted by eighty cavalry, will attend to the exchange in Acuitzco.

I will, however, observe that Captain Miñon presented your communications to me last night; that from this place to the prisoners is a distance of forty-six leagues of very bad road, and from here to the place of exchange is twelve leagues, which united, make a distance of fifty-eight leagues, and I think it hardly possible that the Belgian prisoners can make that distance in the few days your excellency has appointed. However, I have sent an express to start the prisoners to this city; and I take the liberty to request Captain Miñon to deliver a letter to Captain Visart Bocarmé, asking him not to start till I give the proper notice.

I am sure your excellency will not think I am to blame, if the exchange does not take place on the day you have fixed, and as I desire.

To prevent hostilities on the road from here to Morelia, from interrupting the execution of this negotiation, I give orders that they be suspended along the line from Tacambaro to Acuitzco, and in case they are broken, I assure your excellency it will not be caused by the republican forces.

Before closing, I must thank your excellency for your kindness and civility in this business, a proof of your humane and noble sentiments.

I beg your excellency to accept the protestations of my distinguished consideration.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO.

His Excellency Marshal BAZAINE,
Commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Corps in Mexico.

A copy of the original:

JESUS RUBIO,
Chief Clerk.

TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS, *November* 27, 1865.

True copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

CORPS OF MEXICO.—OFFICE OF THE MARSHAL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Safe Conduct.

By virtue of the powers granted to me by his Majesty the emperor Maximilian, and in consequence of the exchange of prisoners effected the 5th of December, 1865, at Acuitzco, (Michoacan,) General Tapia Santiago, prisoner of war at Oaxaca, is set at liberty and authorized to return to Tacambaro to present himself to General Vincente Riva Palacio, or to follow him wherever he may be found.

The civil and military authorities are requested to let him pass freely, on his journey from Puebla to Tacambaro.

BAZAINE, *Marshal of France.*

MEXICO, *December* 8, 1865.

The present safe conduct allows General Tapia to remain only eight days in Tacambaro.

MARSHAL BAZAINE.

MEXICO, *December*, 15, 1865.
[Two seals.]

A true copy:

INGO. MARISCAL.

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

[Translation.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE REPUBLICAN ARMY OF THE CENTRE.

The citizen general, Santiago Tapia, presented himself at these headquarters on the 30th day of the past month, and, in compliance with the obligation referred to in the marginal note, returned to Mexico on the 4th day of the present month.

RIVA PALACIOS.

TACAMBARO DE CODALLOS, *January* 2, 1866.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *February* 20, 1866.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translated.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, March 10, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: As a specimen of the manner in which the so-called decree of the usurper Maximilian, issued the 3d of October last, ordering the execution of all Mexicans who defend the independence of their country, is carried out, I have the honor to enclose to you with this note the death sentence pronounced against Colonel Carlos Garcia Cano, and the mode of its execution, contained in an extract from La Sombra, a paper published in the city of Mexico. The colonel was a young man of 25, who had once served in the ranks of the interventionists; but afterwards reflecting on his duty as a Mexican, he joined the defenders of independence.

He was subsequently taken prisoner, condemned and executed in the irregular manner shown by the annexed document.

I refrain from commenting on what is here improperly called trial, and which is nothing but real assassination, as it was done in accordance with the so-called decree, which is already known to the government of the United States.

I embrace the occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[From "La Sombra," Mexico, February 4, 1866.]

Sentence and execution of Garcia Cano.

The following has been published:

WAR DEPARTMENT—FIRST MILITARY DIVISION, FIRST SUBDIVISION.—NO. 36 OF THE SENTENCE.—DATE OF THE CRIME, 28TH OF DECEMBER, 1865.—COURT-MARTIAL.

Sentence condemning to the penalty of death the person named Carlos Garcia Cano, accused of rebellion against the imperial government, under aggravating circumstances, at the Pachuca Mines, on the 28th of December last, at eleven o'clock at night. On the 21st day of January, 1866, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the court-martial met, composed of Colonel Manuel Palomino, president; Captain Luis Alegre, judge; Captain Juan Dueñas, judge; Captain Nicholas Parra, reporter; 2d Sergeant Nicholas Salazar, notary—all appointed by the war department, and pronounced the sentence, from which we make the following extract:

"*Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, to all those present, and those to come, greeting:*

"The court-martial of Toluca has pronounced the sentence from which the following is extracted:

"The court-martial having heard the statement of the commissary reporter, has declared the named Carlos Garcia Cano, ex-colonel of cavalry—to the 1st question, guilty by unanimity; to the 2d question, guilty by unanimity; to the 3d, that he has commited the acts of which he is accused without palliating circumstances, according to the law, guilty by unanimity; to the 4th, the majority do not recommend him to pardon. Therefore the said court condemned the accused Carlos Garcia Cano, ex-colonel, 25 years of age, native of Jalapa, married and domiciled in Pachuca, to the penalty of death, in accordance with the law of the 3d of October, 1866, article first, which declares: that by virtue of article 139 of the code of military justice, the sum of five hundred dollars in gold and silver, cost of board deducted, shall go into the national treasury; the draft for five hundred and forty-nine dollars and twelve cents, and the pistol, which is the *corpus delicti* in another cause, shall be returned to the said Cano, together with the watch and chain, two diamond rings and the pocket-book, which is his property."

This day, the 21st of January, 1866, the present sentence was read by us, the notary undersigned, to the said Carlos Garcia Cano, in presence of the commissary reporter.

NICHOLAS SALAZAR, *Notary.*

NICHOLAS PARRA,
Commissary Reporter.

This sentence began to receive its execution on the 21st, at 2 o'clock p. m. of the month and year mentioned; the watch and chain, the two diamond rings and the pocket-book, were returned to Cano. The execution was continued on the 22d, at ten minutes before ten of the same month and year, Carlos Garcia Cano being shot in presence of the troops of the garrison. Finally, at five o'clock, the following sums were sent to the principal administration of revenues: 1st, 24 ounces, of $16 each, making $384; 2d, 3 idem, of $20, $60; 3d, 3 half ounces, $8, $24; 4th, in silver, $1 56½; a total of $469 56½; bill of the tavern for meals, $30 43½; making a total of $500; 5th, one pistol; 6th, a draft for $549 12.

Certified as correct:

NICHOLAS PARRA,
Commissary Reporter.

Countersigned—NICHOLAS SALAZAR, *Notary.*

A true copy:

J. M. MARQUEZ,
Under Secretary of War pro tem.

MEXICO, *January* 31, 1866.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 14, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of January 5 and 22, February 20, and March 10, 1866, with their enclosures, which relate to the decree issued on the 3d of October, 1865, by the so called emperor of Mexico, and in which the penalty of death is declared against all Mexicans found in arms and defending the integrity and independence of their country, against the forcible intervention of France in that republic.

You further inform me that this penalty has actually been visited upon Major General José Maria Arteaga, and several of his companions-in-arms, recently made prisoners by the French.

In reply, it is scarcely necessary for me to assure you that the government of the United States deeply regrets the untimely fate which has overtaken these brave champions of the cause of liberty and republican institutions in Mexico; and fully deprecates the practice of a system of warfare so little in consonance with the usages of enlightened states.

I beg, in answer, to state that the subject will receive the attention to which it is so justly entitled from this government, and meanwhile have the honor to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c.,
Washington, D. C.

No. 10.

INTRIGUES OF THE INSURGENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

List of papers.

No. 1.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	July 9, 1864.
No. 2.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	July 27, 1864.
No. 3.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Dec. 3, 1864.
No. 4.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Jan. 7, 1865.
No. 5.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Feb. 6, 1865.
No. 6.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Feb. 25, 1865.
No. 7.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with two enclosures)	April 20, 1865.
No. 8.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 2, 1865.
No. 9.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with five enclosures)	July 4, 1865.
No. 10.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 4, 1865.
No. 11.	Mr. Hunter to Mr. Bigelow	July 31, 1865.
No. 12.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with eight enclosures)	July 8, 1865.
No. 13.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	July 18, 1865.
No. 14.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	July 13, 1865.
No. 15.	Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Aug. 10, 1865.
No. 16.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Aug. 24, 1865.
No. 17.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Feb. 12, 1866.
No. 18.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Oct. 5, 1865.
No. 19.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Dec. 10, 1865.
No. 20.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures)	Oct. 20, 1865.
No. 21.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Oct. 27, 1865.
No. 22.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 1, 1865.
No. 23.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Nov. 4, 1865.
No. 24.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Dec. 12, 1865.
No. 25.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Dec. 21, 1865.
No. 26.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with two enclosures)	Dec. 31, 1865.
No. 27.	Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero	Dec. 31, 1865.
No. 28.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Feb. 11, 1866.
No. 29.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 15, 1866.

No. 1.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION, *Washington, July* 9, 1864.

Mr. Romero presents his respects to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to enclose to him an extract taken from the New York Tribune, which contains the address which General Magruder, commander-in-chief of the insurgent army in Texas, made to Don Santiago Vidaurri, who was the governor of the States of New Leon and Coahuila, in the republic of Mexico, on solemnly receiving him at the city of San Antonio on the 21st May last. This address, no less than the answer of Vidaurri, demonstrates the existence of a perfect understanding between the traitors in Mexico and the insurgents in the United States, because both count on the aid of the French government to bring to a close, such as they desire, the enterprises in which they are engaged. This is the address to which Mr. Romero referred at the interview he had with Mr. Seward at the Department of State on the 20th June last past.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

AN INTERESTING PAIR OF REBELS.—VIDAURRI AND MAGRUDER COMPLIMENT EACH OTHER IN PUBLIC SPEECHES.

[*From the New Orleans Era.*]

The absquatulating ex-governor of the Mexican States of Coahuila and New Leon, Vidaurri, and the rebel commander-in-chief of Texas, General J. Bankhead Magruder, had an interesting meeting at Houston on the 21st May, a full account of which we give below, taken from the columns of the Houston *Telegraph* of the 23d. It was a solemn and impressive spectacle, the meeting of these two noble and devoted patriots, martyrs in the cause of liberty, who have fought and bled for their country, and made enormous fortunes by stealing cotton from defenceless citizens, selling it to meet the requirements of the public service, and pocketing the proceeds. Here is the way these disinterested, self-sacrificing men talk to each other for the benefit of the credulous and humbugged people:

Governor Vidaurri arrived in this city on Saturday, and was courteously received by General Magruder and his staff and a military escort. On meeting him at the depot of the Central railroad, General Magruder addressed him, in substance, as follows:

GENERAL VIDAURRI: I bid you welcome to this military district, not only as one who has been governor of neighboring and friendly States, those of Coahuila and Nueva Leon, but as an enlightened chief magistrate, who has established friendly relations with the confederacy, and has always appreciated the value of an uninterrupted commercial and amicable intercourse with the State and citizens of Texas.

I bid you welcome as one of those patriots who have wisdom to discern and nerve to execute whatever may be for the best interest of their country. In the wild storms which have swept over your native land, you have exercised control to draw order out of chaos, and to secure the best interests of the people, even in spite of themselves.

For your noble efforts to serve the people of Coahuila and Nueva Leon you are now an exile. For your patriotic exertions to secure for them the blessings of a well-organized, regular, and just government, and to free them from any dependence on the most faithless and barbarous of all people, (those of the United States,) you have offered up yourself as a sacrifice. But the patriot will be rewarded; your sacrifices will be but temporary; and all wise and truly patriotic Mexicans will soon acknowledge the wisdom, as well as the patriotism, of your course, and, welcoming you back with open arms, will invite you to such a participation in the conduct of public affairs as your great ability and high character fairly demand.

Be assured, general, that we shall look with interest upon your future career, as we have done upon the past, and that we wish you health and prosperity as cordially as we bid you welcome.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

To this Governor Vidaurri replied, thanking General Magruder for the unexpected compliment he had paid him. He assured him that he had always felt the greatest sympathy for the Confederate States, as they had battled for their rights and for the poor privilege to be let alone. He was himself now an exile from his country for contending for the same rights that had been usurped by unprincipled men. He hoped soon that the Confederate States might reach the object for which they had so long struggled.

The governor and General Magruder then took carriages, escorted by the general's staff. The *cortege* proceeded to the Fannin House, where it halted, and the distinguished stranger was waited upon by the military and civil authorities, his honor the mayor tendering him a welcome to the city.

It is a well-known fact that not two-thirds of the enormous sums of money derived from the seizure and sale of cotton by General Magruder and his emissaries was ever used for the benefit of the rebel government, but was invested in sterling bills and foreign loans for the benefit of Magruder and the men connected with him in his swindling transactions. This is well known to hundreds of refugees from the State of Texas now in this city. Vidaurri, by levying heavy taxes upon the cotton transported through the territory over which he ruled, and by occasional seizure of a lot belonging to private parties, (against which there was no redress, owing to the lawless state of the country, and to the fact that the owners generally were rebels, and had no government that could or would protect them,) managed to feather his nest quite snugly. It is to be hoped, however, that when he decamped from Monterey, between the setting and rising of the sun, that he was compelled to leave behind all, or nearly all, of his ill-gotten gains.

No. 2.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 27, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your verbal note of the ninth instant, enclosing an extract from the New York Tribune, which contains an account of the reception given to Don Santiago Vidaurri, late governor of the States of New Leon and Coahuila, (Mexico,) at San Antonio, on the 20th May last, by General Magruder, commanding the insurgent army in Texas.

While thanking you for that attention, I beg to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 3.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 3d of December, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: In the conversation we had on Thursday, 24th November last, I read to you extracts of a letter which a friend, resident in New York, had written to me, in relation to the plans respecting Mexico, which it is assured are entertained by many persons in the northern States, in concert with citizens of the south. You were pleased to ask me for a memorandum from this letter, and I offered to send it to you. I have not done so before now, because I expected to receive some advices from Mexico, and wished to see if the reports indicated were in any manner confirmed by the advices which should be received from that country. Those advices have now reached me, and I have the honor to send you the memorandum which you asked for, added to by the last news received.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Translation.]

A friend of Mr. Romero writes to him from New York, under date of 22d November last past, informing him that from conversations he has had with an ex-general of the army of the United States, and an ex-governor and ex-senator of one of the States of the Union, he was convinced that there were serious intrigues on the part of many northern men, disgusted with the result of the late presidential election, in connexion with a considerable number of prominent men at the south, that in case—which is now considered probable—the south should have to yield to the armies of the north, they would go to Mexico and operate in the development of the mines and extension of agriculture, with the purpose, in the first place, of sustaining Maximilian, and for the purpose of occupying themselves afterwards in that country.

The number of persons dissatisfied at the north is large enough, and that of those who are disposed to venture on such an enterprise is altogether greater at the south, in the opinion of the person who communicates this information—being sufficient to give a great re-enforcement to Maximilian. This aid on the part of the south might assume the character of an armed immigration, which could take place before the forces of the United States could shut the door against them by taking the line of the Rio Grande.

The ex-general said, in the conversation referred to, that M. Montholon, French minister to Mexico, was working to this purpose, and that a full brigade would soon set off, as private individuals, from the Atlantic States for Vera Cruz, and others from California for the Pacific coast.

The ex-governor and ex-senator said that the French minister in Mexico had already concluded negotiations in respect of Sonora and Lower California.

These assertions agree entirely with the news received from Mexico by the last steamer from the Havana.

"The Estafette," which is the organ of French policy in Mexico, has frequently made allusions to the convenience that Maximilian will cultivate the best understanding with the confederate authorities on the frontier, and to favor, in all modes, the immigration of citizens who have risen against this government.

A letter from Mexico, published by the "Courrier des Etats Unis," a French imperialist paper printed in New York, and which it is believed was written by M. Masseras, proprietor of that paper, who actually is in the city of Mexico, paves the way to prevent public opinion from being alarmed on learning that Maximilian thinks of aliening, or has aliened, a portion of the Mexican territory. The said letter appears to restrict itself to the Mexican financial question, and says that the budget of the so-called empire approaches forty millions of dollars, and the portions of Mexican revenue which are in the hands of the French are reckoned at four millions. To cover this deficit, says the letter, there is no other choice but to sell or mortgage the public domain. Various letters from Mexico, received in New York by different persons who are in communication with partisans of Maximilian, aver unanimously that he only exercises a nominal power, but that the real authority rests only in General Bazaine, who acts under instructions which he receives directly from the Emperor of the French, and of which even the Minister Montholon has no knowledge.

WASHINGTON, *December* 3, 1864.

No. 4.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 7, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 3d December last, communicating a memorandum of parts of a letter written to you by a friend in New York, under date of the 22d November, 1864, in reference to the plans of an armed emigration to Mexico, contemplated by many disinterested persons in the northern States, acting in concert with disloyal citizens of the United States.

In reply, I beg to express to you my appreciation of the information transmitted to this government, and to assure you that the subject of your communication will receive the serious attention to which it is justly entitled.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*

No. 5.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 6th of February, 1865.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican republic, has the honor to address himself to the honorable William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, for the purpose of protesting, in the most explicit and formal manner, against the cession which the ex-archduke of Austria, Ferdinand Maximilian, has made, or is about to make, to the French government of various States of the Mexican republic.

The undersigned permits himself to remind the honorable William H. Seward that at the interview which he had with him on the 19th January last, he read to him a letter written at the city of Mexico on the 28th December previous, the latest date from that city received up to this date in this country, in which a person well-informed and entirely trustworthy communicated the news that French agents in that city had proposed to the deluded Mexicans, who now encircle the usurper, that the Emperor of the French has sen to Mexico a settlement, in virtue of which there is to be ceded to France the Mexican States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Coahuila, parts of those of San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Durango, and Chihuahua, almost the whole of Sonora, and the peninsula of Lower California, the dividing line to be formed by the river Yaqui on the Pacific, and Panuco on the Gulf, to their sources, and a straight line drawn from one point to the other; that to make the cession of so considerable a part of the Mexican territory acceptable, assurance was made that France would establish in the ceded territory a military colony, which would be under its immediate protection, and which would place the rest of the country under shelter from filibustering attacks from the United States; which would besides produce the liquidation of the supposed debt which Mexico has with France, and would facilitate the acquisition of three hundred millions to the treasury of the usurper. It is added, also, to make so considerable a loss less sensibly felt, that the

States referred to have only belonged in name to Mexico, because they have been ruled by authorities which have not respected the orders of the central government of Mexico, and which were doomed to self-destruction, either because they might fall into the power of the French or of the United States, and that in such alternative there cannot be a moment's doubt of a preferable extreme. In the same letter assurance was given that such settlement had not been yet submitted to the usurper, and it was given out as understood that he would not fail to hesitate and even manifest opposition to it before his acceptance.

This circumstance signifies nothing, however; the usurper either has not his own will, or if he has, he cannot make it prevail when in contradiction to that of his protector. Besides, it is not to be presumed that he takes any interest in the destinies of a country which is not his fatherland, in which four years ago he was not known, even by name, to the vast majority of the nation, which he himself knew only by name, to which he has been brought and is sustained by foreign bayonets, and in which he is shedding the blood of patriotic Mexicans, who are maintaining their independence, to satiate a blind ambition for rule, which, for his punishment, he exercises only in appearance.

The undersigned always believed that the Emperor of the French would close up in this manner his interference in Mexico, when he should become convinced that it would not be possible for him to retain the whole republic as a French colony, and had the honor so to state to the honorable William H. Seward in the communication he addressed to him the 27th December, 1862, and which the President sent to the House of Representatives, among the documents relating to Mexican affairs, transmitted with his message of 4th February, 1863.

That which then, however, did not exceed conjecture, although well founded, has come to be realized with the course of time and the development of events. News received from Mexico, from an entirely trustworthy source, has been confirmed by other advices received simultaneously from San Francisco, California, and from Paris; and such coincidences, combined with other antecedents which the undersigned is possessed of in this matter, do not leave him in the least doubt that if the settlement proposed has not been ratified, it is on the point of so being.

This conviction obliges the undersigned, in fulfilment of the duty which belongs to him, as representative of the Mexican nation, to protest solemnly and energetically against any settlement made by the ex-Archduke of Austria, in the name of Mexico, with the Emperor of the French, or with any other government, by which he alienes or hypothecates Mexican territory, or in any manner compromises the responsibility of the native country of the undersigned.

Addressing himself to the government of the United States, the undersigned does not think it necessary to halt to prove that the ex-Archduke of Austria only represents in Mexico the Emperor of the French, by whose army he was brought to that republic and is there sustained; and that therefore any settlement made between the ex-Archduke and the Emperor of the French would have the same obligatory force on the Mexican nation as one concluded between the said Emperor and General Bazaine, commanding in chief the French forces in Mexico.

The undersigned has not thought that he should await for official notice of the conclusion of such settlement in order to protest against it. It is of such gravity and transcendency, not only to the interests of Mexico, but to those of the whole American continent, that he would consider himself to be wanting to his most sacred duties should he for a moment delay to take this step.

The undersigned thinks fit, in justification of his conduct in this affair, to remind the honorable Secretary of State of the United States of a fact slightly resembling the present, when the representatives of the French government in Mexico protested against a treaty concluded between Mexico and the United States, of much less importance than the present, only because of the vague rumors, more or less founded, that they had received that it had been concluded, and before they had official notice of its execution.

After the rupture between the allied Europeans at Orizaba, and when France alone continued making war on Mexico, the minister of the United States to this republic made a treaty with the Mexican government, in virtue of which the United States were to lend to Mexico eleven millions of dollars, Mexico hypothecating in payment for such amount the unoccupied lands of the republic, the unsold national property, previously called church property, and the unsatisfied bonds and promissory notes for national property already aliened. This treaty was signed in the city of Mexico the 6th April, 1862; but as it did not receive ratification by the government of the United States it was not officially published, and only mere rumors, more or less founded, were circulated about its object and stipulations; notwithstanding which the representatives of the Emperor of the French addressed to the Mexican government, under date of the 15th April aforesaid, a note, in which they said to it that they had been informed that said government had concluded, or was about to conclude, a treaty with a foreign government, by which were sold, ceded, transferred, or hypothecated thereto, a part of the lands and public revenues of Mexico, to the whole of which lands and revenues France made claim of right, in virtue of the fraudulent claims of her subjects. With the note which the undersigned had the honor to address to the honorable Secretary of State on the 2d June, 1862, he remitted a copy of such protest.

The undersigned avails of this opportunity to renew to the honorable William H. Seward the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

No. 6.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 25, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th instant, in which, in your character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States, accredited to the government of the United States of America, you enter your protest, in the most formal, energetic, and solemn manner, against any settlement or cession, either made or to be made by the ex-Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, of Austria, in the name of Mexico, with the Emperor of the French, or with any other government, by which he alienates or hypothecates Mexican territory, or in any manner compromises the responsibility of the Mexican republic.

This measure you are led to take under the circumstances more fully detailed in your note, believing it to be in consonance with your most sacred duties as the representative of Mexico.

In reply, it affords me pleasure to state that the protest referred to will be placed upon file in the archives of this department, there to remain a testimony to your course in the premises, and as an additional evidence of the zealous and patriotic discharge of your functions as the minister of Mexico in the United States, and for such other uses and purposes as future events may render it necessary to apply it.

I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you, sir, the renewal of my very high and distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 7.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 20*th of April*, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY AD INTERIM: I have the honor to transmit to you, with this note, by instructions of my government, and for the information of that of the United States, a copy of a communication addressed on the 2d of December last by General Slaughter, who commands the insurgent forces in the western district of Texas, to Don Tomas Mejia, the commander of the forces of the intervention in Matamoras, in relation to the Mexican steamer Orizaba, captured by the insurgents under the plea that she was manned by citizens of the United States.

From this communication we may infer what are the relations that have existed between the insurgents of both republics, and what are the sympathies which those of the United States entertain for those of Mexico.

This same communication was republished in the Gazette of Monterey of the 18th December referred to, preceded by an article, of which I also transmit a copy, in which the sentiments of sympathy expressed by General Slaughter are reciprocated, the interventionists of Monterey considering themselves satisfied with the explanations of the said general, and even praising his action in capturing the steamer Orizaba. The circumstance of the publication of such an article in the official paper of the so-called authorities of the intervention in New Leon is very significant.

These documents are an additional proof of the identity of political interests which exists between the insurgents of this country and the partisans of the French cause in Mexico, thus making manifest that which exists between the United States and the Mexican nation.

In confirmation of these impressions, I deem it proper to enclose the annexed slip from the Tribune, of New York, of the 13th instant, which contains a letter written at the city of Mexico on the 29th of March last, and in which important details upon the events which are occurring in that country, and especially in that part occupied by the French, in alluding to the course of these latter towards the citizens of the United States.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

MONTEREY, *December* 18, 1864.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY AND THE EMPIRE.

We insert in continuation a communication from General J. E. Slaughter, who is now in command of the confederate troops in the western district of Texas, which he addresses to General Don Tomas Mejia, in reference to the capture of the steamer Orizaba, which vessel was seized in the waters of said confederacy.

The Monitor of the Frontier, which has first published said communication, says that the Orizaba was sailing under the flag of Mexico, and that, therefore, the seizure of the vessel is illegal. It is known, however, that the Orizaba belongs to citizens of the United States; that her cargo, as General Slaughter assures us, also belongs to them; and that the crew of the vessel is composed of Yankees.

Will it be permitted to the Yankees, under the shadow of the Mexican flag, to interfere with the operations of war, and to mock with impunity the rights of a nation like the young confederated republic to which we are united by the double tie of commercial relations and mutual interests?

However much the contrary may be alleged, we believe that the interested parties will necessarily be compelled to have recourse to the admiralty court of the confederacy, which is the only competent one to decide whether or not there is room for the restitution of the Orizaba.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *April* 20, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE DIVISION OF TEXAS,
Brownsville, December 2, 1864.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated November 30, ultimo, in reference to the capture of the steamer Orizaba and the detention of her officers and crew by the authorities of the Confederate States.

I understand that the Orizaba was built by citizens of the United States, and that she belongs to these; that her cargo also belongs to them; that, besides, her crew is of the same nationality.

These reasons compelled me to take the steamer; but the case will be adjudged by the court of admiralty, and, if these points can be proven, it will be clear that her license to sail under the Mexican flag is a violation of the laws of that country, and consequently null.

The decrees issued by the courts of admiralty are a general rule respected by all nations.

Both the interested parties may recur to and have the right to prove by witnesses, either of themselves or by an attorney, before the court of admiralty, their respective assertions.

The captain and the owners have abused the Mexican flag to cover property which belongs to our enemies, and in such a case they will have to prefer a complaint to the court referred to, and not to the imperial government of Mexico.

I have replied to your note with all the frankness of a soldier and friend, and at the same time permit me, general, to assure you that the confederate government and authorities will use all their efforts to continue and perpetuate the most friendly relations with the imperial government; and whensoever my government shall promise it a thing, it will know how to comply with it, giving thus to it a loyal proof of true friendship.

Be assured, general, that any vessel which sails under the Mexican flag, and may be found in our waters, will be treated with every consideration.

Permit me, general, to repeat to you the assurances of my esteem and regard, and to subscribe myself, respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. E. SLAUGHTER,
Brig. General, Comm. Western District of Texas.

Señor DON TOMAS MEJIA,
General Commanding in Coahuila, New Leon, &c.

A true copy: JUAN VALDEZ.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *April* 20, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.—From the New York Daily Tribune, April 13, 1865.]

MEXICO, *March* 29, 1865.

The discords in the royal "happy family" continue to grow more and more interesting. Composed as it is of French, Belgians, and Austrians, each striving for the ascendency, and neither being able to place any confidence in the other, the position of affairs can easily be imagined. At present, Elvin, the chief of cabinet and confidant of Empress Carlotta, seems to have the firmest hold, and is the emperor's private counsellor. He was sent by the father of Carlotta to see that her interests were not neglected, and plays his cards well. No communication can reach the emperor except through his hands, which gives him decided advantages over other members of the cabinet. All these strifes and bickerings in the imperial cabinet, in the end, amount to nothing, as the decisions have all to be submitted to the approval of Marshal Bazaine, who, in a moment, undoes the work of days, and, as the head of affairs in Mexico, dashes in pieces the fabrications of the imperial council. No appointments can be made, no decrees issued, no sentences approved—in fact, nothing done without being first submitted to this representative of Louis Napoleon, who, in turn, is now ruled by a notorious Mexican prostitute, through whom important business is transacted, appointments procured, rights to property established, &c., she, of course, requiring a *quid pro quo* for her services ; so that, in the end, Mexico is decidedly ahead, this second Cleopatra, by her charms, ruling the destinies of the nation.

Several of the editors of newspapers in this city, having indulged in rather severe criticism in regard to the trial and summary execution of General Romero, who was shot in this city on the 18th instant, (but eight hours intervening between the close of the trial and his execution,) they were, by order of General Bazaine, called together on the 23d, and informed that the military order issued in 1863, declaring martial law throughout Mexico, had never been revoked; that the military power reigned supreme, and was above and beyond the criticism of the press, and from the decision of this tribunal there was no appeal; that any criticism will be considered a military offence, for which the parties will be arrested and tried by court-martial. After this rebuke to all, several editors present were marched off under guard to await a hearing for past offences.

Bitter feelings exist between the French and Austrians now in Mexico. The memory of the battle-fields of Magenta and Solferino are too fresh in their minds to admit of other than unfriendly feelings, and the result is constant strife. Many of the French soldiers wear badges of honor awarded by their government for services on these hard-fought and victorious fields. A few days since some Austrians were passing by the quarters of some French zouaves, and one of them, wearing an Austrian badge for distinguished services at Solferino, was insulted by the zouave, and asked why he wore a Solferino badge. Without replying, the Austrian reached out his hand and tore the badge from the zouave and threw it on the ground. A general fight ensued, and each party receiving re-enforcements, it was feared it would lead to serious difficulty.

The late riot in Puebla is attributable to the same cause, notwithstanding the newspaper stories to the contrary. The French guards, having charge of some Mexican prisoners, were maltreating them by beating them with their swords. The friends of the prisoners remonstrated against such treatment of unarmed men, and were sustained by the Austrians. Gaining courage, they made an attack upon the French, in which they were aided by the Austrians, and for part of two days the riot continued, in which fire-arms were used freely and a considerable number of lives lost. Business was entirely suspended, and the prefect of Puebla telegraphed to the capital for assistance.

The general feeling among the French officials is animosity to all Americans, and, knowing that they have the advantage of numbers and influence, they take every opportunity to show disrespect to them. Realizing "that every dog has his day," and that our day is not far distant, we show our contempt for their cowardly sneer by passing them by in silence. No justice can be had in Mexico for an American; so discretion is the better part of valor.

The late news received here, by way of Matamoras, of the defeat of Grant at Richmond, and the loss of eighty pieces of artillery, with a corresponding slaughter of federal troops, was received with great joy by the entire French concern in Mexico, from Maximilian down. The recent arrival of the steamer, however, has dispelled their happy illusion, and "Uncle Sam" again looms up before them as great a terror as the "ragman" is to the juveniles. The old adage, "weary lies the head that wears a crown," was never more fully realized in the history of any monarch than in the case of the present emperor of Mexico. Seated on the apex of a volcano at home, ready at any moment to burst forth and destroy him, and with a constant fear of American interference, and a consequent withdrawal of his French supporters, leaving him at the mercy of a people whose rights he has outraged by intruding himself upon them, the poor Maximilian begins to feel that he has been made the tool of France, and wishes for his old home, preferring to meet the demands of bailiffs for unpaid tailors' and grocers' bills to those that will be made of him by the Mexican people.

The army is leaving the capital on the great northern campaign against Juarez, and the reported re-enforcements he has received from California. Of the truth of this we know nothing, as but few American newspapers are allowed to reach here. Of the number of Americans that have joined Juarez, we have all kinds of reports, ranging from eighteen individuals to an army of ten thousand—the former being generally believed to be nearest the truth.

On the night of the 27th an earthquake occurred. The shock took place at 8¾ o'clock, and was of very short duration, and not very severe, though sufficiently so to be generally felt. The whole valley of Mexico is doubtless resting upon a bed of volcanic matter, which will some day burst forth and destroy this *modern Sodom*, the frequent earthquakes that occur being only warnings of the fate that will one day be hers.

The ascent of the great volcano of Popocatepetl, the highest point of land on the North American continent, has recently been made by two Americans—one a Californian, the other from Cumberland county, Pennsylvania; a full account of which is being prepared for the press.

E. J. M'C.

No. 8.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 2, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 20th of April last, transmitting, by instruction of your government, a correspondence which passed in December, 1864, between General Slaughter, a rebel officer in Texas, and General Mejia, commanding the forces of the French at Matamoras, in Mexico, relative to the capture of the Mexican steamer Orizaba, seized by the insurgents of the United States, and to the apparent good understanding then existing between said generals touching the relations of the two governments they claimed to represent.

You are also pleased to communicate an extract from the New York Tribune of the 13th of April, 1865, giving important details of the events then transpiring in the Mexican republic.

Thanking you for the information thus communicated, I pray you, sir, to accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*,
Washington D. C.

No. 9.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 4th of July, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I deem it my duty to call your attention to the printed documents which I have the honor to accompany with this note, and which show not only the friendly and cordial understanding which existed, to the injury of the United States, between the insurgents against this government, in Texas, and the French, who are waging war against the government of Mexico in Matamoras, but also the measures taken in concert between the French and their agents on the one part, and the insurgents of Texas on the other, to resist the forces of the national government of Mexico, sent with the view of recovering the port of Matamoras from the possession of the French. These documents, which were found in Brownsville at the time of the occupation of said city by the forces of the United States, have been recently published by a journal of New York, and I have sufficient reasons to consider them authentic.

In the communication which General James E. Slaughter, who commanded in Brownsville when Texas was in the possession of the insurgents, addressed on the 6th of April last to Colonel Thomas M. Jack, assistant adjutant general of the military department of Texas, it is stated that Don Santiago Vidaurri, who had been appointed a counsellor to the usurper, had returned to Monterey and had written to him that he had much important information to give him, which he could not trust to the pen. He also asserts that "the imperialist commander of the port of Bagdad, (a Belgian,) recently assigned to that command, informed him that he had secret instructions to permit the introduction of all kinds of arms and munitions of war, &c., that might be desired, and that they should pass freely for the use of the confederacy."

It is also mentioned that there was in Monterey, accredited to the agents of the French, called the "imperial authorities," an agent of the said confederacy named Mr. Querentes. General Slaughter himself adds: "General Mejia, (the French agent in Matamoras,) who now commands here, promised me to do everything he could in our favor;" and he can do no less than acknowledge that the Mexican people on the frontier States, with the exception of the personal friends of Vidaurri, are opposed to the so-called empire.

In another communication which the said General Slaughter addressed to Don Tomas Mejia, under date of the 10th of May last, referring to the exportation of cotton from the south, which has been carried on through Matamoras, he says to him the following: "The trade which the Confederate States are now carrying on through its authorized agents with Mexico and other countries through the ports of Mexico has been carried on with the consent of the Mexican authorities." General Slaughter means to say, *of the French agents in Mexico.*

Colonel J. S. Ford, who held, temporarily, the command in Brownsville, in the name of the so-called confederacy, communicated to Don Tomas Mejia, under date of the 28th of May last, that he was about to station some forces on the banks of the Rio Grande to attack a force "which was in communication with those of the United States, and which probably was acting in concert with it," and he recommends to him to station other troops on the side of Mexico to act in concert with the confederates in the said attack, because, "it is the duty and the interest of both governments (the so-called imperial of Mexico, and the confederated of the south) to destroy and to disperse such bands," which shows that the French and the insurgents have acted in concert against the forces of the United States.

They have done the same thing in regard to the forces of the Mexican government. The official communication, of which I enclose a copy, dated on the 2d of March aforesaid, which was addressed to me by General Negrete, commanding in chief the national forces of Mexico, shows, that having received instructions to attack Matamoras, he saw, in approaching the city, that the artillery from Brownsville covered that post, that the confederates prepared themselves to enter into the fight at the time he approached the city, and that they maintained a hostile attitude while he remained in its vicinity, thus finding himself compelled finally to withdraw therefrom on that account.

Besides this statement of General Negrete's, which proves the connivance of the confederates with the French against the national government of Mexico, we have the testimony of General Slaughter himself, the commander-in-chief of Brownsville, who, in the note which he addressed to the assistant adjutant general, Colonel Jack, on the 18th of May, aforesaid, reporting his proceedings at the time General Negrete was pressing upon Matamoras, says, that said general knowing that he (Slaughter) was a decided imperialist, and fearing that his sympathies might influence his official conduct, he sent him a commissioner to ask how he would act during the attack upon Matamoras. In reply, he said to him that the confederates received their provisions through Matamoras, and that if the port was occupied by the Mexicans it would be blockaded by the French, for which reason it was to his interest that it should remain in possession of the former. Further on, General Slaughter adds: "At the same time that I maintained a strict neutrality, I concealed my intentions in such a manner that I obtained the same results which would have been attained if I had taken an active part in the contest. General Negrete raised the siege and retired, being fearful of the results, should he be compelled to meet our forces."

These are the principal facts, which are to be drawn from the documents annexed. In view of them, I think it would not be presumptuous on my part to say that they involved acts of hostility against the United States, for which the French agents, who occupy the frontier, are responsible. This being, however, a question exclusively concerning the government of the United States, which, I doubt not, will attach to it such importance as its own prudence and sense of high dignity may induce it to regard as most appropriate, I would not mention it, if at the same time the facts mentioned did not constitute open acts of hostility against the government which I have the honor to represent; committed by armed citizens of the United States, whom, whatever may have been their aspirations, the Mexican government never considered as an independent nation, and did not even recognize in them the character of belligerents, having for this reason, now, its clear right to ask reparation for these grievances from the government of the United States, within the limits of whose jurisdiction the aggressors are.

With the reservation, therefore, to again return to the consideration of this grave matter when I shall receive the instructions which my government may communicate to me respecting it, to ask the reparation which the outraged rights of Mexico may require, I deem it my duty to protest at this time, as I do protest, against the open hostility with regard to Mexico, of the rebel general

Slaughter and his followers in Brownsville, saving harmless all the injuries which the Mexican republic may have suffered, and may suffer, from this act, in order to ask reparation for them at such time and in such manner as it may be proper.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY CORPS OF OPERATIONS,
Before Matamoras, May 2, 1865.

Having been invested by the citizen President of the republic with extraordinary powers to make war against the traitors and those who aid and abet them, I commenced operations against the city of Matamoras, arriving in sight of it with my command on the 30th ultimo. While on the march I learned that the traitor Mejia, in order to resist my attack, relied upon the merchants of said city, who were armed, and the confederates of North America on the left bank of the Brazos.

This information was confirmed by various reliable sources, from which I also learned that artillery belonging to the American troops of the south were in readiness in the main square in Matamoras. From my own eyes I know that the confederates of North America appeared armed on the other side of the river since I approached the city, and that even to this moment they maintain a hostile attitude, moving in my rear and compelling me to employ a part of my cavalry to watch them. These facts agree fully and completely with the open hostility shown by the confederates towards the forces of Colonel Francisco Naranjo, when this officer pursued the traitors who garrisoned the village of Piedras Negras. The latter escaped by crossing the Bravo, with the anticipated consent and protection of the former.

In view of these circumstances I have determined to withdraw my troops, believing that it would not be advisable to attack a city garrisoned by soldiers, re-enforced by merchants, (most of them foreigners,) with a numerical force superior to mine, and which, I have no doubt, are to be aided by the confederates in storming the place. The forces in the service of the secession party, which are now on the banks of the Bravo, have observed against those of the legitimate government of Mexico a conduct entirely opposed to the war which this republic maintains, making them accomplices of the vile attempt of Napoleon III to destroy the sovereignty of Mexico, which is also a threat to the sovereignty of all the republics of the New World.

It is therefore but natural to infer that the confederates, like the Mexican traitors, are allies of the French, and that the French protect the enemies of the United States government, which is exclusively recognized by ours. The gravity of the case, and the importance that it comes to the knowledge of the United States government, impel me to address you this note, which I transmit to the minister of foreign relations.

Accept the assurance of my high consideration and esteem. Independence and liberty

M. NEGRETE.

Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
from the Mexican Republic to the United States of America,
Washington City.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 4, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

HEADQUARTERS WEST SUB-DISTRICT, TEXAS,
Brownsville, January 10, 1865.

GENERAL: I have the honor to state, for your information, that a few days since the judge of the district court of Matamoras notified me of the possession of certain claims of the citizens of Mexico against the Confederate States, and that, if payment was not made promptly, he should feel it his duty to issue his writs of attachment in the case and to order the seizure of cotton belonging to the confederate government, and to take such other steps necessary to secure a speedy settlement. Under these circumstances I feel it my duty to urge you, if in your power, to stop any proceedings touching this subject until the matter can be laid before the imperial government for its consideration and decision.

* * * * * * * *

The commerce now being carried on by the Confederate States, through their authorized agents, with Mexico and other countries through the ports of Mexico, was done by the consent of the Mexican authorities. * * * *

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES E. SLAUGHTER,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Señor DON TOMAS MEJIA, *&c.*

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 4, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

HEADQUARTERS WEST SUB-DISTRICT, TEXAS,
Brownsville, April 6, 1865.

COLONEL: I have the honor to state, for the information of district and department headquarters, that I have exerted every means to retain and increase the feeling of friendship between the imperial and confederate governments.

Governor Vidaurri has been appointed one of the "Council of the Nation," and has returned to Monterey. I received a letter from him, in which he states he has much information to give to me which he cannot safely submit to writing. In view of this, as Colonel S. Benavides has received a sick leave of absence from district headquarters, and as he was a mutual friend of Governor Vidaurri and myself, I have directed him to proceed to Monterey and place himself in personal communication with him. Upon his return I trust I will be able to give more definite information as to the state of feeling towards our government and cause by the imperial government. I have made an arrangement with General Mejia, commander of the imperial forces on this frontier, for the mutual rendition of criminals, a copy of which has been forwarded to district headquarters. Its first practical working was the return of three thieves, (who happened to be deserters from Jones's battery,) whose influence was great and pernicious. This course on the part of General Mejia, together with the general impression that the arrangement had been made between us for the return of deserters, caused the United States consul to address a letter of protest, which was far from proving satisfactory to him in its results, as he obtained in reply only a letter reflecting severely upon the acts and conduct of the federals in several instances in connexion with the Mexicans. I am promised a copy of this correspondence, which, when obtained, I shall promptly forward.

The imperial commander of the port of Bagdad, (a Belgian,) lately assigned to the command, informs me he has private instructions to permit all arms, ammunition, and munitions of war, &c., to be introduced and passed for the use of the confederacy which are desired. This is similar to the proposal privately extended to General Mejia, and previously reported to district headquarters. They show an evident feeling of friendship for our cause.

It is known by the Emperor, and strongly conjectured by myself, that the Juarez party and the federals are in correspondence with each other. I received information a few days since that a Mexican bearer of despatches from Juarez to the federals crossed the river into my district at Piedras Negras on the 17th ultimo. I have a large party of scouts out endeavoring to intercept him. If successful, I hope to be able, through this means, to complicate matters between Mexico and the United States to such a degree as to work to our advantage.

The feeling of all the imperial officers on this frontier is strongly in our favor. They deem our cause strongly allied to their own in many respects, and are ready and ever willing to extend every possible aid which can be done without directly bringing their own government in contact with the United States.

We have already, in the person of Mr. Querentes, a commissioner of government, who is resident at Monterey. I do not think that any commissioner sent by the general commanding the department could be of any service in Mexico, as I presume Mr. Slidell has been using every effort in his power to affect the new government.

Governor Vidaurri will, I feel certain, further our interest in every way in his power, so long as he retains his immediate position.

General Mejia, the present commander here, promised me to do all in his power to aid us. I feel certain he entertains the kindest feelings for us all.

I may as well add here that the people on this frontier, with the exception of the Vidaurri party, are all opposed to the imperial government, and all look to federal assistance.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAS. E. SLAUGHTER,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Colonel THOMAS M. JACK,
Assistant Adjutant General.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 4, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

HEDQUARTERS WEST SUB-DISTRICT, TEXAS,
Brownsville, May 18, 1865.

COLONEL: I have the honor to state, for the information of the commanding general, that during the late excitement in Mexico, arising from the appearance of the liberal party under command of General Negrete before Matamoras, I was waited on by a deputation from General Negreto to ascertain my policy. Knowing me to be personally a strong imperialist, he feared it might influence my official acts.

I explained to him (through his agents) that we were dependent to a great extent upon Matamoras and its port for supplies for this country, and if the liberals occupied it it would be blockaded by the French, and it would be impossible for our government to receive anything through that channel; hence it was to our interest for the imperial party to occupy the country.

I avoided committing myself by a direct or positive answer.

While I maintained strict neutrality, I veiled my intentions to such an extent as to reap the same results which would have been attained by actual assistance rendered. General Negrete raised the siege and retired, being fearful of the result should he be compelled to meet our forces.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, &c., &c.,

JAS. E. SLAUGHTER,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Colonel THOMAS M. JACK,
Assistant Adjutant General.

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 4, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

HEADQUARTERS WEST SUB-DISTRICT, TEXAS,
Brownsville, May 28, 1865.

GENERAL: * * * I am satisfied that there is an organized band of robbers whose operations extend to both sides of the Rio Grande, and who are in communication with the Yankees, and possibly act in conjunction with them.

Recent developments render the conclusion inevitable that no organization connected in any manner with the government of the United States can be supposed to have much regard for the interests and friendship of the imperial government of Mexico, and that it is the common duty and the common interest of your government and of mine to break up and disperse such organizations. I shall place troops on the river for that purpose, and should be pleased to have them act in concert with yours.

I have the honor to renew my assurance of regard and personal consideration. Your obedient servant,

J. S. FORD,
Colonel Commanding pro tem.

General Don TOMAS MEJIA, *&c.*

A true copy:

IGNACIO MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 4, 1865.

No. 10.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 4, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of July 4, 1865, calling my attention to the printed documents enclosed therein, which consist of a correspendence between the insurgent leaders of the rebellion on the southern borders of Texas and the officers of the French army operating in the same neighborhood in Mexico, manifesting a spirit of hostility, on the part of these insurgent citizens of the United States, against the government you represent, and against which acts of hostility you solemnly protest.

In answer, I have to inform you that the matters referred to in your note, to which I have the honor of replying, shall receive the attention to which they are entitled.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

No. 11.

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 215.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 31, 1865.

SIR: I enclose a translation of a note of the 4th instant, and a copy of the accompaniments to which it refers, addressed to this department by Mr. Romero, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican republic accredited to this government, relative to a supposed understanding between the insurgent commanders in Texas and the French commander in the adjacent quarter of Mexico, and to an alleged co-operation between them, for the purpose of preventing the recovery of Matamoras from its present possession. Supposing the papers referred to in Mr. Romero's communication to be genuine, they seem to require explanation from the French authorities, which you will consequently request of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. HUNTER, *Acting Secretary.*

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*

No. 12.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 8th of July, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Through an accident there have fallen into my hands two letters from Mr. William M. Gwin, formerly senator of California, who is occupied at the present time in carrying into effect a plan of colonization in the frontier States of the Mexican republic, which letters are dated at the city of Mexico on the 18th of March last, and directed one to Colonel John Winthrop, of New York, in care of Mr. Royal Phelps, of the same city; and the other to his wife and daughters living at Paris. On one leaf of the latter is found another letter written by Mr. William M. Gwin, junior, to his mother, on the 16th and 18th of said month of May. Although Mr. Gwin does not sign the letters referred to, there is abundant reason for believing that they have been written by him; the handwriting, the context, and more especially the circumstance that the son's letter is signed, leave no doubt in regard to the authenticity of those letters.

Along with said letters there have come into my possession two more, one with the mark "confidential" on it, signed by "Massey," and directed to the Hon. Benjamin Wood, of New York, and the other a correspondence written by the same person and directed to the newspaper "The Daily News," of that city. Both are dated at the city of Mexico, on the said 18th of May.

In the letter of which I enclose you a copy, and which was addressed to me on the 1st instant by Colonel Don Enrique A. Mejia, of the Mexican army, you will be informed of the manner in which those letters fell into his possession. For what it may amount to, I will state to you that the despatches of the legation of the United States in Mexico for the department over which you preside, referred to by Colonel Mejia, I placed in the hands of Mr. Hunter on the 14th of June last.

The importance of the documents adverted to has induced me to send the originals to your department, in order that the government of the United States may take such steps in regard to them as it shall deem compatible with its safety and its interests. It appears from them that Mr. Gwin is formally engaged in carrying into effect his project of colonization; that, although he does not say so clearly, having written with much distrust, through a presentiment that his letters might be intercepted, that project is known to be hostile to the United States, since he proposes to take to the frontier of Mexico all the discontented citizens of the United States living in the south, with the design of organizing them there under the protection and with the assistance of France. It appears also that he has, so far as the French Emperor is concerned, *all that he needs* for carrying into effect this undertaking, and that there are orders from said Emperor to General Bazaine, commander-in-chief of the French army in Mexico, to lend to Gwin all the assistance which he may need in the development of his plan. The sanction of Maximilian—the puppet whom the Emperor of the French has placed in Mexico in order that he might seem to be the sovereign of the country—which was the only thing wanted for the realization of the scheme, had not yet been obtained, but was on the eve of being obtained, as well because all the supporters of the usurper considered the plan referred to as the only salvation of the so-called empire, as because the members of Maximilian's cabinet who were opposed to the plan had left their places in order to be succeeded by others who were favorable to it, and more especially because it is plainly to be seen that the ex-Archduke of Austria has no will of his own in the affairs of Mexico, since, he having been placed in the country by the Emperor of the French, and having been sustained by him militarily and pecuniarily, in the part of the Mexican republic occupied by the invading army, nothing is done but what the French commanders decide to do of themselves or in virtue of orders from their government, and the ex-Archduke is only to keep up appearances, and during the course of events to indicate to the Emperor of the French what may be proper or necessary to be done finally in Mexico.

All these important reports are corroborated in a letter from Vera Cruz of the 1st of June, published in the "Times," at New Orleans, a copy of which I have the honor to transmit to you.

I have sent to my government a copy of the enclosed letters, in order that on its part it may take the necessary steps to frustrate the plans hostile to Mexico which the Emperor of the French is endeavoring to develop in the republic. Believing at the same time that such plans are equally hostile to the United States, I send you the original letters, in order that you may make of them such use as you may deem proper.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Mr Secretary, to renew to you assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

WASHINGTON, *July* 1, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I regret that urgent business calls me to New York. I will explain in this letter the manner in which the papers submitted to you came to my hands.

On leaving the city of Mexico, I was requested by Mr. Corwin, the acting chargé d'affaires of the United States, to take charge of some despatches for the State Department, as he feared his official correspondence had been tampered with. As there was a probability that I would be searched, he sent his despatches by another conveyance to Vera Cruz, there to be delivered to me. Events justified this precaution, as I was arrested on arriving at Vera Cruz, my trunks searched, and all papers taken from me, including my passport as bearer of despatches; the official notes were demanded of me, and as I denied having them, I was thrown into prison, allowed to communicate with no one. Finding nothing to criminate me, after several days I was liberated and allowed to embark for Havana. On board of the steamer I received the despatches the French had been so anxious to procure.

On returning my papers, I received among them those now in your possession, probably taken from some other traveller, which being open I examined, and considered of sufficient importance to present to you.

Before leaving the city of Mexico I was shown the original letter from Napoleon to Marshal Bazaine, recommending Mr. Gwin's plan, as submitted to him, and directing the marshal to furnish the troops demanded by Mr. Gwin. The object is to colonize Sonora and other frontier States with veteran confederates, as a barrier to any aggression of the United States, and there create a power always hostile, and, with the assistance of the French, sufficiently formidable to resist all attempts against Maximilian.

French forces had already left Mexico for Sonora and the northern frontier in combination with Mr. Gwin.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ENRIQUE A. MEJIA.

MATIAS ROMERO, Esq., *Minister of Mexico, &c.*

A copy:

IGN'O MARISCAL,
Secretary.

WASHINGTON, *July* 8, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

MEXICO, *May* 16, 1865.

MY DEAR MOTHER: Nothing has occurred since I last wrote; in fact, there is nothing to occur; all business has come to a stand-still, because of the Emperor's absence. When his August Majesty has sufficiently amused himself with rural sports, he may take a notion to return to his sleeping capital and wake us up from our present state of lethargy. I am learning to exercise the admirable quality of patience, which means I begin to fall into the philosophical way of taking things coolly—the best thing a man can do in Mexico, where the object of the community is to approach as nearly as possible to a state of vegetation, and to imitate in all its lively peculiarities that interesting excrescence—a knot on a tree. Colonel Talcott arrived a day or two ago. He has been unwell in consequence of too great exertion, and can scarcely walk, from having sprained his ankle. We breakfasted with the family on Saturday; the old man read them that part of your letter about Spiller. I think they are a little uneasy on account of his prolonged absence. The marriage, you know, was to have taken place last month; now no one can say when it will come off. The old man is firmly of the conviction that Spiller is going to act the dog. Your letters were an immense satisfaction. It was very consoling to hear you were in good spirits, although I know you must still cherish in some small degree that pleasing reflection that, some day or other, we'll find ourselves a-starving. I am altogether opposed to ever being reduced to such an extremity, and have determined, at the hazard of proving you a bad prophet, to make a fortune. That's a fixed fact upon the principle, be there a will, then wisdom finds the way. I've got the will and trust to luck for wisdom; and when that fortune is made, should you be hungry and a wanderer, I'll give you food and shelter.

May 18.—The old man saw the marshal the other day, but nothing resulted from the interview. He renewed his protestations of friendship, and declared he would urge the old man's claims to the utmost. We must content ourselves with an existence of idleness a while longer, for no steps can be taken without the emperor. The old man saw Almonte to-day; he thinks there'll be no trouble; so far as he himself is concerned, we may look for strong support.

The minister of foreign affairs has gone to Europe, and every one says Almonte is to come in. He will then be all-powerful, and with his favorable disposition towards our plans we are pretty certain to carry the day. Things are progressing as smoothly as possible, only it provokes one to be detained when there is no sufficient cause. To think of our being kept here holding our hands, when those prodigious mines are inviting us to fortune, and all because the emperor will stuff birds! I feel very easy about Mexican affairs, but I'm dreadfully blue about the south. Andy Johnson's speeches breathe such a heinous spirit that I can see nothing ahead but extermination. I shouldn't be surprised if there were re-enacted on the American continent the massacre and havoc of the French revolution. It is horrible to contemplate the situation of the country. I am afraid they will commit excesses to which all the horrors that have gone before will be as nothing. It's dreadful to fall in battle, but it's ten times more dreadful to die on the scaffold. Johnson says treason can have no extenuation; it is a crime that merits the direst punishment. That is to say, all traitors should be hung; and as we are all traitors, there's nothing left for us but hanging. It really makes me sick when I think of the bloody agony that awaits the southern people. But we must learn to suppress our feelings; it may be, after all, that our only home will be among these people. If the old man shouldn't succeed, we shall have to live in California, and indeed we are fortunate to have even such a refuge.

I am very glad aunt Sue is going to Europe; she'll be a great comfort to you. The old man wrote the judge from Havana, and said, when the time came and he got fairly started he would let him know. He told the judge that uncle Alick must come with him, to furnish the necessary means, which should be paid on his arrival. Tell Carrie her letter was delightful, and to write me every mail. I promise answer her every one. Tell sister Lucy to write me, and not to get married. Love to all.

Your affectionate son,

WM. M. GWIN.

NOTE.—On the same note-paper sheet appears the following:

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MY DEARLY-BELOVED WIFE AND DAUGHTERS: The startling news from the United States has made the blood of every southern sympathizer run cold with horror. No one will be safe in our native country. How I thank Providence that I have cast my lot elsewhere, and that very soon I will have a home for my wife and children where they will be safe from oppression, and where we have every prospect of immediate and permanent prosperity. My policy is on every man's lips as the only one that will save this empire. The emperor lingers most unaccountably away from the capital, but his minister having charge of this matter considers it so pressing that he has gone to him with it more than a week ago. No one doubts that there will be an entire change of ministry, with one or two exceptions, when the emperor returns, and that his entire ministry will be in favor of my policy. It seems that he is effecting this change in his absence, and that he remains away to accomplish it. If I dared write I could give you names of persons who have approached me with this news that would leave no doubt on your minds that all of these things will happen, and that very soon. The delay is unpleasant, but the certainty of success that will follow this delay is a great consolation, especially when everything is so dark for us everywhere else. Never have a doubt of my success. I have less now than ever. Willie is getting into heavy business. They are proposing to him to give him the entire control of the richest gold mine in the world, in Sinaloa, and he is one of three who asked for the concession of all the railroads in Sonora. He will suceed in both; and either of them will make a dozen fortunes. Brent and his whole army will soon be in Texas. I will write more at large by British steamer.

As ever, yours, devotedly.

(No signature to this.)

NOTE.—Enclosures No. 2 and No. 3 are written on the same sheet of note paper, and came in an envelope addressed as follows:

"Mrs. Wm. M. Gwin, 55 Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris, France."

The whole of which is again enclosed in another envelope, addressed to—

"Messrs. Van den Broek & Co., 60 Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris, France."

[Enclosure No. 4.]

MEXICO, *May* 18, 1865.

MY DEAR COLONEL: The news from the United States appals every one here, and paralyzes all business. What will happen next is the constant inquiry. The emperor's absence must seem to persons at a distance extraordinary, but it is now developing itself that he is bringing about a radical change in his counsels, and there will be an entire change of policy on his return. Three of the ruling men in his counsels have been displaced since he left, and two (and they the most obnoxious to my ideas of government, and most opposed to my project) have been sent abroad, if not in banishment, equivalent to it. No one here doubts but Almonte will come into power, and from the first he has declared that my plan of colonization is the only salvation for the empire. The same sentiment is uttered by every one in favor of the empire. In fact, if anything in the future can be certain in this country, at an early day you will see a decree opening North Mexico to the enterprise of the world. What a people we can assemble there if this policy is adopted. What a country it will be in a very few years. The recent startling events, and the policy I have indicated, causes delay that is unpleasant, but no doubt of ultimate success. I have never been so confident as at present. Say to my good and highly valued friend, Mrs. W., that we will very soon meet again in the most delightful spot on the globe, and there will not be a cloud to obscure the future. She will eat her Christmas dinner in the palace, to a certainty, and what a time we will have! The day I leave here I will send an order to France for a large supply of the best wines in Europe, and they will be mellow to the taste by Christmas. This is not romance. The stern reality that confronts every one of my sentiments banishes all romance. I must have realities. The crusades will be surpassed in the emigration to the country of my future home; and such a people never moved from one country to another. You and your wife are among the *very* few that gave me a cheer of success, and that success will be marred if you do not participate in it. But, like me, you must be patient for a time; it may be but for a very short time. I confess I chafe at every hour's delay, but I do not permit this to depress me or damp my energies. I have to deal in generalities, for fear of accidents, but you may count on having a home where you will not only be prosperous and happy, but honored as one who, from the first, had faith.

I may introduce your name in some important concessions that may be necessary to secure the success of my policy, but you may rely on it, if I do, benefits of no equivocal character will result to you. Every one with a particle of enterprise in his composition have their eyes turned to the north, but I will be first on the ground. I shall open new books, and capitalists near you had better wait coming events before they venture their money. When I write you to come, bring as many millions as you please, and they will soon turn into tens of millions. Even the most skeptical here now acknowledge that no such country exists on the earth unoccupied. But I have to write so obscurely, for fear of accidents, that you may not comprehend me, but have faith that I know what I am about.

With my best love to Mrs. W., I remain very truly yours.

(No signature.)

NOTE.—This letter came in an envelope addressed as follows: "Colonel John Winthrop," and both enclosed in another envelope addressed to: "Royal Phelps, esq., 22 East Sixteenth street, New York, United States of America."

Enclosures Nos. 3 and 4 are *evidently* in the same handwriting, which is believed to be that of William M. Gwin, senior.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

Mr. Massey to Mr. Wood.

Private.] MEXICO, *May* 18, 1865.

DEAR SIR: Just on enclosing the within very hastily written communication, I hear of a person to leave in the morning for New York, and I avail myself of the opportunity to send by him. You see I have been cautious but positive about Doctor Gwin. He, my family, General Stone, and two others *mess* together; they are all in my rooms several times a day, or I or we in theirs. I see Mr. Soulé daily, all in the same scheme—Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango; they have *all they want* from the French Emperor; the approval of Maximilian is *desired*. *Marshal Bazaine* has certain orders any how; the thing will be carried out, and Gwin will go out as director general, &c. Stone's project was distinct, as I have stated, and accidental. They harmonize, however, admirably. I am distinctly *pledged*, in presence of witnesses, to have *any* scheme of mine carried out; I shall have them. There are fortunes in it, and a very peculiar kind of colonization alone permitted. I am too much hurried to say more; I must say, however, that *our* affair is the largest, the best, and most rapid ever conceived or granted in any country. I dropped a line to the empress the other day, and in two hours had an answer entirely satisfactory. Nothing will be finished till the emperor returns—said now not till 3d or 4th next month; and when he does return, he has weighty matters awaiting him, so that I fear a still longer delay. Hence I cannot get through in time for the next (British) steamer of the 1st. Nothing is being finished in his absence. I do trust that, in the midst of the turbulent times about you, you have sequestered ample means for our project; if I knew otherwise I would be off on another thing. But *with* ours, other "*big things*" follow. I am sorry you have not written to me; I know not your hopes or wishes. You *ought* to have sent me some money. It is hard to financier on nothing *indefinitely*, and I have concentrated my whole strength on our scheme. I enclose a letter to my daughter—please mail to her; and also, as I am delayed about making money, I want, and *particularly request*, you to send to her address a *draft* for $200 *in gold;* she needs it; her term is out, and I have written that you will send it to her; don't neglect it—that is, if you and I are ever to have anything in common, and your fortune is secure if you will attend to me a little. God knows what I will do about money if I don't get our scheme through quick. Have never seen a copy of the "News."

Your friend,

MASSEY.

Hon. B. WOOD.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

CITY OF MEXICO, *May* 19, 1865.

Editor N. Y. Daily News:

The "*government*" is still on its travels; that is, the emperor continues his recreations about Orizaba; consequently, civil events make no progress—everything apparently waiting for the emperor's return. His absence had been, and is, exceedingly unpopular. He suffers nothing to be *finished* without him, and documents and messages sent to him are seemingly shelved. In consequence of important news from France by the late French steamer, great changes are being effected, and great improvements expected. The loan of $50,000,000 is sufficient, with the income of the country, to "run" the government for two years, within which time it is at leisure to "consolidate" itself. The vote in the French Chambers, to continue French troops in Mexico, was unexpectedly large in its favor, and guarantees French protection of governmental stability here. That an improvement in the administration of affairs is foreshadowed, is indicated in the very sudden removal of Eloin, (called chief of cabinet, really chief *clerk* of cabinet,) who has been reputed to have exerted an overshadowing influence over the emperor and empress, and has been exceedingly unpopular with both natives and foreigners. Eloin was with the emperor on his trip; and some instructions received from France was evidently impressive, for he left on the steamer at once, without so much as returning to the capital for a "change of clothes." He is said to have been sent on a special mission to Belgium and France; so, also, Ramirez, the secretary of state, has been sent on a mission, it is said, to London and Brussels. The emperor has a convenient way of substituting honors! The secretary of the interior has also been permitted to resign. It is not stated why he, too, was not provided with a foreign mission, although it is known that special acts rendered his "loyalty" questionable. All these cabinet vacancies are as yet unsupplied, and will remain so till the emperor's return. It would be useless to give rumors as to who will fill them. Of course, letter-writers from Havana and Mexico will have heralded the return of Dr. Gwin from Paris to the city of Mexico. All manner of things will doubtless be written. Those who know the gallant and noble ex-senator know that he knows how to keep his own counsels. My next letter may tell your readers as many particulars as they are interested in. For the present I may only say that the Dr. is not a man to fail. He comes back in the best of health and spirits. All misunderstandings have been cleared up. All talk of the Dr. being made duke, viceroy, or anything of the kind, is all stuff; it never entered the brain of anybody but scribblers. The Dr. has a higher, nobler ambition than that kind of nonsense smacks of. That he is in process of full success there can be no shadow of doubt. Soon a domain as large as France, and composed of four of Mexico's richest States, will be open to the most beautiful a species of immigration ever known—all to become and remain a part of the empire of Mexico. Soon after the emperor's return I will be in a position to tell your readers more. Those who are tired of revolutions, and of mobocracies, and political corruptions, may look forward with hope.

By an accidental coincidence General Charles P. Stone got upon the same steamer at Havana upon which Dr. Gwin had taken passage for Mexico. I would scarcely allude to it, were it not that the letter-writers will probably indulge in a variety of speculations. General Stone was engaged in the survey of Sonora in 1859, under the celebrated Jecker contract. Some of Jecker's claims having lately been audited by the imperial government, General Stone came on to see about his own interests. He came with a practical experience, too—of infinite importance in the near development of Sonora. His purposes and plans in relation thereto were totally independent of and disconnected with the larger enterprise of Dr. Gwin; yet each will materially assist the other. Within a very few weeks I am sanguine that all will be in process of successful accomplishment. Till I write again, your readers must wait, and take anything said in other journals with a very large " grain of salt."

Military matters are not very exciting. Of course you have heard of the entry and temporary occupation of Saltillo and Monterey by the troops of Negrete. Upon getting over to Matamoras they met with Mejia, re-enforced by five hundred fresh troops, and the Juarists precipitately retired. It is expected that they will be surrounded and taken prisoners. This is the only band of any size known to be in an organized condition in Mexico. Of course, as I have repeatedly said, it will in all probability require many years to get rid of this guerilla business. Mexico *has been used to it* for these many years, under all forms and shapes of government, and such an inveterate habit of a people cannot easily be broken up. The State of Michoacan is greatly disturbed—there is nothing like repose in it. It is a large State, and mountainous. Small parties can make very destructive irruptions; and French and Belgian troops have both suffered severely by surprise. Re-enforcements are almost constantly arriving at Vera Cruz. The vomito has been playing sad havoc already in the unfortunate city just mentioned. It is extremely dangerous for any one unacclimated to pass a single night there. It will be a great blessing * * *

[Here a portion of the third page of the letter seems to have been either torn or cut off.]

to Mexico and the world. Fortunately, it is going on with all possible vigor. The company constructing it have sub-leased eleven leagues of the most labor to a French and Belgian company; the part which includes the mountains to be done in two years. One single bridge will cost $2,000,000, and will be made in England. The other part of the route goes on. The iron will be hauled over the mountains. It is in contemplation to finish this end, from the city of Mexico to Puebla, within two years.

The tragic events in the United States are, of course, the almost universal subject of conversation. It might possibly come under the head of " news " to tell you some of the comments in the highest circles. But you must pardon my refraining, because they would be denounced as "copperhead" representations. And the events have been too thick and fast for a proper reference to them in a brief letter. From the stand taken by Andy Johnson and his Attorney General and Secretary of War, it is evident that they must have their hands too full for years to come to permit his talk about the " Monroe doctrine " to be any more than talk. Such vindictiveness in conquerors was never before seen in the world's history, and that it will bring the destruction of its authors is written in the book of destiny. Either to "restore" or to " subjugate " is the dream of an inebriate, under the policy shadowed forth. The carriage of the remains of Lincoln through the cities of the country, the uses made of that display in exasperating the lowest passions of humanity, has afforded scandal of the American name all over the world too glaring for remark.

Yours, truly,

JOURNALIST.

NOTE.—This communication seems to be in the same handwriting as enclosure No. 6 of this series.

[Enclosure No. 7.]

[From the New York World of June 19, 1865.]

EMIGRATION TO MEXICO.

The minister of public works at Mexico also publishes a notice that a citizen of the United States, Dr. Thomas C. Massey, has been allowed to establish agencies for emigration to Mexico, *as a private enterprise solely*, with no responsibility incurred by the government of the Emperor Maximilian.

[Enclosure No. 8.]

[From Vera Cruz, June 1.—Correspondence of the New Orleans Times.]

The emperor is still on his travels, stuffing birds and shooting deer, while the empress is at a stand-still awaiting his return to the capital. The last news from the interior is of a serious nature. Count Pottier has been defeated by the liberals in the State of Michoacan, the count wounded and his troops badly beaten, though he, of course, claims a victory, only retreating for want of water, when he says in the first part of the report that the fight occurred by a lake and during two hours' rain.

The liberals, under Negrete, still hold Monterey, Saltillo, and all the country bordering on the Rio Grande, and though the attack on Matamoras failed, they have been able to hold all the rest. The State of Tamaulipas, with the exception of the ports of Matamoras and Tampico, are entirely held by the liberals. Everywhere in the country the people seem to be rising against the French. The only part of the country really held by the imperialists is the environs of the capital and the road to Vera Cruz.

In the capital things continue the same as ever; there is no accord between the French commander and the imperial government. Nothing has been done to recuperate the finances of the country, though the news by the last steamer seems to indicate that the great project of the imperial loan-lottery will meet with success. If an individual tried to raise the wind by such means he would be indicted for swindling. Imagine, for bonds whose face shows 500 francs, the lender pays 350 francs. They bear six per cent. interest. Every year 3,000,000 are to be raffled and prizes drawn varying from half a million to twenty-five thousand for the benefit of bondholders. Besides, after fifty years their capital is to be doubled—that is to say, they receive one thousand francs with the interest payable semi-annually in Paris. The French government keeps the first amount paid in to cover the prizes and pay itself, and Maximilian only gets about two million. In one year he has spent $6,000,000, and is no nearer pacifying the country than he was six months ago. It is true he has in his cabinet some liberals, but the party will have none of him.

The confederates still continue to flock to Mexico. There is no doubt Dr. Gwin will get his project through. It only awaits the signature of Maximilian to become a law. He goes out as director general of emigration for the States of Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango, and Tamaulipas, with extraordinary powers and *eight thousand* French troops to back him. The emigration is to be strictly southern, or confederate. Ten thousand confederates are to be armed and paid by the empire, but kept in the above-mentioned States as protection to the emigrants. Strategical points are to be fortified and garrisoned on the frontier. Dr. Gwin's son has applied for and will get an exclusive privilege for all the railroads in Sonora. The southerners are elate, and golden visions float before them. The last news from the States has caused a panic, and every mail is anxiously expected. The Yankee invasion they consider as certain, but hug to themselves the idea that France, Austria, and Belgium will not allow the United States to invade the empire. Napoleon has sent out a director of police to Maximilian, Cappo d'Istri, who lately returned from organizing the police of the Celestial Empire. Persecutions immediately began *a la* French. The two first imprisonments have caused great sensation.

It seems that Colonel Henry Mejia, of the liberal party, lately went to Mexico under a safeguard to attend to some valuable property he had inherited, and while in the city invented a rifle, of which much was spoken. It is said to shoot accurately sixty times in a minute. Finding it difficult to construct it in Mexico, he decided going to the United States. By accident, in the same stage, there was Mr. Bay, ex-governor of Mexico, also of the liberal party. Two prominent liberals going to the States looked so much like conspiracy that on their arrival at Vera Cruz both were arrested and put in dungeons, their trunks broken open and papers seized. Unfortunately for Colonel Mejia, he had some despatches for the State Department at Washington, and also a model of his rifle, or, as the French called it, infernal machine. The despatches were opened and the rifle seized. As both these gentlemen had safe conducts, and really nothing could be proved against them, and as such imprisonments were in direct contravention of the provisional statute, they were released after eight days' close confinement. These arrests caused intense excitement, and the fears of an *emeute* induced, no doubt, their prompt release. The rottenness of the empire is beyond description. The lavish expenditures of Maximilian have no check, and nothing is done for the benefit of the country. If Maximilian lasts two years, the debt of Mexico would be increased $300,000,000. The roads are impassable in the rainy season. There is no security anywhere, no order, no system. The French loudly complain. They say something is due to France, which means that they are tired of the Austrian, and want Mexico for themselves; that if they must fight the United States, the prize must be for them. As for fighting the Americans, 40,000 French can easily rout an army of 100,000 Yankees. French vanity can admit no equality, as they say one shot, then a charge, and the poor Americans will be spitted on French bayonets. The confederates seriously proclaim that they only can save the empire by the emigration of southerners, who will rally by thousands at the call of Gwin, and raise an impassable bulwark against American aggression. This is seriously believed and circulated by the French commander-in-chief.

No. 13.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 18, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 8th instant, with its several accompaniments, referring to the plans of Mr. W. M. Gwin, formerly a senator of the United States, for colonizing the frontier States of the Mexican republic.

Thanking you for your attention in communicating the important information contained in those papers to this government, I have, in reply, to inform you that the subject of your note will receive the prompt consideration of this government, and that proper measures will be adopted in reference to the same.

I have the honor to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 14.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 195.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 13, 1865.

SIR: I give you a copy of three intercepted letters which have been submitted to this department: one letter, dated Mexico, 16th May, 1865, addressed by William M. Gwin (supposed to be junior) to his mother, followed by another letter on the same sheet, without date, in the handwriting of William M. Gwin, senior, well known to this department, addressed to his wife and daughter. The sheet referred to is directed to Mrs. William M. Gwin, No. 55 Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris, and is enclosed in another envelope addressed to Messrs. Van den Broek & Company, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, Paris. Another letter, also in the well-known handwriting of William M. Gwin, dated Mexico, 18th May, 1865, is addressed to "My Dear Colonel." It is contained in an open envelope, and addressed to Colonel John Winthrop. That envelope is contained in another to Royal Phelps, esquire, No. 22 East Sixteenth street, New York, United States of America. A third letter, dated at Mexico on the 6th of May, 1865, addressed to honorable B. Wood, and signed Massey, enclosing a communication to the editor of the New York Daily News, dated at the city of Mexico, 19th of May, 1865, upon the subject of Mexican affairs.

1st. They show that Doctor William M. Gwin and his family are disloyal.

2d. That they are engaged in obtaining from Maximilian, titular emperor in Mexico, grants of mineral lands in the States of that republic adjoining the United States, and that Doctor Gwin is to be the chief directing agent in working these mines.

3d. That a large accession of capitalists and emigrants into those States from the rebels against the United States is expected.

4th. That they assure the said Maximilian and the Emperor of France that their contemplated proceedings tend to promote Maximilian's success.

5th. That they regard their enterprise as injurious to the United States.

6th. That they claim to have the patronage of the Emperor of the French, with assurances of military aid.

I have to request that you submit a copy of this intercepted correspondence to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys. You will frankly inform him that the sympathies of the American people are already considerably excited in favor of the republic of Mexico, and that they are disposed to regard with impatience the continued intervention of France in that country. That any favor shown to the proceedings of Doctor Gwin by the titular emperor of Mexico or by the imperial government of France, with reference to those agents, will tend greatly to increase the popular impatience, because it will be regarded, perhaps justly, as importing dangers to, or at least as a menace against, the United States.

It is proper also that Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys shall be informed that if we could believe that the statements thus made by these speculators are true, it would necessarily seem to the President that the Emperor of France was proceeding in his war against Mexico in a course materially differing from that of neutrality in regard to the political institutions of that country, of which he assured the United States when the war was begun. The President, on the contrary, confidently and sincerely expects, in some form, an assurance that all the pretences of Doctor Gwin and his associates are destitute of any sanction from the Emperor of France. I do not enlarge on this subject, because the French government need not be informed of the susceptibilities of the people of the United States in regard to Mexico. Nor can it be necessary to say, that after having expelled insurgents from our own borders, the United States government could not look with satisfaction upon their re organization as martial or political enemies on the opposite banks of the Rio Grande.

I regret to be obliged to offer such frequent suggestions of prudence for the consideration of the Emperor's government, but the course of events creates the necessity, and good faith prescribes the duty.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*

[Note.—For intercepted letters see annexes to Mr. Romero's letter of July 8, 1865, to Mr. Seward.]

No. 15.

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.

No. 157.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 10, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith copies of a letter addressed by me to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs, on the 1st instant, and of his reply, in reference to the schemes of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico, referred to in your despatch No. 195.

The sensitiveness betrayed by his excellency upon this subject has determined me to defer any rejoinder until I have had time to hear from you. For that period, at least, silence will be the most effective rejoinder.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, *August* 1, 1865.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has the honor to transmit to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs copies of four letters which have been recently submitted to the State Department at Washington.

The first, dated Mexico, May 16, 1865, is addressed by William M. Gwin, the son of Doctor and Mrs. William M. Gwin, followed by the second from Doctor Gwin himself, on the same sheet, without date, addressed to his wife and daughter in Paris. The third, in the well-known handwriting of the doctor, dated Mexico, May 18, 1865, is addressed to "My Dear Colonel," and was contained in an envelope addressed to "Colonel John Winthrop." The fourth, signed "Massey," and dated Mexico, 18th May, 1865, was addressed "To the Hon. B. Wood," (now a prisoner of state for alleged treasonable practices,) enclosing a communication to the editor of the New York Daily News, dated at the city of Mexico, 19th May, 1865, upon the subject of Mexican affairs.

By these letters it appears—

First. That Doctor William M. Gwin and family, though citizens of the United States, are disloyal to its government.

Second. That they are engaged in obtaining from Maximilian, titular emperor of Mexico, grants of mineral lands in the States of that republic adjoining the United States, and that Doctor Gwin is to be the chief directing agent in working these mines.

Third. That a large accession of capitalists and emigrants into these States from parties in rebellion against the United States is expected.

Fourth. That they assure the said Maximilian and the Emperor of France that their contemplated proceedings will tend at once to promote the projects of Maximilian in Mexico, and inure to the injury of the United States.

Fifth. That they claim to have the patronage of the Emperor of the French, with assurances of military aid.

In submitting to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs copies of this correspondence, the undersigned is instructed frankly to state that the sympathies of the American people for the republicans of Mexico are very lively, and that they are disposed to regard with impatience the continued intervention of France in that country; that any favor shown to the speculations of Dr. Gwin by the titular emperor of Mexico, or by the imperial government of France, will tend greatly to increase the popular impatience, because it will be regarded, perhaps justly, as importing danger, or, at least, a menace to the United States.

Could the government of the undersigned be brought to believe that the state of these speculations were worthy of entire confidence, the President of the United States would be forced to the conclusion that his Majesty the Emperor of France was pursuing towards Mexico a policy materially at variance with that of neutrality in regard to the political institutions of the country, which he avowed at the commencement of war with that republic. The President, on the contrary, confidently and sincerely expects in some form an assurance that all the pretences of Dr. Gwin and of his associates are destitute of any sanction from the Emperor of France.

It is unnecessary for the undersigned to say that, after having expelled insurgents from our own borders, the United States could not look with satisfaction upon their reorganization as martial or political enemies on the opposite banks of the Rio Grande.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to his excellency the minister of foreign affairs assurances of the distinguished consideration with which he has the honor to be his excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

His Excellency DROUYN DE LHUYS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to Mr. Bigelow.

[Translation.]

PARIS, *August* 7, 1865.

SIR: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to address to me, dated August 1st. In it you mention to me some plans for the colonization of Mexico, deemed to have been conceived with intentions hostile to the government of the United States, and you desire to know if it is true that the emperor Maximilian and France lend their support to these undertakings.

We shall always be ready, sir, to respond frankly to demands for explanations coming to us from an allied nation when they are inspired by a conciliatory spirit, presented in an amicable tone, and based upon authentic documents or positive facts. But I must add that the Emperor is resolved to reject all interpelations which may come to us in a comminatory tone about vague allegations, and based upon documents of a dubious character.

You will understand, sir, that it is not for me to enlighten you concerning the speculations of such or such person who has emigrated to Mexico; but what I know of the intentions of the Mexican government enables me to say to you that it proposes to let the emigrants from the southern States enter upon its territory only individually, and without arms. They will receive such help as humanity requires, but will be immediately dispersed through the provinces of the empire, and bound to abstain, in their conduct, from everything which might awaken the just susceptibility of neighboring nations. I have, moreover, reason to believe that these dispositions of emperor Maximilian are by this time as well known to the cabinet at Washington as they are to us.

As for France, she has on several occasions, sir, and with entire frankness, stated her resolution to observe, in all the internal questions which may agitate or divide the Union, an impartial and scrupulous neutrality. We have nothing to offer as a pledge of our intentions but our word, but we deem the word of

France a guarantee which will satisfy any friendly power, as we ourselves are satisfied with the word pledged to us by the federal government, to remain strictly neutral with regard to affairs in Mexico. I take pleasure in recalling here, sir, the assurances which I had the satisfaction to receive from you on that subject, especially in your letter of the 12th of June last, and which I have stated in my answer, dated the 17th.

The Emperor trusts with confidence to the sentiments of which you were the interpreter, and although certain manifestations may seem difficult to reconcile with these declarations, his Majesty does not hesitate to rely always on the honorableness of the American people.

Accept assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Monsieur Bigelow,
Minister of the United States, &c., Paris.

No. 16.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 231]

Department of State,
Washington, August 24, 1865.

Sir: Your despatch of August 10, No. 157, has been received. It is accompanied by a correspondence between yourself and Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys in relation to the alleged schemes of Dr. Gwin and his associates in Mexico.

It gives me pleasure to say that information which was received from that country while that correspondence was going on, and which information seems to be authentic, induces the belief that the speculations referred to have altogether failed. I observe with still more pleasure that Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, in the communication which he addressed to you of the 7th of August, authorized us to expect that those schemes and speculations, so far as they were hostile to the United States, would be disapproved by the authorities acting in Mexico under the direction of, or in co-operation with, the Emperor of France. It is perceived with regret, that either in substance or in manner the representation which you addressed to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, and which elicited his communication, before referred to, in reply, was regarded by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys as exceptionable. It becomes proper for me, under these circumstances, to say that your representation was made in conformity with instructions given you by this department, and tha on reviewing these instructions we are not able to discover any ground for criticism. They were given under the belief that a seasonable attention to the reports and rumors that were in circulation in regard to schemes of Dr. Gwin and other rebel emissaries in Mexico was necessary to prevent difficulties and to allay apprehensions, the indulgence of which was prejudicial to a good understanding between the United States and France. The President is gratified with the renewed assurance which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys has given us of the Emperor's resolution to observe an impartial and scrupulous neutrality upon all internal questions which may agitate or divide the United States.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

John Bigelow, Esq., *&c., Paris.*

No. 17.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 390.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 12, 1866.

SIR: Your despatch of January 16, No. 243, has been received. It was accompanied by a copy of a correspondence which took place between you and Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, on the subject of certain decrees which have been made by the authorities now existing in the city of Mexico, concerning emigration and colonization in that country. We are not able to agree with the French government in the opinion which it has expressed, that the subject does not fall properly within the province of the Emperor of France. The President hopes, however, that the anticipated relief of the embarrassing situation in Mexico, which is the subject of another correspondence between the two powers, will facilitate a solution of the special matter which has arisen out of the before-mentioned decrees. You may make this expectation known to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c., &c., &c.*

No. 18.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 5th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to enclose to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy, in English, of the so-called law which, on the 5th of September last, was issued at Chepultepec by the ex-archduke of Austria, Fernando Maximilian, so-called emperor of Mexico, in which, under pretext, apparently, of inviting foreign emigration to Mexico, he has adopted a plan which has for its purpose to call to that republic the disaffected citizens of the United States who participated in the late rebellion, and are not disposed to acknowledge the authority of this government, nor to accept the consequences of the war, by admitting them, with their prejudices and their peculiar system of labor, already well tried in the southern part of the United States.

According to the information I have received, founded on facts, and which I have communicated to your department, the Emperor of the French, and his agent in Mexico, considering that in the country there were not elements sufficient to sustain them, have taken means to call to it all persons they supposed animated by any hostility against the United States. The arrangements made with ex-Senator Gwin, of California, had that object; but as that individual was recognized as a declared enemy of the United States, on the close of the civil war here, it was thought not advisable to irritate this country by carrying out the plans which had been agreed upon with him.

In place of them, there has been another combination, which, under a different form, it is hoped may produce the like results. For this new plan they have gone to the extreme of practically re-establishing in fact, in Mexico, the odious institution of slavery The so-called law of the ex-archduke of Austria goes accompanied by a regulation signed by the same Maximilian, of which I also enclose a copy in English. Article 1st of his regulation, to cover appearances, declares that, "according to the laws of the empire, all men of color are free from the mere fact of stepping on Mexican territory;" but those following establish a slavery so much the more odious, because it is not restricted to color or determination of casts.

The working-men—name given to the slaves—will make, according to such regulations, a contract with their master, called *patron*, by which he will bind himself to feed, clothe, and lodge them, and support them in sickness, and pay them a sum of money in conformity with the conditions agreed upon between themselves. The fourth part of the sum agreed upon will be lost to the working-man almost, because he cannot dispose of it nor of the interest while his contract lasts, according to terms of articles 13 and 14. "The working-man will engage at the same time with his patron to do the work to which he may be assigned for the term of five years at least, and ten years at most." "The patron will engage to maintain the children of his working-men." This slavery is hereditary, because, according to article 3 of the regulation, "in case of the death of the father (working-man) the patron shall consider himself tutor of the children, and they shall continue in his service until majority, on the same condition as was the father." The heirs of the patron will hold, in their turn, these working-men in conformity with article 5. To complete the odious practices of the holders of slaves, the regulation referred to contains (article 6) an article against fugitive slaves, by which, "in case of desertion, the workman, when caught, shall be assigned, without wages at all, to the public works until his patron comes to reclaim him." To consummate this work of iniquity, article 15 provides that in case of death "ab intestate," or without heirs, the peculium of the working-man shall pass into the control of the public treasury.

It is really extraordinary, and almost incomprehensible, that when slavery has received a death-blow in the only country that could revive it, and when it has been shown by facts that its existence is a social, moral, and political evil, there can be in the world a usurper who, without having established his authority in the country he tries to dominate over, should attempt to re-establish that odious system for the purpose of strengthening himself, and merely changing the name of it with a view of deluding the world.

As this system of labor might be taken for what in Mexico is called peonage, and as that may be considered here as an institution equivalent to slavery, I think it expedient to inform you, that on some estates in the Tierras Calientes, to the south of Mexico, there has in fact been, through the abuses of the proprietors and the influence they enjoyed, something that might be compared in its practical effects with what the ex-archduke of Austria wishes now to establish in his aforesaid decree; but such abuses, besides being restricted to a very narrow district, were never sanctioned by the Mexican laws, and the national government of that republic has taken especial care to correct them and root them out. It was reserved for the ex-archduke of Austria to sanction such an abusive practice by a law which, if it has any force, should be executed throughout the whole extent of the Mexican territory.

Before concluding this note, I think it proper to remit to you copy of the speech which was delivered in Mexico on the said 16th September by the said ex-archduke of Austria, Fernando Maximilian, in which he expresses what he calls his irrevocable determination not to leave Mexico upon any consideration, whatever may be the circumstances. This is another proof that the Emperor of the French is very far from desisting from his outrageous attempt to force the people of Mexico into acceptance of the yoke of a European monarchy.

It is satisfactory to me to avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

DECREE.

We, Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, in consideration of the sparseness of the population in the Mexican territory, in proportion to its extent, desiring to give to immigrants all possible security for property and liberty, in order that they may become good Mexicans, sincerely attached to their new country, and having heard the opinion of our board of colonization, do decree as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Mexico is open to immigration from all nations.

ART. 2. Immigration agents shall be appointed, who will be paid by the government, and whose duty it shall be to protect the arrival of immigrants, and instal them on the lands assigned them, and assist them in every possible manner in establishing themselves. These agents will receive the orders of an imperial commission of immigration, specially appointed by us, and to whom, through our minister of improvement, (fomento,) all communications relating to immigration shall be addressed.

ART. 3. Each immigrant shall receive a duly executed title incommutable of landed estate, and a certificate that it is free of mortgages.

ART. 4. Such property shall be free from taxes for the first year, and also from duties on transfers of property, but only on the first sale.

ART. 5. The immigrants may be naturalized as soon as they shall have established themselves as settlers.

ART. 6. Immigrants who may desire to bring laborers with them, or induce them to come in considerable numbers, of any race whatever, are authorized to do so, but those laborers will be subject to special protective regulations.

ART. 7. The effects of immigrants, their working and brood animals, seeds, agricultural implements, machines, and working tools, will enter free of custom-house and transit duties.

ART. 8. Immigrants are exempted from military service for five years, but they will form a stationary militia, for the purpose of protecting their property and neighborhoods.

ART. 9. Liberty in the exercise of their respective forms of religious worship is secured to immigrants by the organic law of the empire.

ART. 10. Each of our ministers is charged with carrying out such parts of this decree as relate to his department.

Given at Chapultepec on the 5th day of September, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By the emperor:
The minister of improvement, (fomento.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA,
Sub-secretary in the absence of the Minister of Improvement.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

REGULATIONS.

Under article 6th of the foregoing decree we ordain as follows:

1. Under the laws of the empire all persons of color are free by the mere act of their touching Mexican territory.

2. They shall make contracts with the employer who has engaged or may engage them, by which such employer shall bind himself to feed, clothe, and

lodge them, and give them medical attendance, and also pay them a sum of money according to whatever agreements they may enter into with them. Moreover, he shall deposit in the savings bank herein mentioned, for the benefit of the laborer, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of his wages. The laborer shall, on his part, obligate himself to his employer to perform the labor for which he is employed for a term of not less than five nor more than ten years.

3. The employer shall bind himself to support the children of his laborers. In the event of the father's death, the employer will be regarded as the guardian of the children, and they will remain in his service until they become of age, on the same terms as those agreed on by their father.

4. Each laborer shall receive a book, certified by the local authority, in which book his description, the statement of his place of labor, and a certificate of his life and habits, will be entered. In case of a change of employer, the consent of the former employer shall be entered in this book.

5. In case of the death of the employer, his heirs, or whoever may acquire his estate, shall be bound to the laborer in the same manner in which such employer was, and the laborer, on his part, shall be bound towards such new proprietor on the same terms as in his former contract.

6. In case of desertion the laborer, when arrested, shall be placed, without pay, on public works, until his employer presents himself to claim him.

7. In case of any injustice of the employer towards the laborers, he shall be brought before a magistrate.

8. Special police commissioners will watch over the execution of these regulations, and officially prosecute all violators thereof.

9. A savings bank will be established by the government for the following objects:

10. The employers shall deposit in said bank every month, for the benefit of the laborers, a sum equivalent to one-fourth of the wages which each is entitled to under his contract of employment.

11. The laborers can deposit, in addition, in the savings bank, in money, such sums as they may desire.

12. These deposits shall bear interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

13. At the end of his engagement, and on presentation of his book, the laborer shall receive the entire amount of his savings.

14. If, at the end of his engagement, the laborer wishes to leave his money in the savings bank, he can then receive the interest accrued; or if he wishes to leave this also, it will be added to his capital, and also draw interest.

15. In case a laborer should die intestate, or without heirs, his property shall pass to the treasury of the government.

Given at Chapultepec on the 5th day of September, 1865.

MAXIMILIAN.

By the emperor:

The minister of improvement, (fomento.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA,
Sub-secretary in the absence of the Minister of Improvement.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

On the anniversary of the independence of Mexico, the 16th of September, the so-called emperor Maximilian delivered the following speech:

GENTLEMEN: This is a family festival, a festival of brothers, which unites every one of us this day under the folds of our glorious banner. The day upon which our immortal Hidalgo, elevating with unprecedented valor his patriotic voice, united the heroes of a new Mexican era, will be forever to the sons of our country a day of rejoicing, because we then celebrate the inauguration of our nationality; because every good Mexican must renew by an oath the promise to live for the greatness, the independence, and the integrity of his country, and show himself always ready to defend it with all his heart and soul. The words of that oath are the first uttered by a good Mexican. I solemnly repeat them now. My heart, my soul, my labor, and my lawful efforts belong to you and to our beloved country. No influence in this world can make me waver in my duty; every drop of my blood is Mexican now; and if God sends fresh dangers to threaten our country, you will see me fight in your ranks for its independence and integrity. I am willing to die at the foot of our glorious banner, because no human power can wrest from me the trust with which you have endowed me. What I say must be said by every good Mexican; it must efface past rancors; it must bury party hatred. Every one must live for the good of our beloved country. Thus united, and following the path of duty, we will be strong, and the principles which form the basis of our task will infallibly triumph.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN.
Second Secretary of the Legation.

WASHINGTON, *October* 5, 1865.

No. 19.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 10, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of the 5th of October last, with their several important accompaniments, which you were pleased to communicate for the information of the government of the United States.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that it has already received the consideration of this department, and that measures have been adopted which are deemed proper to meet the exigencies which it presents.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 20.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 20th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: In addition to the intelligence I communicated to you in my note of 5th instant, relative to the plan adopted by French agents in Mexico, for the purpose of collecting in that republic the discontented citizens of the United States, who are not disposed to acknowledge the authority of this government, nor accept the consequences of the late civil war, I have now the honor to send you various extracts from the "Times," a paper published in English in the city of Mexico, in which you will see a list of prominent persons from the United States of the south, lately in insurrection against the federal government, who are now in the city of Mexico, and other details that are not without interest.

It seems also that the ex-archduke of Austria, Fernando Maximilian, now titular emperor of Mexico, already throwing aside all dissimulation, has made public his real plans, by appointing as agents of colonization, Mr. Sterling Price, of Missouri, Mr. Isham Harris, of Tennessee, Mr. John Perkins, of Louisiana, and Mr. Wm. F. Hardeman and Mr. Roberts, of Texas.

Messrs. Price and Perkins have gone to the Gulf side, and Messrs. Hardeman and Roberts to the Pacific, in discharge of their trusts.

It seems Mr. M. F. Maury, ex-lieutenant in the navy of the United States, and afterwards agent in Europe for the insurgent States, is the person who directs this movement for emigration on foot. For this purpose he has been declared a subject of the usurper, and as it seems from the communication addressed to him on the 23d September aforesaid, of which I send copy, in which is granted to him the right to hold the offices reserved to the natural-born in the national territory, he has been appointed in addition, by the usurper, honorary councillor of state.

These facts indicate clearly what are the objects and the tendencies of the agents in Mexico, and I doubt not the government of the United States will attribute to them the importance they deserve.

I avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[From the Mexico Times, September 23.]

COLONIZATION OF PUBLIC LANDS.

It is our pleasing task to state that the following gentlemen have been appointed agents of colonization by the imperial government: Señors Sterling Price, late of Missouri; Isham G. Harris, late of Tennessee; John Perkins, late of Louisiana; W. T. Hardeman and Roberts, late of Texas.

Señors Price, Harris, and Perkins left this city on the 19th instant for Cordova and the region of country bordering on the "tierra calientes." Señors Hardeman and Roberts left on the 20th instant for Tepic and the country bordering on the Pacific. Their duties are to examine the lands offered for colonization purposes, and to make their report to the proper authorities as soon as practicable. We look forward with the greatest interest to the report of these agents. They are men of the highest respectability. Their statements can be implicitly relied on. We beg our friends who have come to Mexico with the intention of seeking homes to wait with patience for the result of the labors of these gentlemen. We assure them that the government will act in the most liberal manner, and that in a very short time they will be amply repaid for the delays and privations to which many are at present subjected.

As Abraham said to Lot, the "whole land is before you where to choose," therefore be not impatient; God in his providence has so arranged it that you all will have good and comfortable homes in the dominions of the best of emperors. In a few weeks the report of the agents of colonization will be received, and good lands in healthy districts will be appropriated to every one who wishes to become a citizen of Mexico.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

[From the Mexico Times, September 30.]

American arrivals in Mexico.

Names.	When arrived.	Residence.
Sterling Price	August 9, 1865	Missouri.
J. B. Magruder	August 5, 1865	Virginia.
Isham G. Harris	August 9, 1865	Tennessee.
E. Clark	September 3, 1865	Texas.
Trusten Polk	August 9, 1865	Missouri.
Jo. O. Shelby	September 3, 1865	Do.
H. W. Allen	July 28, 1865	Louisiana.
H. Dennis	do	Do.
W. A. Broadwell	September 7, 1865	Do.
M. F. Maury	June 1, 1865	Virginia.
J. Perkins	August 9, 1865	Louisiana.
Heber Price	do	Missouri.
H. M. Duncan	do	Do.
J. P. Tucker	do	Do.
W. T. Hardeman	August 20, 1865	Texas.
H. P. Bee	do	Do.
M. W. Sims	July 22, 1865	Do.
George Young	August 20, 1865	Missouri.
R. J. Laurence	August 29, 1865	Do.
C. G. Jones	do	Do.
J. N. Edwards	do	Do.
D. C. Cage	August 9, 1865	Louisiana.
W. Yowell	September 3, 1865	Missouri.
George Hall	do	Do.
F. M. Kephart	do	Do.
R. A. Collins	do	Do.
Y. H. Blackwell	do	Do.
J. Terry	do	Do.
J. Moreland	do	Do.
T. Boswell	do	Do.
W. J. McArthnr	August 20, 1865	Do.
J. C. Wood	do	Do.
Ras. Woods	August 25, 1865	Do.
M. M. Langborne	do	Do.
F. T. Mitchell and family	July, 1865	Do.
Señor Wood and wife	do	Do.
D. W. Bouldin	August 20, 1865	Do.
S. Hunkle	August 9, 1865	Do.
J. Beard	do	Do.
W. Skidmore	do	Do.
H. Thomas	do	Do.
C. M. Wilcox	July 16, 1865	Tennessee.
R. Joseph	September 3, 1865	Missouri.
T. Weston	September 12, 1865	Louisiana.
H. B. Acton	September 3, 1865	Missouri.
J. Donahoe	do	California.
I. Reed	In San Luis Potosi	Virginia.
T. J. Divine	In Monterey	Texas.
J. Brown	September 3, 1865	North Carolina.
Señor Conrow	In Monterey	Missouri.
Señor O'Bannon	In San Luis Potosi	South Carolina.
Señor Kimmel	August 9, 1865	Missouri.
D. Leadbetter	do	Alabama.
O. G. Jones	do	Louisiana.
S. Gregory	do	Texas.
Señor Thompson	do	Do.
H. T. Chiles and family	September 11, 1865	Missouri.
M. L. Kritser	do	Do.
J. S. Kritser	do	Do.

American arrivals in Mexico—Continued.

Names.	When arrived.	Residence.
T. Whalen	September 11, 1865	California.
J. M. Meador	do	Missouri.
T. Collins	do	Do.
W. Fell	do	Do.
B. F. Jones	do	Do.
J. B. Kirtley	September 3, 1865	Do.
J. D. Conner	do	Do.
G. M. Winship	do	Do.
J. Ward	do	Do.
E. Lilly	do	Texas.
N. T. Fincher	September 11, 1865	Do.
H. McNamee	September 3, 1865	California.
R. J. Flyn	do	Louisiana.
R. H. S. Thompson	August 6, 1865	Do.
Señor Bartlett	do	Mississippi.
G. Mitchell	August 9, 1865	Missouri.
J. N. Lane	do	Do.
B. H. Lyon	August 20, 1865	Kentucky.
J. J. Gaenslen	do	Virginia.
T. C. Hindman	September 10, 1865	Arkansas.
J. H. Brown and family	September 12, 1865	Texas.
J. Brown	do	Do.
P. M. Brown	do	Do.
H. C. Cook	do	Do.
Richard Taylor	August 25, 1865	Kentucky.
O. M. Watkins	August 8, 1865	Louisiana.
T. C. Reynolds	do	Missouri.
A. Ridley	do	California.
E. Kirby Smith	July 17, in Cuba	Florida.
J. N. Martin	July 25, in Cuba	Missouri.
E. G. Walker	do	Do.
T. O. Moore	July 25, in Havana	Louisiana.
W. Preston	July 25, in Canada	Kentucky.
Señor Roberts	August 25, 1865	Texas.
Alfred Mordecai	July 18, 1865	North Carolina.
Frank Moore	July —, 1865	Alabama.
A. W. Terrel	July 17, 1865	Texas.
George Flourney	do	Do.
Señor Lougnemare	do	Do.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

[From the Mexico Times, September 30.]

The Noticioso, of Vera Cruz, extracts the following from the New York papers:

The Brownsville correspondent of the New York Herald writes that from a conversation that took place between him and a confederate officer he learned that General Price, of Missouri, had taken service under Maximilian, who authorized the general to recruit a cavalry force of thirty thousand men from the late confederate army. He also learned that several other prominent rebels had received kind favors from the emperor, whose intentions are to collect a force of at least one hundred thousand rebels in less than one year in order to face General Sheridan on the Rio Grande.—*La Sociedad.*

[Enclosure No. 4.]

[From the Mexico Times, September 30.]

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRANTS INVITED.

Open wide the doors to immigration. Encourage, by the most liberal policy, good citizens from Europe and the United States to come and settle upon the wild and uncultivated lands, and soon there will be seen an industrious and thrifty population, who will fully appreciate their new homes, and be ready at all times to defend them against domestic or foreign foes.

MEXICO, *September* 30, 1865.

His Majesty the emperor, being desirous of giving a signal proof of his estimation of the distinguished merit and eminent qualifications which adorn Don Matthew Fontaine Maury, and acceding to his application, has been pleased to concede to him papers of naturalization as a Mexican, with all the enjoyments and privileges which appertain to Mexican subjects, including the right of holding the public positions and employments reserved to those born on the territory of the empire.

The chief of the bureau of accountability in charge of the chancellorship,

IGNACIO M. DE CASTILLO.

No. 21.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 27th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: It having come to my notice that the adventurer called Don Fernando Maximilian, of Hapsburg, who was archduke of Austria, and who now pretends to exercise public authority in Mexico by right of conquest, has granted some so-called privileges to persons of this country, or who have come to it, to form here companies for the purpose of carrying them into effect, and that these persons assert, to gain buyers of shares, that the said privileges have been or will be sanctioned by the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, for which they have not the slightest foundation, it seemed proper to me, for the purpose of protecting the citizens of this country, who in good faith, and under that mistaken impression, might desire to take shares in such speculations, to recommend that the consul-general of Mexico in the United States, resident in New York, should make known to the public that it was not certain that the constitutional government of Mexico was disposed to sanction these grants, and sending to him the laws of the Mexican congress and the dispositions of the executive, which declare null and void the acts of the invader. I have the honor to enclose to you copy, in English, of the note which, for this purpose, I addressed, under date of 18th current, to the consul of the Mexican republic at New York, accompanied by the dispositions which are quoted in it, (No. 1.) That functionary caused those dispositions to be published in the New York papers of the 23d instant, with the letter, of which I also enclose copy, in English, (No. 2.) On the same 23d day Mr. E. De Courcillon, titular president of the Mexican Express Company, formed in virtue of one of the spurious grants of the usurper, addressed to me the letter, of which I also enclose copy, (No. 3,) sending me a copy of that which, on the same date, he addressed to the New York press, (No. 4,) and another of the prospectus of his company, (No. 5.) I also send these two documents. To said letter I replied, on the 24th, in the terms you will see in the copy of my reply, which I also enclose, (No. 6.) The Mexican consul at New York replied, at the same date, to Mr. De Courcillon in the manner which appears in the copy annexed of his letter to the Herald of that city, (No. 7.)

I believe it to be my duty also to communicate to you, for the information of the government of the United States, the facts and documents to which I have made reference, to call your attention to an important point, which may affect not only the good relations which happily exist between the government of the Mexican republic and the United States, but even the duties which belong to this government as a neutral in respect to Mexico.

In my letter to Mr. De Courcillon, (No. 6,) in that of the consul of Mexico to the Herald at New York, (No. 7,) and in the memorandum which I transmit of the concession, so-called, of the usurper, (No. 8,) you will see that the company engages to transport all material of warfare of the invading army of Mexico. The reading of the prospectus of the company (No. 5) demonstrates this more plainly. Of the five agents the company has, there is one only in Europe, and he resides at St. Nazaire, which, as you know, is that port of France from which issues the material for war which the Emperor of the French sends to his forces in Mexico, and for which the French government has established a line of steamers between said port and Vera Cruz. Of the other four agents of the company, one resides at Vera Cruz, and the other at the city of Mexico, which are the stations held to prepare forcibly the material of war destined for the conquest of Mexico.

In article 7 of the so-called concession of the usurper (No. 8) you will see also that the agents of the company in Mexico, as well as abroad, are official agents authorized for colonization, and in that will be subject to the orders and instructions to one of the so-called ministers of the same usurper. The colonization which is here treated of is, as I have shown to your department in my notes of the 5th and 20th instant, eminently hostile to the United States, as it is intended to be of citizens of the south who do not submit themselves to the authority of this government, and to whom invitations are held out to go to Mexico with their slaves, there to reorganize under the shadow of France. The president and the members of the junta of colonization established by the usurper are declared enemies of the United States, as I have shown to the department.

It is very satisfactory to me to avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

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[Enclosure No. 5.]

Prospectus of the Mexican Express Company, organized October 10, 1865; *capital,* 2,000,000; *shares* $100 *each.*

Trustees.—E. De Courcillon, city of Mexico; I. I. Hayes, 416 Broadway, New York; Clarence A. Seward, 29 Nassau street, New York; Henry Sanford, 59 Broadway, New York; L. W. Winchester, 65 Broadway, New York Peter A. Hargous, 8 Pine street, New York; Henry B. Plant, Augusta, Georgia; John Hoey, 59 Broadway, New York; B. Haynes, San Francisco, California; Henry R. Morgan, 24 Broadway, New York; I. C. Babcock, 59 Broadway, New York.

President.—E. De Courcillon.

Vice-President.—I. I. Hayes.

Treasurer.—J. C. Babcock.

Secretary.—C. A. Seward.

Counsel of the Company.—Blatchford, Seward & Griswold.

Agents.—Louis Le Couteulx, New York; J. P. Nourse, San Francisco, California; W. L. Benfield, Mexico; G. Guichene, Vera Cruz; Detroyat, St. Nazaire, France.

MEXICAN EXPRESS COMPANY.

The Mexican Express Company is organized under the laws of the State of New York, in conformity with a grant from the Mexican government. This grant is in substance as follows:

The company is exclusively authorized to carry on the express business throughout Mexico, and between Mexico and the United States and Europe. The government grants to the company the exclusive privilege of carrying mailable matter, and also of transporting all government property. It gives to the company the right to demand and obtain a military escort, when required, to fix its own tariffs, and to import all materials necessary for the express, free of duties. It also grants to the company the privilege of colonization, and the company's agents are recognized as official agents of colonization. It appropriates to the company, free of cost, four leagues of land, with the privilege of taking up, for the use of colonists, any of the unoccupied public lands, at a cost not exceeding one dollar per acre. The colonists, under the patronage of the company, are privileged to import all materials for their own use, free of duties.

The object had in view by the Mexican government in conceding these liberal privileges is to invite to the country American capital and energy, and it cannot be denied that the grant is very valuable. The banking and exchange business, and the transportation of specie and bullion from the city of Mexico, Guanhato, &c., and the mining districts, will be very large, while the distribution of imported articles of every kind throughout the country will furnish business only limited by the resources of the company.

The company will be patronized to the fullest extent by the Mexican government and people, and every facility will be afforded, consistent with the laws, for the transaction of its business. The faith of the government is pledged to protect the company's interest, and the merchants and citizens generally have signified their appreciation of the advantages to be derived from its successful working, and have proffered their co-operation. The business of the company is indeed ready made, and its immediate success is secured. Both government and people being united in their efforts to promote its organization and working, gives the strongest assurance that it is greatly needed.

The company will commence business at once, with a capital stock of two millions of dollars, one million of which will be sold, and the proceeds appropriated as a working capital. Only twenty per cent. of this will be required on subscription, and not more than ten per cent., in addition, will be called for within six months thereafter. This will furnish ample funds for placing the company in successful working order. Thirty days' notice will be given of any assessment. In the event of more capital being needed, as the business of the company is extended, the board of trustees have power, under the articles of association, to increase it as the necessities of the case may require, by their giving thirty days' notice to the original stockholders.

The books for subscription to the capital stock of the company are open at the banking office of Wilmerding, Cornwell, and Heckscher, No. 5 New street, New York, where full explanations will be given by the undersigned.

I. I. HAYS, *Vice-President.*

[Enclosure No. 8.]

The concession is signed by Maximilian, and is dated May 15, 1865.

Article 1 is as follows:

"It is conceded to Dr. de Courcillon, in conformity with an act of association presented to our minister of fomento, to establish throughout the empire, under the title of 'Expreso del Imperio Mexicano,' a company for the transportation of travellers, merchandise, mails," &c., &c.

"ARTICLE 2. Our government, in order to help and protect the said company, engage itself to use the services of the express for the transportation of all the civil and military freight of the said government, in conformity with a contract agreed between the company and our respective ministers.

* * * * *

"ARTICLE 7. The agents of the company in Mexico, *as well as abroad*, are authorized as official agents of colonization, and in that capacity are *subject to the orders* and directions of *our minister*.

"MAXIMILIAN.

"MAY 15, 1865."

This is followed by three contracts—one for the carrying of freight, another for the mails, and another for colonization.

In article 1st of the first contract is the following obligation:

"ARTICLE 1. De Courcillon *takes the obligation to transport the material of war* and of administration with a reduction of ten per cent. from the prices adopted for the public, and otherwise on the same conditions as for the public."

The contract is for nine years.

(For the other enclosures to this letter see No 30, Imperial Mexican Express Company.)

No. 22.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 1, 1865.

SIR: Your communication of the 27th of October was received on the 28th of that month, and the one of the 31st on its date.

In relation to the operations of an express company which you represent as having been organized in this country, with views injurious to the republic of Mexico, I have the honor to inform you that this government has no knowledge on the subject otherwise than what is furnished by your note or derived from the newspaper press. If citizens of the United States, or other persons residing therein, shall, whether by virtue of any charter which that company may have or may pretend to have, in any way infringe the laws or treaties of the United States, or the law of nations, affecting the republic of Mexico, proper measures will be promptly taken to prevent or redress the wrongs which may be meditated or committed.

I shall deem it a favor to receive information on the subject from any quarter.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

P. S.—Instructions to this effect have already been given to the prosecuting officers.

W. H. S.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 23.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF MEXICO TO THE UNITED STATES,
New York, 4th of November, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: In confirmation of what I had the honor of communicating to you in my note of the 20th of October last, relative to the object of the colonization plan adopted by the usurper in Mexico, I now have the honor of transmitting to you a copy, in English, of the so-called five decrees of the ex-archduke of Austria, promulgated in September previous, in which he names Mr. M. F. Maury, a declared enemy of the United States, as honorary counsellor of state, and imperial commissioner of colonization, and Mr. J. B. Magruder, also a declared enemy of this government, as chief of the colonization land office.

In the third of said decrees you will observe, in confirmation of what I communicated to your department, about the nature of the colonization to be made in Mexico, that Mr. Maury has been authorized to establish agencies in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Missouri, and California, and in the cities of Mobile and New Orleans, which plainly shows they only think to get men from the south, and precisely from those States where they suppose there are most malcontents against this government. It is a very significant fact that not one single agency is established in the northern States, which were faithful to the Union of this government during the last civil war.

I also enclose a copy in English of the circular issued on the 5th of October, by Mr. Maury, as imperial commissioner of colonization.

I embrace this occasion of renewing to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

In consideration of his well-known capacity, I hereby nominate our honorary counsellor of state, M. F. Maury, imperial commissioner of colonization.

The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of this decree.

MAXIMILIAN.

For the emperor:

LUIS ROBLES PEZUELA,
Minister of the Interior.

MEXICO, *September* 27, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Our honorary counsellor of state, M. F. Maury, is authorized to establish the office of imperial commissioner of colonization at No. 13 San Juan de Letran street, and our minister of the interior is authorized to rent the said property at a sum not to exceed one hundred dollars per month.

MAXIMILIAN.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

For the emperor:

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA,
Sub-Secretary.

CHEPULTEPEC, *September* 24, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Our honorary counsellor of state, M. F. Maury, is authorized to appoint seven agents of colonization in the following States and cities of the United States: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Texas, Missouri, California, New Orleans. Mobile. Said agents shall receive one hundred dollars per month as compensation, and the further sum of three hundred dollars per annum for necessary expenses.

MAXIMILIAN.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

For the emperor:

LUIS ROBLES PEZUELA,
Minister of the Interior.

CHEPULTEPEC, *September* 24, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

The following sums are appropriated for the office of Señor Maury, honorary counsellor of state and imperial commissioner of colonization: Office furniture, $150; expenses of office, annually, $500; for one clerk, annually, $1,200; for one private messenger, annually, $300.

Our minister of the interior is charged with the execution of this order.

MAXIMILIAN.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

For the emperor:

LUIS ROBLES PEZUELA,
Minister of the Interior.

CHEPULTEPEC, *September* 27, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 5.]

The following is the decree of Maximilian appointing the rebel General Magruder as chief of the land office of colonization:

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Desiring to forward the object of immigration to Mexico, a land office of colonization shall be established in this capital, and J. B. Magruder is hereby appointed its chief. The following sums are appropriated for the expenses of this office: For salary of J. B. Magruder, annually, $3,000; for office furniture, annually, $150; for rent of office, monthly, $100; for office expenses, annually, $500; for pay of messenger, annually, $300.

Señor Magruder will report to us the number of engineers and surveyors which will be necessary to carry into effect the objects of his appointment, and also the amount which he recommends to be appropriated for their salary.

The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of this order.

MAXIMILIAN.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

For the emperor:

LUIS ROBLES PEZUELA,
Minister of Fomento.

CHEPULTEPEC, *September* 27, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary*

NEW YORK, *November* 4, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 6.]

The Mexico Times of October 14 prints the following

CIRCULAR.

No. 13 Calle de San Juan Letran,
Mexico, October 5, 1865.

To the land-owners of Mexico:

All who desire to encourage immigration, and have lands to sell, are hereby informed that if they will make known to this office the terms and conditions upon which they are willing to dispose of them to actual settlers, this office, if the terms are favorable, will, without fee or charge of any sort, assist, through its agents abroad and by advertisements, such owners in bringing their lands to the notice of the immigrant.

It will also, in the case of lands which are offered upon terms that are sufficiently inviting to immigrants, cause them to be examined at the public expense. If found suitable as to health, quality, and location, it will have them surveyed and mapped, also without any expense to the owners, furnishing each with a copy of the survey of his own land.

The terms upon which offers are made will be regarded as confidential, if so desired; and in all cases the colonists and land-owners will be left free to make and consummate their own bargains according to the offers made through this office. In surveying and bringing these lands into market, preference will be given to those which, on account of terms, situation, and quality, offer the greatest inducements to immigrants.

M. F. MAURY.
Imperial Commissioner of Colonization.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL,
Secretary.

New York, *November* 4, 1865.

No. 24.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

Mexican Legation to the United States,
Washington, 12th of December, 1865.

Sir: In confirmation of what I communicated to you in my notes of the 8th of July, 5th and 20th of October, and 4th of November of the present year, relative to the efforts the French government is making, through its agent, Maximilian, to carry into Mexico the discontented citizens of the United States, and those who took a part in the late rebellion against this government, to which they are not disposed to submit, even after the end of the war, to organize them there and suffer them to give more trouble to their country, I have the honor to send you a copy in English of a letter written from Cordova, the 12th of November last, by Mr. Isham G. Harris, ex-governor of Tennessee, general in the confederate army, and a prominent person among the insurgents. The letter is directed to a Mr. George W. Adair, Atlanta, State of Georgia, and was published in the New Era, of that city. It contains details and information positively confirming what I mentioned in my former notes respecting this important business.

I take this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO

Hon. William H. Seward, *&c.*

[Enclosure.]

CORDOVA, MEXICÓ, *November* 12, 1865.

I lingered near Grenada, endeavoring to arrange some business matters, until the 14th of May. In the mean time I had a skiff built, and on the morning of the 14th I embarked, some six miles east of Greenwood, and set sail for the trans-Mississippi, the party consisting of General Lyon, of Kentucky, myself, and our two servants. We navigated the Backwater for one hundred and twenty miles, and on the morning of the 21st, just before daylight, I crossed over to the Arkansas shore. I crossed at the foot of Island No. 75, just below the mouth of the Arkansas river; proceeded westward as far as the Backwater was navigable, and on the morning of the 22d I left my frail bark, bought horses, mounted the party, and set out for Shreveport, where I hoped to find an army resolved on continued resistance to federal rule; but before reaching Shreveport I learned that the army of the trans-Mississippi had disbanded and scattered to the winds, and all the officers of rank had gone to Mexico.

Having no further motive to visit Shreveport, I turned my course to Red River county, Texas, where a portion of my negroes and plantation stock had been carried some two years ago. I reached there on the 7th of June; was taken sick and confined to my bed a week. On the 15th of June, with my baggage, cooking utensils, and provisions on a pack-mule, I set out for San Antonio, where I expected to overtake a large number of confederate civil and military officers en route for Mexico. Reached San Antonio on the 26th, and learned that all the confederates had left for Mexico some ten days or two weeks before. On the morning of the 27th I started to Eagle Pass, on the Rio Grande, the federals holding all the crossings of that river below Eagle Pass. I reached Eagle Pass on the evening of the 30th, and immediately crossed over to the Mexican town of Piedras Negras. On the morning of the 1st of July set out for Monterey; arrived there on the evening of the 9th. Here I overtook General Price and ex-Governor Polk, of Missouri, who were starting to the city of Mexico the next morning, with an escort of twenty armed Missourians. As I was going to the city, and the trip was a long and dangerous one to make alone, I decided to go with them, though I was literally worn out with over one thousand five hundred miles of continuous horseback travel. I exchanged my saddle-horse, saddles, &c., for an ambulance, put my two mules to it, gave the whip and lines to Ran, bought me a Spanish grammar and dictionary, took the back seat, and commenced the study of the Spanish language. We made the trip at easy stages of about twenty-five miles per day, and reached the city of Mexico on the evening of the 9th of August. The trip was one of the longest, most laborious, and hazardous of my life, but I will not tax your time or mine with its details, many of which would interest you deeply if I were there to give them to you.

Our reception on the part of the government officials here was all that we could have expected or desired. We were invited to an audience with the emperor at the palace, the far-famed halls of the Montezumas. At the time fixed we called, and were most kindly received by the emperor and empress, and were assured of their sympathy in our misfortunes, and of their earnest hope that we might find homes for ourselves and friends in Mexico. The empress was our interpreter in the interview. She speaks fluently the French, Spanish, German, and English languages, and is in all respects a great woman.

We overtook at the city of Mexico General Magruder, Commodore Maury, Governor Allen of Louisiana; Judge Perkins of Louisiana; Governor Reynolds of Missouri, and Governor Murrah and Governor Clark, of Texas, with many other and lesser confederate lights. On the 5th of September the emperor published a decree opening all of Mexico to immigratiom and colonization and Commodore Maury and myself and other confederates were requested to prepare regulations to accompany the decree, which we did, and which were approved by the emperor on the 27th. The decree and regulations offer very liberal inducements to immigration, among which are a donation of public lands at the rate of six hundred and forty acres to each head of a family, and three hundred and twenty acres to each single man; a free passage to the country to such as are not able to pay their own expenses, freedom from taxation for one year and from military duty for five years, religious toleration, &c.

Commodore Maury has been appointed imperial commissioner of colonization, which makes his authority in the matter of colonization second only to that of the emperor. General Price, Judge Perkins, and myself were appointed agents of colonization, and requested to examine the lands lying upon and near the line of railroad from the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, for the purpose of determining whether they were suited to American colonization. We are engaged at this time in the discharge of that duty. We find in the vicinity of this place the most beautiful and, all things considered, the best agricultural country that I have ever seen. The climate is delightful—never hot, never cold, always temperate, always pleasant. The soil richer and more productive than the best of the prairie lands of Mississippi in the Okolona country, yielding large crops of corn, barley, rice, tobacco, sugar-cane, and coffee, with all the fruits of the tropics, and the best that you ever tasted. You can raise two crops of corn on the same land each year. The usual mode of farming here is a crop of corn and a crop of tobacco on the same land, the corn ripening always before time to plant totobacco; and ten miles from here, in the direction of the coast, you strike as good a cotton country as can be found in the world.

The most profitable crop here is coffee; you plant about six or seven hundred trees to the acre; it begins to bear at two and produces a full crop at four years old. You can always calculate safely on an average of two pounds to the tree, though there are instances of a tree's bearing as high as twenty-eight pounds The tree is hardy, and will live fifty or one hundred years. It costs about as much labor to cultivate and put into market an acre of coffee as it does an acre of corn in Georgia.

The coffee plantation, with its shade of bananas, figs, oranges, mangoes, and zapotes, with the walks fringed with pineapple, all in full bearing, is the richest and most beautiful spectacle upon which my eyes have ever rested. I have selected six hundred and forty acres about ten miles from here, where I propose to surround myself with the coffee plantation, in the midst of which I will nestle down, constantly inhaling the odors of the rich tropical fruits and gaudy-colored and fragrant tropical flowers, in an atmosphere of perpetual spring, yet, turning the eye to the northwest, you constantly behold the snow-capped peaks of Orizaba and Popocatepetl, from which I can draw my ice at all seasons of the year.

There are about thirty confederates now here, all of whom will locate their lands and commence the work of settlement within a week or ten days.

The place where we begin the first colony was highly improved and in a high state of civilization a hundred years ago. The extensive ruins of what were once magnificent structures show that the haciendas were highly productive, and the homes of wealth, luxury, and refinement; but, about fifty years since slavery was abolished in the State of Vera Cruz, and the proprietors of these magnificent estates left the country with the large fortunes they had amassed. The church seized the lands and allowed them to lie idle and go to ruin. The buildings upon each of those places must have cost from $100,000 to $500,000. The church held the property till about five years since, when it was taken by the government, and the government now sells it to us for colonization at $1 per acre, in quantities of six hundred and forty acres to each head of a family, and three hundred and twenty acres to each single man, on a credit of one, two, three, four, and five years. *This is the beginning of the first confederate colony in Mexico.* Among those who propose to settle immediately are General Price and General Shelby, from Missouri, Judge Perkins, of Louisiana, and myself. The resources of this country are such as to insure fortune to the energy and industry that have usually characterized our people. The wonder is that they have been permitted to remain undeveloped so long; but this is the most indolent, lazy, and worthless population on earth. * * . * * * *

Will many of the people of the southern States feel inclined to seek new homes; or will they follow the example of Lee, Johnston, and others? Mexico presents the finest field that I have ever seen for the enterprise of our people; and now that slavery is abolished in the south, hired labor can be much more easily procured here and made much more profitable than in any part of the United States. I do not propose, however, to urge or even advise any one to come; I only propose to give them facts, and leave them to decide for themselves, as I have done for myself. Such as feel inclined to come will be received with open arms and cordial welcome. But enough of this.

Where is Forrest, and what is he doing? and where and how is everybody else? for I have heard from none of our friends since I left Mississippi.

Give my kind regards to Mrs. Adair, Robin, Jack, and Forrest, and kiss Mary for me, and tell her it would give me great pleasure to have a romp with her this evening.

Write me fully, and do your best at penmanship, so that I may be able to read at least the greater part of the letter. I sent you a copy of the Mexican News, an English newspaper edited by Governor Allen, about a month ago. I hope you received it, though there was very little of interest in it except that it shows the fact that *we had started an American newspaper at the city of Mexico.*

I neglected to say to you that this place is situated on the line of railroad from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, seventy miles west of Vera Cruz. The railroad is now in operation to within eighteen miles of this place, and all the balance to the city of Mexico is under contract and the work rapidly progressing. It is a few hours' run by rail from here to Vera Cruz; from Vera Cruz it is three days by steam to New Orleans, and from New Orleans it is three or four days by rail to Atlanta. So you see that we are still neighbors, even if you should remain in Georgia. *The road is owned by an English company, but it is almost entirely in American hands.*

My health is excellent, and I feel that it cannot be otherwise in this charming climate. Direct your letters to me at Cordova, Mexico; and, in conclusion, let me beg you to excuse this horrid and disjointed letter, as it was written in the midst of a crowd, half of whom were continually talking to me and compelling me to talk to them.

Very truly your friend,

ISHAM G. HARRIS.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 12, 1865.

No. 25.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 21, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your three notes dated respectively, October 20, November 4, and December 12, 1865, which, with their several accompaniments, you have been pleased to communicate to me for the information of the government of the United States, touching the plan of colonization about to be inaugurated in the republic of Mexico, and in confirmation of your previous communications on the same subject to this department.

These very interesting documents, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to you, and for which I beg you to accept my thanks, have been duly considered by this government, and shall, hereafter, receive the attention to which they are so justly entitled.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 26.

Mr. Romero to Mr Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 31st of December, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY AD INTERIM: In addition to and in confirmation of the information I have already communicated to your department in various notes, relative to the efforts of the French government, and its agents, in Mexico, to induce the malcontents of the United States who took part in the late rebellion against their government, and do not mean to submit now that it is over, to settle in Mexico and give afterwards new trouble to their country, I have the honor to transmit two documents, published by Mr. M. F. Maury, ex-confederate agent in Europe, and now termed "Imperial Commissioner of Colonization," in one of which he gives a special invitation to confederates who wish to settle in Mexico, and informs them that three hundred and fifty thousand acres of land are set apart for them in the States of Vera Cruz and Puebla.

I embrace the occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

[Translated from "La Sociedad," Mexico, December 7, 1865.]

M. F. Maury, Imperial Commissioner of Colonization, to persons wishing to settle in Mexico:

The doors of the empire are wide open, and his Majesty the emperor has, in a most liberal decree, invited immigration from all quarters, and without distinction as to nationality.

Many people, both in the Old World and the New, having heard of this invitation, wish to change their skies and to avail themselves of its privileges. Gentlemen representing several thousand families in Europe, and hundreds in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in the United States, are now anxiously seeking information in regard to the country, its condition and resources, with the view of making it their home.

Considering that almost the only source of information open to them upon this subject is to be found in anonymous contributions, made for the most part to a press by no means friendly to Mexico, I deem it proper to state for the information of all those, whatever be their nationality, who desire to renounce it and come to Mexico, with the intention, in good faith, of making it their home, and of planting their posterity here, that they would do well to come; for it is a land more blessed by nature in its soil and climate than any part of the United States, that great centre at present of human migration.

THE WEALTH OF THE SOIL.

The earth here yields to the care of husbandry with a profusion that would seem incredible there and fabulous in Europe. In some places it crowns the labor of the husbandman regularly with two and in others with three harvests annually; and in each one he gathers one hundred, two hundred, sometimes three hundred, and occasionally four hundred fold, and even more, according to his own skill and the kind of seed used.

Cotton and corn do well in almost all parts of the empire. But the cotton, especially of Tamaulipas, Matahuala, Fresnillo, Durango, Mazatlan, and the States north, is said to be of a better staple, save sea island, than any produced in the United States; indeed, the cotton of Yucatan is called sea island.

Under these fine climates, which give a purity and transparency to the atmosphere that makes existence itself an enjoyment, and invest the eye with the faculties of almost a new sense, the vegetable kingdom displays its wealth and its powers most gorgeously, and with the most marvellous vigor and concentration.

In chosen spots and upon a single hacienda may be seen crowded together, piled up in steppes one above another, in perfection, fruits, flowers, and products, which in less favored climes require as many latitudes, climates, and soils as can be found in the entire breadth of plain that lies between the sources of the Mississippi and the mouths of the Amazon.

Here, besides cotton and corn, the olive and the vine, we have the finest of wheat, with pulse and all the cereals in great perfection; also tobacco, coffee, sugar-cane, the cocoa plant, rice, indigo, cochineal, pimiento, India-rubber, and henuquin, a peculiar and valuable fibre that answers many of the purposes of both flax and hemp, and, last of all, and what, moreover, no other country in the world can produce—Flora's feat and Bacchus's boast—the lordly maguey, or pulque plant of Anahuac.

I have seen some of the very best planters from Missouri, Tennessee, and the south, and I have conversed with the learned men from France and other parts of Europe, all of whom happen to have travelled through the northern and most healthy parts of Mexico. The Europeans report, on the one hand, an agricultural country superior to the best parts of France and Italy, and also of surpassing mineral wealth; while the Americans, on the other hand, pronounce it a grazing and cattle country to which even the blue grass regions of Kentucky and Tennessee are not to be compared.

The mountains abound with minerals, the woods with game, and the forests with the finest of timber—with the most exquisite dye and ornamental woods, gums and spices, drugs, and medicinal plants of rare virtues.

SETTLEMENTS CONTEMPLATED.

Generals Price and Shelby, of Missouri; Governor Harris, of Tennessee, and Judge Perkins, of Louisiana, with a number of their friends, have gone to examine the country about Cordova. They are delighted with it; they intend to make it their home. The railway hence to Vera Cruz passes through it. The land is superb. It is sold by the government to immigrants at one dollar the acre, to be paid for in five equal annual instalments.

Generals Hardeman and Terry, with others from Texas, are equally well pleased with Jalisco. They are negotiating for the purchase of haciendas there sufficiently large to accommodate with land a settlement to be made up of themselves, their old neighbors and friends.

The Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Missouri, has already commenced a fine settlement on the Rio Verdi, in San Luis Potosi. He and his comrades have gone into the cultivation of cotton, corn and tobacco.

The representative of large capital, M. Dousdebes, has a grant for establishing a colony from France and Spain on the shores of Matamoras.

Mr. Lloyd, of England, equally well supported, has engaged to establish a number of colonists between Vera Cruz and the capital, and a ship-load of European immigrants have just arrived in Yucatan to form the nucleus of a settlement in that fine peninsula. They have been received with ovations by the good people there.

A disposition equally favorable towards immigration is manifested in various other parts of the country.

Patriotic citizens have stepped forth at the call of his Majesty, and offered their own private lands, many of them upon the most favorable terms for colonization.

Mr. Jimires invites five hundred European families to his estates in Durango, offering them each a house and lot, rent free, a weekly allowance of provisions without charge, and a guarantee of work at fair wages for five years. At the end of that time he further promises a gratuity of $15,000 to the community, and a present to each family of a yoke of oxen.

Mr. Gil, of Guadalajara, invites twenty Belgian families to his highly improved and well-stocked hacienda, offering them one-half of it for cultivation on shares, he finding the stock, seed and cattle, and the colonists the labor. He offers also flocks and herds, from which to breed on halves.

Other enlightened and liberal-minded land-owners of the empire have offered their estates for colonization on terms equally liberal.

MISREPRESENTATIONS ABROAD CONCERNING MEXICO.

Many false impressions have taken root abroad about Mexico and the Mexicans. These operate greatly to our disadvantage, inasmuch as they are stumbling-blocks in the mind of the stranger, and tend to discourage immigration.

The world knows Mexico as a country that for the last half a century has been tossed by revolution. Many, listening to the stories of her troubles and the tales of her calamities, as told by her enemies, have come to regard the whole land as a "God-forsaken country," inhabited by a bigoted, illiberal, and inhospitable people, while, in fact, no part of the world can boast of a more refined society or a more elegant hospitality than that which is to be found in certain parts of the empire.

The Mississippi valley, even in its palmiest days, could not boast any plantation that could compare in baronial splendor, lordly magnificence, and princely hospitality with your Mexican hacienda that has escaped the ravages of war. The halls of some of them are large enough to entertain, and have entertained, several hundred guests for weeks at a time.

On some of these you will find well-appointed schools for the education of the children of the dependents at the expense of the proprietor; churches built and chapels maintained by the same munificent bounty; hospitals erected for the sick, the old servants pensioned, and all the operations of the estate carried on upon a scale and with expenditures followed by remunerative revenues such as but few farmers in Virginia or France can boast of.

But all parts of the country are not so.

For more than fifty years Mexico has been constantly torn by faction or scourged by war, and she has reaped abundantly of the harvests which always spring from such seeds—forced loans and contributions upon the rich, grievous burdens upon the poor, the spirit of enterprise in many departments of the empire well nigh crushed out of the people, the industrial energies of entire regions paralyzed, and capital itself frightened off into its hiding-places.

ABSENTEEISM.

Such a state of things long continued in any country is sure to be followed by a general absenteeism from their estates of the large land-owners. This is eminently the case in Mexico.

The effect of this absenteeism is expressed upon the landscape, and proclaimed by deserted mansions, neglected plantations, and other signs of ruin and decay, in tones that fall sadly upon many a heart. Many of these fine estates, with the walls of their noble old mansions still standing, are now offered for sale and settlement at prices varying from a few cents to a few dollars per acre. They are in the most choice parts of the country, and would, if restored to cultivation, embellish the land with a beautiful mosaic of the most lovely garden spots that the world ever saw.

With the immigrant coming to Mexico it is not as with the emigrant bound to the "far west" in the United States. There he goes to reclaim from the wilderness. Here he comes, for the most part, to reclaim from ruin and the ravages of war. Plantations that were once garden spots invite his coming. He may pitch his tent on the verge of highly cultivated districts from which he can draw his supplies until the bountiful earth, yielding to his own good husbandry, shall yield him of her increase. And this the soil of Mexico, under climates that have no winter, will do in two or three months.

One of the finest haciendas of the wasted districts is now on sale. It was abandoned some six or eight years ago in consequence of a revolution; the proprietor died, and it has not since been restored to cultivation. It yielded a regular annual profit of not less than $120,000. The dwelling-house alone cost $200,000.

This hacienda is large enough to accommodate forty or fifty families with farms of one thousand acres each. It can now be had for less than five dollars the acre, and after the first payment, on long time to suit purchasers.

Other haciendas that are open to the choice and selection of the immigrant are much larger. Two, containing each more than three thousand square miles, have been offered by the proprietors for colonization.

I know of no country in which the land is held by so few and in such large tracts.

This also has produced marked effects upon the nation; it appears to have deprived Mexico entirely of what other countries consider their "bone and sinew"—their noble, enterprising, energetic, hard-working middle classes.

Some political economists divide society in Mexico into but two classes—the upper and lower; and out of a population of eight millions of people, more than seven millions are said to belong to the latter.

INDUCEMENTS OFFERED TO FOREIGN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

The statesmen of the country, with the emperor in their lead, desire to heal the breach rapidly. For this purpose, foreign labor, capital and skill have been invited to our shores. Many good men of the country look upon immigration, on a large scale, as the readiest and best means of restoring the equilibrium of the classes, and of giving to this country and its institutions that stability and force which are so essential to the full development of its vast powers, capabilities and resources.

Hence the encouragement that is now offered to immigrants.

This country is now in a better state to receive immigrants than it has been for many years.

The empire is daily gaining ground, strength, and support, and the armed organization against it is broken up into factions—its head and leader, ex-President Juarez, having left the country.

But now, with the dawn of a happy era of peace at last before her, Mexico, after half a century of continued change and revolution, finds herself in an exhausted state, and the immigrants who wish to cast their lot with her auspicious future must bring with them something more than brawny arms and stout hearts. They must not forget those appliances of industry, those labor-saving machines and improved modes of husbandry which scientific skill and mechanical ingenuity, under the blessings of a stable government and long-continued peace, have, in othe parts of the world, brought to such perfection.

ROOM FOR ALL.

There is room, with encouraging prospects, for mechanics and artisans of all sorts, as well as for agricultural labor and scientific skill. Roads are to be repaired and made, bridges restored, mills—grist and saw—to be erected, dwelling-houses to be repaired or built; machine shops, and all those establishments which are so essential in the agricultural economy of other countries, will also be extensively required.

Immigrants who come to Mexico, from whatever country, will be warmly welcomed in many parts. They will meet with no open hostility anywhere, except from the hands of the lawless.

To resist them, and to have the full benefit of all those conveniences—such as mills and other establishments just alluded to, and which every well-ordered agricultural community requires—it is desirable that the immigrants should come in bodies and form settlements of their own.

Looking to this, the decree of September 5 invests them with a semi-military organization, and they are expected to be able to defend their settlements against robbers, who, however, rarely attack where resistance is expected.

Protestants will be drawn into communities also for the sake of schools and churches. Moreover, public interests require that each settlement should be large enough fairly to develop the whole system of domestic, social, and agricultural economy of the country whence the settlers came.

For this purpose each settlement should be large enough to support saw and grist mills, tanyards, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and the various other artisans and machinists who, in the pursuit of their calling, contribute to the requirements of modern agriculture, with all of its improvements.

ADVICE TO FOREIGNERS SETTLING IN MEXICO.

There is still another reason why immigrants from all except Spanish countries should form themselves into settlements of their own, and that reason is one of language. A farmer coming to Mexico, ignorant of the language, ignorant of the customs of the country, and of the rate of wages, and settling down among neighbors all speaking in (to him) an unknown tongue, would find himself surrounded by embarrassments, none of which would exist in a settlement made up of his old neighbors, kinsmen and friends.

It would be well, therefore, for each colony to bring with it a large portion of its own labor.

The lands of Mexico have never been surveyed, nor has there been, until now, a land office.

The consequence is, that the government cannot tell which lands are public and which private; and though the chief of the land office is vigorously at work organizing surveying parties, and sending them forth into the field, it is found that lands sufficient to receive the coming tide of immigration cannot be surveyed, mapped, and brought into market for some time yet. Therefore, it is recommended to those, both in Europe and the United States, who desire to come now to Mexico, to form themselves into companies, consisting of not less than twenty-five families each. Then, while those at home are making their preparations, let their pioneers come to Mexico for the purpose of purchasing a hacienda or other lands, and of making ready to receive the rest.

To those who will thus come now, with their families, and form settlements sufficient to call into play all the industrial appliances, consisting of machinery, shops and implements connected with agriculture in its most improved state, and calculated to serve as so many centres of agricultural improvement in the country, special encouragement is held out.

They are invited to send forward their agents, who will receive all the information that the office of colonization can give, and every facility that it can throw in their way, as to the most desirable parts of the country in which to settle—the choicest localities and the cheapest and best lands, &c.

Having made their own selections, the government will then, in case they require it, lend them pecuniary assistance sufficient to enable them to establish themselves in their new homes, and get fairly under way.

M. F. MAURY, *Imperial Commissioner.*

OFFICE OF COLONIZATION,
No. 13 *Calle San Juan Letran, Mexico, November* 18, 1865.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 31, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

COLONIZATION OFFICE, NO 13 CALLE SAN JUAN LETRAN,
City of Mexico, December 10, 1865.

SALE OF A FARM BY SUBSCRIPTION.

An offer of 350,000 acres of land is made to confederate settlers who wish to establish themselves in Mexico.

These lands, the most fertile of the empire, are intersected by three rivers. They are selected on the line of the railroad from Vera Cruz to the capital, and near the road from Vera Cruz to Jalapa. They are in the healthy part of the tierras calientes. They produce equally well coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton and sugar-cane, with all the tropical fruits and vegetables.

The proprietor will sell them to the settlers as soon as the latter have filed with the agents of colonization in the United States or in Mexico subscriptions for 200,000 acres at the following rates:

The first 50,000 acres chosen, at	$1 75
The second 50,000 acres chosen, at	1 50
The third 50,000 acres chosen, at	1 25
The fourth 50,000 acres chosen, at	1 00

The first subscriber shall have the right to choose at the above rates, with the understanding that not less than 320 acres shall be sold to any one of them.

When the 200,000 acres shall have been subscribed for and chosen, the rest shall be sold at a price to be agreed upon between the seller and purchaser.

Payment shall be made in the following manner:

One-third of the amount is to be paid in cash at Mexico, Vera Cruz or New Orleans. The rest thereof shall be paid in four years' time, causing the payment thereof to be effected in equal parts and yearly; that is to say, one-sixth per annum, adding thereto the interest at the rate of six per cent.

As villages and towns are established on the lands, a lot will be given gratis to each settler in said villages or towns. Said villages or towns shall be chosen and allotted by Mr. Maury, the imperial commissioner of colonization.

The surveying and the cost of the title of the property will be at the expense of the settlers.

The *hacienda* offered herewith is known to be one of the finest and most celebrated in Mexico. It presents, especially to the former planters of the south, a fine opportunity for establishing a flourishing American settlement. Those who are disposed to visit the country for the purpose of colonizing it under the imperial decree to promote immigration will receive every encouragement from this office.

The offer is made by respectable parties, and persons wishing to treat will be put in communication by addressing the commissioner.

Apprentices, as per imperial decree of September 5, 1865, would do well here, though there is no lack of native labor.

M. F. MAURY, *Imperial Commissioner.*

A true copy :

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *December* 31, 1865.

No. 27.

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 31, 1865.

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this date, enclosing two documents, dated December 10 and November 18, 1865, issued by M. F. Maury, on the subject of the colonization of Mexico.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

W. HUNTER,
Acting Secretary of State.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 28.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 11th of February, 1866.

MR. SECRETARY: In corroboration of the reports I have already made to your department, on various occasions, concerning the plans of the French agents in Mexico to induce the discontented citizens of the south of the United States, who participated in the late rebellion against their country, to emigrate to that republic, I now have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a printed circular, containing the prospectus of the so-called "American and Mexican Emigrant Company," organized in St. Louis, State of Missouri, by virtue of a grant from the usurper, dated the 27th of April, 1865.

In this grant, to disguise appearances, it seems that general immigration is invited, while the prospectus plainly shows that it only relates to people from the south.

I embrace the opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure.]

Prospectus of the American and Mexican Emigrant Company.

"The American and Mexican Emigrant Company" is acting under a decree issued to it by the emperor Maximilian, on the 27th of April, 1865, a translation of which, from the Spanish, we give below:

This company is organized with the view of engaging in and developing the various enterprises of which Mexico is susceptible, and securing for Americans their natural and legitimate share of the profits and advantages arising therefrom.

The only practical way in which this can be effected is by a properly secured and organized system of American emigration.

The world has long been familiar with the inexhaustible mineral wealth, the rich agricultural resources, and the delightful climate of Mexico, but this wealth and these resources have remained so long hidden under the cloud of civil commotion, and other local causes, that the enterprising mind has been turned to other and more laborious fields of operation, until this country seemed, for the time, forgotten.

Circumstances have so conspired of late to force them afresh upon the public mind, until to-day Mexico fills the eye, and is the theme of the civilized world. Capital from England, France, Austria, Spain, and the whole of Europe, is now finding its way into the country, building her railroads, buying her rich lands, carrying off her spices and precious woods, and digging her gold and silver.

The time, in our opinion, has at last come for the full development of Mexico; the world needs it, and she is about to respond to its necessities. She is our neighbor—her wealth, her resources, her commerce, are at our very doors, and would naturally be contributory to our own; but if Americans will not cultivate friendly relations with her, and will not take part in the enterprises of the country, we can expect but little or no profit from them.

We have now our agents in Mexico, who will keep us promptly and correctly advised of the condition of the country in all its aspects, and who will select the best agricultural and mineral lands in large quantities in the best parts of the empire.

All that an emigrant may want to know before he abandons his old home for a new one will be communicated through this company, by its agents in Mexico.

The climate on the table lands is unequalled for its healthy character, and there being no frost or winter in that country, the poor man is relieved from the drudgery of working half of the year to provide clothing and fuel for the balance.

The soil, in many parts of the country, is the richest and most productive in the world, yielding all that can be raised in the United States, and in many parts much more abundantly with the same amount of labor, besides many other crops that will not mature here.

The unchanging spring-like character of the climate enables the inhabitants to plant crops in any season of the year, and the most luxurious pasturage is afforded at all times, thus saving the great expense and labor of laying up supplies for stock, as in cold countries.

Two crops of corn can be raised annually, and cotton, on account of the long seasons, will produce from one to one and a half bales to the acre. Coffee will begin to bear, in from two to three years from the plant, yielding, for many years thereafter, an immense profit, with but little care, and no expensive machinery to prepare it for the market.

The luxuriant yield of the cacoa enables the farmer to realize as much as a thousand dollars per acre; sugar-cane produces from three to four thousand pounds per acre; tobacco arrives at a maturity and richness of flavor but little inferior to the best Cuban leaf, while hemp, wheat, barley, rye, oats and other small grain are successfully raised.

Mahogany, iron-wood, India-rubber tree, cedar-wood, and vanilla are abundant, which, with logwood and cochineal, and other dyestuffs, added to immense supplies of prime hides and wool, will constitute very important items of Mexican commerce.

In alluding to these productions we do not wish to be understood as saying that all of them can be found in *every* part of the country, but that each section possesses its own agricultural characteristics, the history and details of which will be part of the province of this company to acquire and communicate through its agencies.

The mineral wealth of the country is so well and widely known, that it would seem superfluous to say more than merely to refer to them. The gold mines are equal to those of California, and the silver leads have proven their richness beyond doubt, while platina, quicksilver, precious stones, iron and coal, have been discovered in liberal quantities; and from experiments already made, no doubt exists that coal oil abounds to a profitable extent; in short, it would seem that nature had emptied her richest stores into the lap of that country, and it requires but the provident and intelligent hand to develop her lavish gifts.

The company has already received offers of large grants of lands free of charge, but as we do not wish to be confined to any particular section of country by free grants, we are securing, and shall continue to purchase, large tracts in the most eligible localities, with particular reference to the wants and preference of the emigrant, which, whether from free grants or purchase, will be sold on such long time and divided payments that will, in the aggregate, amount to less than the annual *taxes* per acre in any other country.

These lands will be gotten in large quantities, at from 25 cents to $1 per acre; and will be resold in farms to the emigrant, at a less price than he could purchase for himself from the original proprietors, as there is no limit to the quantity which the company is allowed to purchase and improve.

A head of a family can go alone and locate his land, make his household arrangements, and, when he wants his family, he can, by communicating with our nearest agent in Mexico, have them brought to him by the company.

In order to obviate the difficulties and disappointments incident to a large emigration to a new country, lacking either information or material, the company will make known to its members, from time to time, as to what will be the best time and the best manner of going.

The company will see that houses suitable for the climate, &c., are erected for the emigrant at much cheaper rates than he can build for himself; and he can purchase his household effects, agricultural and mining implements, at designated and convenient localities, at prices shown him by schedule, before he leaves this country; and if he prefers to carry them with him, under the auspices of our company, he can do so free of duty.

The company's arrangements with passenger packets will enable them to procure tickets at reduced rates to the Mexican ports, where (upon presentation of certificate of honorary membership) he will find our agent, speaking his own language, ready to render all necessary facilities to reach the place he may select.

The proximity of Mexico to this country, and the facilities of communication of all kinds, which this emigration will create, will cause the American to feel that he has not sundered all the ties that bind him to his friends, but that, in reality, the advantages of travel and correspondence will be in favor of his new home, when compared to the distant parts of his own country. He will there find whole communities of the same race and language springing up around him, building up a homogeneous family, where churches, schools, and other civilizing institutions will exist, as he has been accustomed to since his youth, all protected by the well-settled principles of law and order; or, indeed, he can provide for all these advantages, before leaving, by associating with people of his own country or neighborhood, and going together, after selecting their farms in the same tract, as facilities will be afforded for this object by the company at their principal offices at home.

The mode adopted by the company for obtaining information will enable it to furnish those who shall connect themselves by honorary membership, on the payment of a fee of $10, all the facts relative to the industrial pursuits, agricultural, mining and manufacturing, with the nature of the country, its water-power, timber and climate, in every locality; which information will be derived from actual observation by our agents in the empire, and which will be transmitted regularly, and fresh from that country; in short, by our system of agencies and centres of intelligence we will be able to give to the honorary member, *upon any subject he may desire, all kinds of information* within the scope of our operations; and all this at an infinitely less cost than he could acquire by himself. This will obviate the expensive necessity of his travelling to, and over, a strange country, with a different language, where he would meet with vexatious annoyances in prosecuting his inquiries; and this fee for honorary membership is merely the basis of the fund upon which these agencies are established, and which fee is more than returned by the privileges it secures in the reduction of passage money, price of lands, and other general benefits.

These offices will be established at New York, St. Louis, Chicago, Charleston, New Orleans, Memphis, Galveston, Baltimore, Louisville, and all the principal cities of the Union, at which maps and plats of the country generally can be seen.

Honorary members will be furnished with information in reference to *all* lands in the empire of which we can get accurate accounts; they can go to Mexico under the auspices and benefits of this company, and be perfectly free to select any lands or occupation they may deem best after their arrival there; nor will our information be confined to lands alone, but to every branch of industrial life, so that our Mexican intelligence will be equally interesting to the merchant, the professional man, the manufacturer, the artisan, the miner, the contractor and the farmer, whether he desires to emigrate or to engage in these enterprises; and, after having aided the inquirer upon all points alluded to, we leave the matter entirely to his own self-interest or inclination to govern his future course.

This company will also make it their business to furnish correct and accurate information in regard to all lands which the government of Mexico may set apart for free grants to emigrants.

Printed circulars, containing an abstract of information received by the company from its agents in Mexico, will be sent to its local agent in each county where honorary members reside, at stated periods, (to be hereafter determined, as necessity may require,) and which will be open to perusal by honorary members.

Arrangements are being made with gentlemen of reliability in the southern States, who will be connected with this company, and whose names and offices will be announced in due time.

Members.—B. G. Caulfield, Chicago, Illinois; Wm. H. Russell, Lexington, Missouri; A. W. Arrington, Chicago, Illinois; R. O. Glover, New York; John Howe, St. Louis; James Rigney, Lexington, Missouri; John Scudder, Colorado Territory; Marshall O. Roberts, New York; Ed. P. Tesson, St. Louis;

Charles P. Chouteau, St. Louis; Giovanni A. Bertolla, St. Louis; Gerard B. Allen, St Louis; J. B. Wilcox, St. Louis; Charles S. Waller, Chicago, Illinois; Pierre A. Berthold, St. Louis; Daniel N. Carrington, New York; James Harrison, St. Louis; William H. Warder, Chicago, Illinois; B. P. Churchill, Cincinnati, Ohio; Lyttleton Cooke, Louisville, Kentucky;

Directors.—John Howe, D. N. Carrington, Gerard B. Allen, Hon. A. W. Arrington, Charles S. Waller, R. O. Glover, Charles P. Chouteau.

Officers.—James Harrison, president; Pierre A. Berthold, vice-president; Charles P. Chouteau, treasurer; Bernard G. Caulfield, attorney; George Frank Gouley, secretary, office No. 18 Washington avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

NOTE.—Clubs of honorary members may be made up, and the fees can be remitted to the nearest authorized office, or sent by express, or to some reliable friend who will receive the certificates, and return them as receipts for the money.

The decree.

MAXIMILIAN, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

We grant to the American and Mexican Emigrant Company, represented by Bernard G. Caulfield, the concessions and exemptions which our secretary of internal affairs and improvements has advised us to make, so that said company may, by means of emigration, establish towns and agricultural communities, conformable to the laws of Mexico:

First. The American and Mexican Emigrant Company, represented by Bernard G. Caulfield, is authorized to acquire, for the purposes of emigration, any lands within the empire, be the same cultivated or not, which it may consider suited to the development of such mineral, agricultural, manufacturing, and industrial enterprises, as said company may see fit to establish. In developing the property which the company may buy or receive by grant from individuals, it will advise the government of its various enterprises within three months after they shall have been respectively entered into.

Second. Said company shall be exempt from the payment of the (five per cent.) tax attaching to all transfers of land in this empire on all property it may acquire, and the same privilege shall extend to emigrants who shall buy or acquire lands directly from the said company.

Third. Said company may introduce, free of duty into the ports of this empire, all implements, machinery, houses and stock, which the necessity or convenience of emigrants may demand.

Fourth. Said company is authorized to build towns in such localities as it may select for that purpose, first advising the government, and obtaining recognition therefor.

Fifth. Said company is authorized to introduce emigrants into this empire from the United States, and also from Europe, and each resident of the empire, who shall make purchases of land from said company, or take part in its enterprises, shall have the same privileges as are hereby extended to emigrants: *Provided,* The purchase of land by each person shall not exceed one square kilometer.

Sixth. All contracts made with the emigrants, by or on behalf of said company, outside of the empire, and which are not repugnant to the laws thereof, shall be held, by the tribunals of the empire, of the same force as if made within the jurisdiction of the same.

Seventh. The government being now engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the lands of the empire, which are unsettled as to occupancy or title, is therefore not able at present to make a grant of lands to said company, but will do so as soon as the same can be conveniently done.

Eighth. The company will establish, in the capital of the empire, a general agency to superintend the development of its various enterprises, and to serve as a means of communication with this government.

Ninth. Said company shall be protected by the government in its operations, in order that it may accomplish the important ends it has in view.

Given at San Salvador, El Seco, the 27th of April, 1865.

MAXIMILIANO.

William H. Russell, general agent for New York and New England, office No. 17 Nassau street, New York.

No. 29.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 15, 1866,

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 11th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a printed circular containing the prospectus of the "American and Mexican Emigrant Company," organized in St. Louis Missouri, by virtue of a grant from the so-called emperor of Mexico, dated the 27th of April, 1865.

Thanking you for your considerate attention, I avail myself of this occasion to repeat the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *Washington, D. C.*

No. 11.

ATTEMPTS AT RECOGNITION BY MAXIMILIAN

No. 1.	Señor Arroyo to Mr. Corwin	March 2, 1865.
No. 2.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin	March 13, 1865.
No. 3.	Memorandum read to Mr. Corwin by Mr. Seward	March 13, 1865.
No. 4.	Memorandum by Mr. Seward	July 17, 1865.
No. 5.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	July 31, 1865.
No. 6.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with two enclosures)	Aug. 1, 1865.
No. 7.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Aug. 9, 1865.
No. 8.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Aug. 12, 1865.
No. 9.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 7, 1865.
No. 10.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Nov. 6, 1865.
No. 11.	Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward	Nov. 30, 1865.
No. 12.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Dec. 16, 1865.
No. 13.	Mr. Motholon to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Nov. 29, 1865
No. 14.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Montholon	Dec. 6, 1865.
No. 15.	Mr. Montholon to Mr. Seward	Dec. 9, 1865.
No. 16.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Dec. 12, 1865.
No. 17.	Mr. Montholon to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Jan. 29, 1866.
No. 18.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Montholon	Feb. 12, 1866.
No. 19.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow	Feb. 12, 1866.

No. 1.

Señor Arroyo to Mr. Corwin.

[Translation.]

(Confidential.) NEW YORK, *March* 2, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: Under date of the 10th of January last his excellency Don José Ramirez, minister of state and of foreign affairs of the Mexican empire, authorizes me to address myself directly and confidentially to the honorable Mr. William Seward, Secretary of State, upon determinate points, which I will indicate to you when I may have the satisfaction of seeing you for the purpose.

The same Mr. Ramirez tells me the following: "You can see Mr. Corwin in my name and avail yourself of his influence, manifesting to him that I have regretted not to receive his reply to the letter which I addressed to him in August last." I therefore beg you to be pleased to aid me with your influence in order to bring about and see whether the object of my commission can be obtained, not doubting that your kindness will cause you to assist me with your counsels and opinion.

I think that you will be of opinion that I should go to your city (Washington) to solicit verbally the two points to which my mission is concreted, and I will accordingly do so; but, before undertaking the journey, I would be pleased if you would do me the favor, if you have an opportunity, to indicate to Mr. Seward my expected journey, in order that, if he have no objection that I should see him extra-officially, he should so indicate it.

You can at once, if you think proper, intimate to Mr. Seward that one of the points of my commission is to see whether the habilitation (recognition) of our consuls can be obtained because of the embarrassments which exist in consequence of their non-habilitation, (non-recognition;) and while in Mexico the exercise of their functions has been continued without embarrassment to the American consuls, and that the government, which was that of Don Benito Juarez, does not exist either de facto or de jure.

You will excuse me for writing to you in my own language, as I do not know the English with the requisite perfection.

I avail myself of this occasion to place myself at your disposition as your most obedient servant, &c, &c., &c.,

LUIS DE ARROYO,
Box No. 4202.

Mr. THOMAS CORWIN, *Washington.*

NOTE.—The foregoing letter was submitted to the Secretary of State by Mr. Corwin in the early part of the month of March, 1865.

No. 2.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 13, 1865.

Mr. Seward presents his compliments to Mr. Corwin, and will thank him call at this department as soon as he can conveniently do so.

Hon. THOMAS CORWIN, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 3.

Memorandum.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 13, 1865.

Mr. Seward read to Mr. Corwin as follows:

It is a fixed habit of this government to hold no official intercourse with agents of parties in any country which stand in an attitude of revolution antagonistic to the sovereign authority in the same country with which the United States are on terms of friendly diplomatic intercourse.

It is equally a fixed habit of this government to hold no unofficial or private interviews with persons with whom it cannot hold official intercourse.

For these reasons, the overture submitted by Mr. Corwin to the Secretary of State is declined.

No. 4.

Memorandum by Mr. Seward.

On the 17th day of July, 1865, the Marquis de Montholon called at the Department of State, and said that a special agent had arrived at Washington from Mexico, and that he was the bearer of a letter signed Maximilian, and addressed to the President of the United States, a copy of which the marquis submitted to the Secretary of State, saying that the agent was instructed to deliver the letter if it should be agreeable to the government of the United States. He also said that the agent brought papers to make explanations and adopt proceedings in relation to certain transactions on the Rio Grande, upon which the United States government had made representations to the imperial government of France.

The Secretary replied that inasmuch as the letter referred to was directly addressed to the President of the United States, the Secretary would reserve himself until he should have had a conversation with the President upon the subject.

On the 18th the Secretary of State delivered back the copy of the letter to the Marquis de Montholon, and said that the United States are in friendly communication now, as heretofore, with the republican government in Mexico, and therefore cannot depart from the course of proceeding it has heretofore pursued towards that country, and of course that the President declined to receive the letter, or to hold any intercourse with the agent who brought it.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 5.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

WASHINGTON, *July* 31, 1865.

Mr. Romero presents his compliments to Mr. Seward, and has the honor to transmit to him a copy, in English, of a letter which he has received from the city of Mexico, dated the 8th of the month terminating this day, in which some truthful details are given of the efforts of the usurper of Mexico to obtain the recognition of the government of the United States.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

[Translation.]

MEXICO, *July* 8, 1865.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Up to a very recent period official circles here had been under the impression that President Johnson and Mr. Seward were great admirers of Maximilian, personally, and would be willing, at a proper time, to recognize him as the government of Mexico, but that they would prefer that some overtures should be first made to them, and that the affair should not be in any way pressed upon them as to time. Such has been for a long period the prevailing opinion with reference to the action of the United States government. This impression, it is said, has been largely supported by, if not mainly based upon, assurances which, it is asserted, have been communicated by Mr. Corwin, late minister here, in his correspondence from Washington, with Mr. Ramirez, Maximilian's secretary of state, and even with General Bazaine. Before Mr. Corwin left for home, he expressed himself in a way that led to the inference that he was disgusted with republics generally, and his relations with Mr. Ramirez and with General Bazaine, of whom he was a great admirer, were such as to be almost confidential in their character.

Since then Mr. Corwin has been considered here as the best friend of the empire in the United States, and great expectations have been based upon his supposed influence with the Washington government. That he has been lending his good offices and services to promote its recognition is unquestionably a fact.

Last winter he sought an interview from Mr. Seward in favor of Don Luis Arroyo, to obtain his recognition by our government as imperial consul in New York. In this attempt, however, he utterly failed. Mr. Corwin, it seems, recovered from that blow, and lately wrote a little more encouragingly to his friends. The news he sent was received with the greatest rejoicings at the palace. As the French, as well as Maximilian and everybody else here, well understand that the empire only exists by the toleration of the United States, they thought at once of sending to Washington one of the highest officials, to pave the way for recognition, and in justice to Maximilian, it must be acknowledged that he devised a very nice little intrigue. The grand marshal of the empire, General Almonte, was to be sent to Washington as ambassador extraordinary in special mission. He was to take among his suite Chamberlain Degollado, as attaché to the embassy. The general would carry with him an autograph letter of condolence from Maximilian to President Johnson upon the assassination of President Lincoln, and congratulating Mr. Johnson upon his elevation to the presidential chair. It was thought that Mr. Johnson could not be so rude as to decline receiving and answering such a letter, and giving a fair hearing to the grand marshal. Mr. Ramirez, the minister of foreign affairs, however, spoiled this little intrigue, either because he did not place entire confidence in the information he had received, or for other reasons. The fact is, he was unwilling to let the grand marshal go, for fear that he and his sovereign would be exposed to a grievous slight. He advised that the letter should be written and sent, but that it should be carried by Chamberlain Degollado, who would leave for the United States as if on private business. This plan was finally adopted. The French papers here denied it was ever thought to send General Almonte, and that Degollado left on private business alone. Degollado being married to a Virginia wife, was thought to be the person best fitted to go without attracting much attention, and to interest in his favor the United States government. Unfortunately for Maximilian, Degollado's wife has not and never had Union sentiments, and will not carry, therefore, much weight. Degollado was instructed to ask an interview from Mr. Seward or the President to deliver Maximilian's letter, through the French minister, M. Montholon, it being believed that there is nothing that our government could refuse when asked by such a source. You will be able to know better than we here what will be the result of this intrigue. Nobody believes here that it will succeed.

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No. 6.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

Mexican Legation in the United States of America,
Washington, 1st of August, 1865.

Mr. Acting Secretary: I have the honor to enclose to you a copy of a note which the consul general of Mexico in the United States, residing in New York, addressed to me under date of yesterday, calling my attention to the annexed advertisement published in the New York Daily World of the 29th of July last past, by Don Luis Arroyo, who calls himself the consul named for that city by the so-called Mexican empire.

I deem it proper to call to your notice that Don Luis Arroyo, under the title of commercial agent, is about to exercise, as it appears, all the functions to which he might be entitled if he were the true consul of Mexico, with the respective *exequatur* of the government of the United States. For this reason I beg you to have the goodness to communicate to me the views of the government of the United States upon two points, upon which I require to fix my ideas before coming to a conclusion upon this matter. The first is, whether the government of the United States considers that the ex-archduke Ferdinand Maximilian has the right to appoint in this country commercial agents who shall publicly exercise the functions of consul, or whether this right belongs solely to the governments whose existence is neither doubtful nor questionable. According to my understanding, this government only sees in the republic of Mexico a war between it and France, without recognizing there Maximilian, not even as a government de facto.

The second point is, whether such commercial agents can exercise the functions of consuls, not only without a formal *exequatur,* but also without any other sort of permission or recognition from the government of the United States.

I must make known to you that up to this period the French consul in New York had been performing the functions which Don Luis Arroyo pretends now to exercise, which was perhaps more logical and manifested more consideration for the government of the United States, inasmuch as the French consul has an *exequatur* from this government, and represents more genuinely the order of things established in Mexico by the army of Napoleon III. The change which is now made seems to be directed to manifest that the government of the United States tacitly recognizes as a government de facto the work of the French intervention in Mexico.

I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

William Hunter, Esq., *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC IN THE U. S.,
New York, July 31, 1865.

In the number of the World dated the 29th instant a Mr. Arroyo, who calls himself the consul of the Mexican empire in the city of New York, has published an advertisement, of which I enclose you a copy, in which he gives notice to the merchants of this port who may send effects to Mexico, that all the certificates of invoices and manifests must be authorized by himself, and not by the undersigned.

As it is well known that the said Mr. Arroyo cannot exercise in this country consular functions, because he has not the *exequatur* of the government of the United States, a requisite which I alone possess, I have the honor to bring this fact to the knowledge of your legation, that you may, if you deem it proper, obtain from the cabinet of Washington a measure that will put an end to this abuse, through which the laws of this country are mocked, which provide that in order to be enabled to perform the duties of consul, the *exequatur* of the President is required.

I have the honor to protest to you, sir, on this occasion, my most distinguished consideration.

Independence and liberty!

JUAN N. NAVARRO.

Citizen ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
Of the Mexican Republic at Washington.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
Second Secretary of the Legation.

WASHINGTON, *August* 1, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

[From the New York Daily World of July 29, 1865]

NEW YORK, *July* 28, 1865.

SIR: Desiring that the commercial community may come to the knowledge of the adjoining decree, I request your kindness to order its publication in the columns of your valuable journal, and oblige

Your most obedient servant,

LIUIS DE ARROYO,
No. 42 Broadway.

EDITOR OF THE WORLD.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY,
Mexico, January 24, 1865.

(Section 1.—Circular No. 35.)

Consuls and vice-consuls from the empire of Mexico having been already appointed and residing in foreign countries, it appertains to them to legalize the invoices and manifests of merchandise forwarded to our ports, and also all documents required by the laws to be legalized. The agents appointed by the administration of Don Benito Juarez will cease in their functions, as such administration came to an end since the 31st of May, 1863.

Therefore I would direct you, by order of his Majesty the emperor, to notify the commerce of that city that hereafter all such above-stated documents must be indispensably legalized by the agents of the empire. All invoices and manifests of vessels coming into the ports of said empire, certified by the former agents, whose appointments have not been renewed by the actual administration, shall be considered of no value, and shall not produce any legal effect or evidence whatever.

All which I communicate to you, so as to have the same duly published, hoping that when you will acknowledge the receipt of this order you will inform me the day that the publication has been made, in order to advise it to the collectors of the custom-houses on the sea-ports.

M. DE CASTILLO,
Sub-Secretary of the Treasury.

LIUIS DE ARROYO,
Consul, acting as Commercial Agent, New York.

A true copy:

F. D. MACIN,
2d Secretary of Legation.

WASHINGTON, *August* 1, 1865.

No. 7.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 9, 1865.

SIR: Your note of the 1st instant has been received, in which you ask the attention of this department to an advertisement published in the New York World, of the 29th ultimo, by Don Luis Arroyo, in which that person gives notice that shippers to Mexican ports must have their invoices and manifests attested by him, as consul of the Mexican empire in the city of New York.

In reply, I have to state that this department is not aware of any law of the United States which forbids a person claiming to be a consul of a foreign power from making on his own responsibility a publication of the character to which you refer.

It cannot be necessary for me to repeat what has uniformly been said by this government in all its official correspondence. that no other than the republican government in Mexico has been recognized by the United States. You are aware, however, that the party in arms against that government is, and for some time past has been, in possession of some, at least, of the ports of Mexico. That possession carries with it, for the time being, a power to prescribe the terms upon which foreign commerce may be carried on with those ports. If, as is presumed to be the case, one of those conditions is, that the invoices and manifests of vessels from abroad, bound to those ports, must be certified by a commercial agent of the party in possession, residing in the port of the foreign country from which the vessel may proceed, it is not perceived what effective measures this government could properly take in the premises. Such a commercial agent can perform no consular act relating to the affairs of his countrymen in the United States. To prohibit him from attesting invoices and manifests, under the circumstances referred to, would be tantamount to an interdiction of trade between the United States and those Mexican ports which are not in possession of the republican government of that country. The consuls of the United States in Mexico, who have their *exequaturs* from that government only, themselves discharge duties as commercial agents in the ports which are not under the control of that government in all respects like those which the person Arroyo, in the same way and to the same extent, claims to do at New York in respect to said ports.

I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you, sir, renewed assurances of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., New York city.*

No. 8.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 12th of August, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have had the honor of receiving your note of the 9th instant, in reply to mine of the 1st, asking some questions of the department with a view to come to some conclusion about the proceedings of Luis Arroyo, who has opened an office in this city, as commercial agent of the pretended Mexican empire.

As your note contains no positive answer to my questions, although it clearly indicates the steps to be taken by the United States government in the affair, I have thought it my duty, considering the circumstances of the case, to submit this case to the government of Mexico, and wait for instructions to direct me in regard to it.

I embrace this opportunity of renewing to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

No. 9.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 7, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th of August, in reply to the one I addressed to you, on the 9th of the same month, when answering your previous note of August 1, 1865, remonstrating against the course pursued by Señor Luis Arroyo, who styles himself the commercial agent of the so-called empire of Mexico, and which correspondence, you are pleased to inform me, you have submitted to your government for its instructions respecting the position assumed by the United States in that connexion.

I avail myself of this occasion to repeat the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

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Washington, November 7, 1865.

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I avail myself of this occasion to repeat the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 10.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

[Extract.]

No. 300.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 6, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR : * * * * * *

I will proceed to discuss the subject, and leave you to present the opinions of the President to such extent and in such manner as your own views of propriety shall suggest. The President feels himself bound to adhere to the opinion set forth in my despatch No. 259, which has, as we understand, been already read to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys. The presence and operations of a French army in Mexico, and its maintenance of an authority there, resting upon force and not the free will of the people of Mexico, is a cause of serious concern to the United States. Nevertheless, the objection of the United States is still broader, and includes the authority itself which the French army is thus maintaining. That authority is in direct antagonism to the policy of this government and the principle upon which it is founded.

Every day's experience of its operations only adds some new confirmation of the justice of the views which this government expressed at the time the attempt to institute that authority first became known. The United States have hitherto practiced the utmost frankness on that subject.

They still regard the effort to establish permanently a foreign and imperial government in Mexico as disallowable and impracticable. For these reasons they could not now agree to compromise the position they have heretofore assumed. They are not prepared to recognize, nor to pledge themselves hereafter to recognize, any political institutions in Mexico which are in opposition to the republican government with which we have so long and so constantly maintained relations of amity and friendship. I need hardly repeat my past assurances of our sincere desire to preserve our inherited relations of friendship with France. This desire greatly increases our regret that no communications, formal or informal, which have been received from the government of that country seem to justify us in expecting that France is likely soon to be ready to remove, as far as may depend upon her, the cause of our deep concern for the harmony of the two nations.

The suggestion which you make of a willingness on the part of France to propose a revision of the commercial relations between the two countries is not regarded as having emanated from the government of the empire. However that may be, it is hardly necessary to say that we should not be dwelling so earnestly upon the branch of political relations if it had not been our conviction that those relations at the present moment supersede those of commerce in the consideration of the American people.

Believe me to be always faithfully yours,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., &c.

No. 11

Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 209.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 30, 1865.

SIR: Upon reflection I concluded that I should be likely to leave more correct impressions, and perhaps exclude some erroneous ones from the mind of

Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys, by reading your despatch No. 300 to him, than by leaving him, after our interview on Thursday week, to imagine its contents. I accordingly called upon his excellency on Tuesday last, and after disposing of some other matters of less importance, told him frankly that I wished to read to him the despatch, to the contents of which I had referred at our last interview, to prevent his supposing it contained anything which I had thought proper or had been instructed to conceal from him.

* * * * * * *

When I had finished he thanked me for reading the despatch, though he felt obliged to say that he derived neither pleasure nor satisfaction from its contents.

* * * * * * *

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN BIGELOW.

No. 12.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 332.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 16, 1865.

SIR: Your despatch of November 30, No. 209, was duly received, and it has been submitted to the President.

Your proceeding in reading my despatch, No. 300, to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys is approved. The general tenor of the remarks made by you to the minister of foreign affairs on that occasion is likewise approved. It is not the executive department of this government alone which is interested and concerned in the question whether the present condition of things shall be continued in Mexico. The interest is a national one, and in every event Congress, which is now in session, is authorized by the Constitution and is entitled to direct by law the action of the United States in regard to that important subject.

It has been the President's purpose that France should be respectfully informed upon two points, namely:

First. That the United States earnestly desire to continue and to cultivate sincere friendship with France.

Second. That this policy would be brought into imminent jeopardy, unless France could deem it consistent with her interest and honor to desist from the prosecution of armed intervention in Mexico, to overthrow the domestic republican government existing there, and to establish upon its ruins the foreign monarchy which has been attempted to be inaugurated in the capital of that country.

In answer to an exposition of our views which was thus made, the suggestion was offered to you by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys that the government of the United States might favor the express desire of the Emperor to withdraw from Mexico, by giving to him some formal assurance that in the event of his withdrawal this government would recognize the institution of Maximilian in Mexico as *de facto* a political power.

It was my desire, in framing the despatch No. 300, to express in behalf of the United States a decision that the recognition which the Emperor had thus suggested cannot be made, and to assign, by way of explanation, the grounds upon which that decision was based. I have carefully considered the arguments against that decision which were presented to you by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys in the interview referred to, and I do not find in them any sufficient reasons for modifying the views which the United States have expressed.

It remains now only to make known to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys my profound regret that he has thought it his duty to leave the subject, in his conversation with you, in a condition that does not authorize an expectation on our part that a satisfactory adjustment of the case can be effected on any basis that thus far has been discussed.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*

No. 13.

The Marquis de Montholon to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

WASHINGTON, *November* 29, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: Conforming to the desire you expressed to me, I send you, herewith, a copy and translation of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys's despatch, the contents of which I have had the honor to read to you.

With the highest regards, I remain, my dear sir, respectfully yours,

MONTHOLON.

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State, &c.*

Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys to the Marquis de Montholon.

[Enclosure.—Translation.]

(Confidential.)

MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGERES,
Paris, October 18, 1865.

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS: I have taken several occasions since two months to advise you of the disposition of the imperial government concerning the duration of the occupation of Mexico by the French troops. I told you, in my despatch of August 17, that we called with our most sincere wishes for the day when the last French soldier should leave the country, and that the cabinet of Washington could contribute to hasten that moment. On the 2d of September I renewed to you the assurance of our strong desire to withdraw our auxiliary corps so soon as circumstances should allow it. At last, following the same ideas more fully, in a private letter of the 10th of the same month I added that it greatly depended upon the United States to facilitate the departure of our troops. If they would adopt toward the Mexican government an amicable attitude which would aid to the consolidation of order, and in which we could find motives of security for the interests which obliged us to carry arms beyond the Atlantic, we would be ready to adopt without delay the bases of an understanding on this subject with the cabinet of Washington; and I wish to make fully known to you now the views of the government of his Majesty.

What we ask of the United States is to be assured that their intention is not to impede the consolidation of the new order of things founded in Mexico; and the best guarantee we could receive of their intention would be the recognition of the emperor Maximilian by the federal government.

The American Union should not, it seems to us, be kept back by the difference of institutions, for the United States have official intercourse with all the monarchies of Europe and of the New World. It is in conformity with their own principles of public law to regard the monarchy established in Mexico as being, at least, a government "*de facto*," without particular regard to its nature or its origin, which has been consecrated by the suffrage of the people of that country; and in thus acting the cabinet of Washington would only be inspired with the same feelings of sympathy which President Johnson expressed recently to the envoy of Brazil, as guiding the policy of the United States towards the younger States of the American continent.

Mexico, it is true, is still occupied at this moment by the French army, and we can readily see that this objection will arise. But the acknowledgment of the emperor Maximilian by the United States would, in our opinion, have sufficient influence upon the state of the country to allow us to take in consideration their susceptibilities on this subject; and should the cabinet of Washington decide to open diplomatic relations with the court of Mexico, we would see no difficulty to enter in arrangement for the recall of our troops within a reasonable period of which we would—might consent to fix the termination.

In consequence of the vicinage and immense extent of the common frontier, the United States are, more than any other power, interested to see their trade with Mexico placed under the safeguard of stipulation in harmony with the mutual wants of both countries. We would most readily offer our good offices to facilitate the conclusion of a commercial treaty, thereby cementing the political "rapprochement," the bases of which I have just made known to you.

By order of the Emperor, I invite you to make known to Mr. Seward the dispositions of his Majesty's government.

You are authorized, if you think it proper, to read him the contents of this despatch.

I remain,

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

The MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON, *&c.*

No. 14.

Mr. Seward to the Marquis de Montholon.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 6, 1865.

SIR: Having made known to the President the Emperor's views on Mexican affairs which you communicated to me on the 29th ultimo, I have now the honor to inform you of the disposition of this government in regard to the same subject. It seems proper, however, for me to say, in the first place, that what I have to communicate has been already fully made known to Mr. Bigelow with authority, in his discretion, to impart the same to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

The effect of the Emperor's suggestions when they are reduced to a practical shape seems to be this: that France is willing to retire from Mexico as soon as she may, but that it would be inconvenient for her without first receiving from the United States an assurance of a friendly or tolerant disposition to the power which has assumed to itself an imperial form in the capital city of Mexico. The President is gratified with the assurance you have thus given of the Emperor's good disposition. I regret, however, to be obliged to say that the condition the Emperor suggests is one which seems quite impracticable.

It is true, indeed, that the presence of foreign armies in an adjacent country could not, under any circumstances, but cause uneasiness and anxiety on the part of this government. It creates for us expenses which are inconvenient, not to speak of dangers of collision. Nevertheless, I cannot but infer from the tenor of your communication that the principal cause of the discontent prevailing in the United States in regard to Mexico is not fully apprehended by the Emperor's government. The chief cause is not that there is a foreign army in Mexico; much less does that discontent arise from the circumstances that that foreign army is a French one. We recognize the right of sovereign nations to carry on war with each other if they do not invade our right or menace our safety or just influence. The real cause of our national discontent is, that the French army which is now in Mexico is invading a domestic republican government there which was established by her people, and with whom the United States sympathize most profoundly, for the avowed purpose of suppressing it and establishing upon its ruins a foreign monarchical government, whose presence there, so long as it should endure, could not but be regarded by the people of the United States as injurious and menacing to their own chosen and endeared republican institutions.

I admit that the United States do not feel themselves called upon to make a war of propagandism throughout the world, or even on this continent, in the republican cause. We have sufficient faith in the eventual success of that cause on this continent, through the operation of existing material and moral causes, to induce us to acquiesce in the condition of things which we found existing here, while our own republic was receiving its shape and development. On the other hand we have constantly maintained, and still feel bound to maintain, that the people of every state on the American continent have a right to secure for themselves a republican government if they choose, and that interference by foreign states to prevent the enjoyment of such institutions deliberately established is wrongful, and in its effects antagonistical to the free and popular form of government existing in the United States. We should think it wrong as well as unwise, on the part of the United States, to attempt to subvert by force monarchical governments in Europe for the purpose of replacing them with republican institutions. It seems to us equally objectionable that European states should forcibly intervene in states situated on this continent to overthrow republican institutions, and replace them with monarchies or empires.

Having thus frankly stated our position, I leave the question for the consideration of France, sincerely hoping that that great nation may find it compatible with its best interests and its high honor to withdraw from its aggressive attitude in Mexico, within some convenient and reasonable time, and thus leave the people of that country to the free enjoyment of the system of republican government which they have established for themselves, and of their adherence to which they have given what seems to the United States to be decisive and conclusive, as well as very touching, proofs. I am, sir, the more inclined to hope for such a solution of the difficulty for the reason that when, at any time within the last four years, the question has been asked of any American statesman, or even of any American citizen, what country in Europe was the one which was least likely to experience an alienation of the friendship of the United States, the answer was promptly given, France. Friendship with France has always been deemed important and peculiarly agreeable by the American people. Every American citizen deems it no less important and desirable for the future than for the past.

The President will be pleased to be informed of the reception which the Emperor gives to the suggestions which I have now made.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my very high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 15.

Marquis de Montholon to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, December 9, 1865.

SIR: I hasten to acknowledge the reception of your excellency's note of the 6th December, in answer to my communication of the 29th ultimo.

I will not fail to transmit, without delay, this important document to the government of the Emperor.

Accept the assurances of my high consideration.

MONTHOLON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 16.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 327.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 12, 1865.

SIR: I enclose for your information a translation of a communication of the *29th ultimo from the Marquis de Montholon, proposing, upon conditions, to withdraw from Mexico the French troops. A copy of my reply is also enclosed.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*

No. 17.

The Marquis de Montholon to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, January 29, 1866.

SIR: I have the happiness to hear of the return of your excellency to Washington at the very moment when I am in receipt of the note which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys addresses to me, in answer to yours of the 6th December last, after having taken the orders of the Emperor in respect thereof. I hasten, Mr. Secretary of State, to place in the hands of your excellency the answer of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, praying you to be so good as to lay it before his excellency the President, Mr. Johnson.

Accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my high consideration.

MONTHOLON.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c., &c., &c.

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* See letter of 29th November, its enclosure, and reply of Secretary Seward, December 6, 1865.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to the Marquis de Montholon.

[Enclosure.—Translation.]

No. 2.] DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DIPLOMATIC BRANCH,
Paris, January 9, 1866.

M. THE MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON: I have already charged you, by order of the Emperor, to make known to the cabinet of Washington the views of his Majesty's government on the affairs of Mexico, and you have, conformably with my instructions, made known to Mr. Seward the despatch I had the honor to write to you under date of 18th October. The Secretary of State has answered that despatch by a communication which he was pleased to address to you on the 6th December, and from which I believe it to be my duty here to reproduce the leading points.

According to Mr. Seward, the presence of a foreign force in a country neighboring to the Union could not but be a source of uneasiness and disquiet. This state of things draws along with it on the federal government embarrassing outlays, and may lead to collisions. At all events, the principal cause of the dissatisfaction of the United States is not that there is in Mexico a foreign army; much less that such army is French. The cabinet of Washington recognizes in every sovereign nation the right to make war, provided the use of this right does not menace the security and legitimate influence of the Union. But the French army has gone to Mexico to overthrow a national republican government, and with the avowed aim of founding on its ruins a foreign monarchical government. Mr. Seward states, on this subject, how much the people of the United States are attached to the institutions they have given themselves, and, repelling any idea of propagandism in favor of these institutions, he claims for the various nations of the New World the right to secure to themselves this form of government at their convenience. He would consider as inadmissible that European powers should interfere in these countries with the idea of destroying the republican form in order to substitute kingdoms and empires. "Having thus frankly defined our position," adds Mr. Seward, "I submit the question to the judgment of France, sincerely hoping that great nation will find it compatible with its true interests, as well as with its so highly exalted honor, to abandon the aggressive attitude it has taken in Mexico."

Mr. Seward recalls in closing, as a reason for his hope of arriving at a happy solution, the ancient affection of the United States for France, and the value which every American citizen constantly attached in past time, and attaches in the future, to our friendship.

I have not failed to place this communication before the Emperor. After having maturely examined the considerations set forth by Mr. Seward, the government of his Majesty remains convinced that the divergence of views between the two cabinets is, above all, the result of an erroneous appreciation of our intentions.

Our expedition—need I say it?—had in it nothing hostile to the institutions of the nations of the New World, and assuredly still less to those of the Union. France could not forget that she has contributed with her blood to found them; and of the number of glorious memories which the ancient monarchy has bequeathed to us, there is not one of which Napoleon I showed himself more proud, and which Napoleon III can be less inclined to repudiate. If, moreover, we could have been influenced by a malevolent thought toward this republic, would we have sought in the beginning to obtain the concurrence of the federal government, which had, as well as ourselves, reclamations to make available? Would we have observed neutrality in the great crisis which the United

States have passed through? And to-day would we be disposed, as we declare with the greatest frankness, to hasten, as much as it will be possible for us, the moment for the recall of our troops? Our only aim has been to follow up the satisfactions to which we had right, on recurring to coercive measures, after having exhausted all others. It is known how numerous and legitimate the claims of French subjects were. It was in presence of a series of flagrantly vexatious measures, and of glaring denials of justice, that we took up arms.

The wrongs to the United States were certainly less numerous and less important when they were led, they also, some years ago, to employ force against Mexico. The French army did not carry monarchical traditions in the folds of its flag.

The cabinet of Washington is not ignorant that there were in that country for many years a number of men of influence, who, despairing of obtaining order out of the conditions of the then existing rule, nourished the idea of falling back upon monarchy. Their thoughts were shared in by one of the last presidents of that republic, who even offered to use his power to favor the re-establishment of royalty.

On witnessing the degree of anarchy into which the government of Juarez had fallen, they deemed the moment had arrived to make appeal to the opinion of the people, tired out as they were with the state of dissolution in which their resources were being exhausted.

We did not think it a duty to discourage this supreme effort of a powerful party, the origin of which dates long anterior to our expedition; but faithful to the maxims of public right, which we hold in common with the United States, we declared that question rested solely on the suffrages of the Mexican people.

The idea of the government of the Emperor has been defined by his Majesty in person in a letter addressed to the commander-in-chief of our army after the taking of Puebla. "Our object you know," (wrote the Emperor,) "is not to impose on the Mexicans a government against their will, nor to make our success aid the triumph of any party whatever. I desire that Mexico may revive to a new life, and that soon regenerated by a government founded on the national will, on principles of order and of progress, on respect for the law of nations, she may acknowledge by her friendly relations that she owes to France her repose and her prosperity."

The Mexican people have spoken—the emperor Maximilian has been called by the will of the country. The government has appeared to us to be of a nature to restore peace to the interior and good faith to international relations. We have given it our support.

We went then to Mexico, there to exercise the right of war, which Mr. Seward fully recognizes in us, and not in virtue of any principle of intervention about which we profess the same doctrine as the United States. We went there not to bring about a monarchical proselytism, but to obtain reparation and guarantees which we ought to claim, and we sustain the government which is founded on the consent of the people because we expect from it the satisfaction of our wrongs, as well as the securities indispensable to the future. As we do not seek the satisfaction of an exclusive interest, nor the realization of an ambitious thought, our most sincere wish is to bring about, as soon as possible, the moment when we shall be able, with safety to our countrymen and with due respect for ourselves, to recall what remains in that country of the army corps which we have sent there.

As I have told you in the despatch to which the communication from Mr. Seward replies, it depends much on the federal government to facilitate in this respect the accomplishment of the desire which he expresses to us. The doctrine of the United States, resting as ours does on the principle of the national will, has in it nothing incompatible with the existence of monarchical institutions; and President Johnson in his message, as well as Mr. Seward in his despatch, repels all thought of propagandism, even on the American continent, in favor of republican institutions. The cabinet of Washington holds friendly relations with the court of Brazil, and did not refuse to form relations with the Mexican empire in 1822. No fundamental maxim—no precedent in the diplomatic history of the Union, therefore, creates any necessary antagonism between the United States and the form of government which has replaced in Mexico a power whose reign was nothing but a continual and systematic violation of its most positive obligations towards other nations.

Mr. Seward seems to make a double reproach to the government of the emperor Maximilian of the difficulties it encounters, and of the assistance it borrows from foreign forces, but the resistances which it has been obliged to wrestle with have in them nothing especial against the form of the institutions.

It undergoes the lot quite ordinary to new powers, and it is, above all, its misfortune to have to bear the consequences of disorders produced under previous governments, which lot is in effect that of those governments which have not found armed competitors and have enjoyed in peace an uncontested authority.

Revolts and intestine wars were, therefore, the normal condition of the country, and the opposition made by some military chiefs to the establishment of the empire is only the natural sequence of such habitudes of want of discipline and of anarchy of which the powers to whom this succeeds have been victims.

As for the support which the Mexican government receives from our army and what is also lent to him by Belgian and Austrian volunteers, it causes no hindrance to the freedom of its resolutions nor the perfect independence of its actions. What state is there that needs not allies, whether to form it or to defend it? And the great powers, such as France and England for example, have they not constantly almost maintained foreign troops in their armies? When the United States fought for their emancipation, did the aid given by France to their efforts cause that great popular movement to cease to be truly national? And shall it be said that the contest with the south was not in like manner a national war, because the thousands of Irishmen and Germans were fighting under the flag of the Union? The character of the Mexican government, therefore, cannot be contested, nor the resistance which it must overcome to consolidate itself, or the foreign troops which shall have aided in bringing forth again safety and order in a country so long and deeply distracted, be considered as a reason for disaffection toward it. Such an undertaking is surely worthy to be appreciated by a nation so enlightened as the United States, especially called on to gather the advantage.

In place of a country unceasingly in trouble, and which has given them so many subjects for complaint, and against which they have themselves been obliged to make war, they will find a pacific country, offering henceforth pledges of security and vast openings to their commerce. Far from injuring their rights or hurting their influence, they, above all, are those who must profit by the work of reorganization which is being accomplished in Mexico.

In recapitulation, marquis, the United States acknowledges the right we had to make war on Mexico. On the other part we admit, as they do, the principle of non-intervention; this double postulate includes, as it seems to me, the elements of an agreement. The right to make war, which belongs, as Mr. Seward declares, to every sovereign nation, implies the right to secure the results of war. We have not gone across the ocean merely for the purpose of showing our power, and of inflicting chastisement on the Mexican government; after a train of fruitless remonstrances it was our duty to demand guarantees against the recurrence of violence from which our countrymen had suffered so cruelly, and these guarantees we could not look for from a government whose bad faith we had proven on so many occasions.

We find them now engaged in the establishment of a regular government, which shows itself disposed honestly to keep its engagements. In this relation we hope that the legitimate object of our exhibition will soon be reached, and we are striving to make with the emperor Maximilian arrangements which, by satisfying our interests and our honor, will permit us to consider as at an end the service of our army on Mexican soil.

The Emperor has given me orders to write in this sense to his minister in Mexico.

We fall back from that moment on the principle of non-intervention, and from that moment accept it as the rule of our conduct; our interest, no less than our honor, commands us to claim from all the uniform application of it. Trusting in the spirit of equity which animates the cabinet at Washington, we expect from it the assurance that the American people will themselves conform to the law which it invokes, by observing, in regard to Mexico, a strict neutrality. When you shall have informed me of the resolution of the federal government on this subject, I shall be able to indicate to you the results of our negotiations with the emperor Maximilian for the return of our troops.

I request you to remit a copy of this despatch to Mr. Seward in answer to his communication of the 6th of December last, begging him to have the goodness to lay it before President Johnson; and I rely with confidence for the examination of the considerations it embraces in the traditional sentiments recalled to notice in the note of the Secretary of State of the Union.

Accept, marquis, the assurances of my high consideration.

DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Monsieur le Marquis de Montholon,
Minister of France, near Washington.

No. 18.

Mr. Seward to the Marquis de Montholon.

Department of State,
Washington, February 12, 1866.

Sir: On the 6th of December I had the honor to submit to you in writing, for the information of the Emperor, a communication upon the subject of affairs in Mexico, as affected by the presence of French armed forces in that country. On the 29th of January thereafter you favored me with a reply to that communication, which reply had been transmitted to you by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, under the date of the 9th of the same month. I have submitted it to the President of the United States. It is now made my duty to revert to the interesting question which has thus been brought under discussion.

In the first place I take notice of the points which are made by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys.

He declares that the French expedition into Mexico had in it nothing hostile to the institutions of the New World, and still less of anything hostile to the United States. As proofs of this friendly statement, he refers to the aid in blood and treasure which France contributed in our revolutionary war to the cause of our national independence; to the preliminary proposition that France made to us that we should join her in her expedition to Mexico; and, finally, to the neutrality which France has practiced in the painful civil war through which we have just successfully passed. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge that the assurances thus given on the present occasion that the French expedition, in its original design, had no political objects or motives, harmonize entirely with expressions which abound in the earlier correspondence of the minister of foreign affairs, which arose out of the war between France and Mexico.

We accept with especial pleasure the reminiscences of our traditional friendship.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys next assures us that the French government is disposed to hasten, as much as possible, the recall of its troops from Mexico. We hail the announcement as being a virtual promise of relief to this government from the apprehensions and anxieties which were the burden of that communication of mine, which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys has had under consideration.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys proceeds to declare that the only aim of France, in pursuing her enterprise in Mexico, has been to follow up the satisfaction to which she had a right after having resorted to coercive measures, when measures of every other form had been exhausted. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys says that it is known how many and legitimate were the claims of French subjects which caused the resort to arms. He then reminds us how, on a former occasion, the United States had waged war on Mexico. On this point it seems equally necessary and proper to say, that the war thus referred to was not made nor sought by the United States, but was accepted by them under provocations of a very grave character. The transaction is past, and the necessity and justice of the proceedings of the United States are questions which now rest only within the province of history. France, I think, will acknowledge, that neither in the beginning of our Mexican war nor in its prosecution, nor in the terms on which we retired from that successful contest, did the United States assume any position inconsistent with the principles which are now maintained by us in regard to the French expedition in Mexico.

We are, as we have been, in relations of amity and friendship equally with France and with Mexico, and therefore we cannot, consistently with those relations, constitute ourselves a judge of the original merits of the war which is waged between them. We can speak concerning that war only so far as we are affected by its bearing upon ourselves and upon republican and American institutions on this continent.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys declares that the French army, in entering Mexico, did not carry monarchical traditions in the folds of its flag. In this connexion he refers to the fact that there were at the time of the expedition a number of influential men in Mexico who despaired of obtaining order out of the conditions of the republican rule then existing there, and who, therefore, cherished the idea of falling back upon monarchy. In this connexion, we are further reminded that one of the later presidents of Mexico offered to use his power for the re-establishment of royalty. We are further informed that at the time of the French invasion the persons before referred to deemed the moment to have arrived for making an appeal to the people of Mexico in favor of monarchy. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys remarks that the French government did not deem it a duty to discourage that supreme effort of a powerful party, which had its origin long anterior to the French expedition.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys observes that the Emperor, faithful to maxims of public right, which he holds in common with the United States, declared on that occasion that the question of change of institutions rested solely on the suffrages of the Mexican people. In support of this statement, Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys gives us a copy of a letter which the Emperor addressed to the commander-in-chief of the French expedition, on the capture of Puebla, which letter contained the following words: "Our object, you know, is not to impose on the Mexicans a government against their will, nor to make our success aid the triumph of any party whatsoever. I desire that Mexico may rise to a new life, and that, soon regenerated by a government founded on the national will, on principles of order and of progress, and of respect for the laws of nations, she may acknowledge by her friendly relations that she owes to France her repose and her prosperity."

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys pursues his argument by saying that the Mexican people have spoken; that the emperor Maximilian has been called by the voice of the country; that his government has appeared to the Emperor of the French to be of a nature adequate to restore peace to the nation, and, on its part, peace to international relations, and that he has therefore given it his support. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys thereupon presents the following as a true statement of the present case: France went to Mexico to exercise the right of war, which is exercised by the United States, and not in virtue of any purpose of intervention, concerning which she recognizes the same doctrine with the United States. France went there not to bring about a monarchical proselytism, but to obtain reparations and guarantees which she ought to claim; and, being there, she now sustains the government which is founded on the consent of the people, because she expects from that government the just satisfaction of her wrongs, as well as the securities indispensable to the future. As she does not seek the satisfaction of an exclusive interest, nor the realization of any ambitious schemes, so she now wishes to recall what remains in Mexico of the army corps which France has sent there at the moment when she will be able to do so with safety to French citizens and with due respect for herself.

I am aware how delicate the discussion is to which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys thus invites me. France is entitled, by every consideration of respect and friendship, to interpret for herself the objects of the expedition, and of the whole of her proceedings in Mexico. Her explanation of those motives and objects is, therefore, accepted on our part with the consideration and confidence which we expect for explanations of our own when assigned to France or any other friendly power. Nevertheless, it is my duty to insist that, whatever were the intentions, purposes, and objects of France, the proceedings which were adopted by a class of Mexicans for subverting the republican government there, and for availing themselves of French intervention to establish on its ruins an imperial monarchy, are regarded by the United States as having been taken without the authority, and prosecuted against the will and opinions, of the Mexican people. For these reasons it seems to this government that, in supporting institutions thus established in derogation of the inalienable rights of the people of Mexico, the original purposes and objects of the French expedition, though they have not been, as a military demand of satisfaction, abandoned, nor lost out of view by the Emperor of the French, were, nevertheless, left to fall into a condition in which they seem to have become subordinate to a political revolution, which certainly would have not occurred if France had not forcibly intervened, and which, judging from the genius and character of the Mexican people, would not now be maintained by them if that armed intervention should cease. The United States have not seen any satisfactory evidence that the people of Mexico have spoken, and have called into being or accepted the so-called empire which it is insisted has been set up in their capital. The United States, as I have remarked on other occasions, are of opinion that such an acceptance could not have been freely procured or lawfully taken at any time in the presence of the French army of invasion. The withdrawal of the French forces is deemed necessary to allow such a proceeding to be taken by Mexico. Of course the Emperor of France is entitled to determine the aspect in which the Mexican situation ought to be regarded by him. Nevertheless, the view which I have thus presented is the one which this nation has accepted. It therefore recognizes, and must continue to recognize, in Mexico only the ancient republic, and it can in no case consent to involve itself, either directly or indirectly, in relation with or recognition of the institution of the Prince Maximilian in Mexico.

This position is held, I believe, without one dissenting voice by our countrymen. I do not presume to say that this opinion of the American people is accepted or will be adopted generally by other foreign powers, or by the public opinion of mankind. The Emperor is quite competent to form a judgment upon this important point for himself. I cannot, however, properly exclude the observation that, while this question affects by its bearings, incidentally, every republican state in the American hemisphere, every one of those states has adopted the judgment which, on the behalf of the United states, is herein expressed. Under these circumstances it has happened, either rightfully or wrongfully, that the presence of European armies in Mexico, maintaining a European prince with imperial attributes, without her consent and against her will, is deemed a source of apprehension and danger, not alone to the United States, but also to all the independent and sovereign republican States founded on the American continent and its adjacent islands. France is acquainted with the relations of the United States towards the other American States to which I have referred, and is aware of the sense that the American people entertain in regard to the obligations and duties due from them to those other States. We are thus brought back to the single question which formed the subject of my communication of the 6th of December last, namely, the desirableness of an adjustment of a question the continuance of which must be necessarily prejudicial to the harmony and friendship which have hitherto always existed between the United States and France.

This government does not undertake to say how the claims of indemnity and satisfaction, for which the war which France is waging in Mexico was originally instituted, shall now be adjusted, in discontinuing what, in its progress, has become a war of political intervention dangerous to the United States and to republican institutions in the American hemisphere. Recognizing France and the republic of Mexico as belligerents engaged in war, we leave all questions concerning those claims and indemnities to them. The United States rest content with submitting to France the exigencies of an embarrassing situation in Mexico, and expressing the hope that France may find some manner which shall at once be consistent with her interest and honor, and with the principles and interest of the United States, to relieve that situation without injurious delay.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys repeats on this occasion what he has heretofore written, namely, that it depends much upon the federal government to facilitate their desire of the withdrawal of the French forces from Mexico. He argues that the position which the United States have assumed has nothing incompatible with the existence of monarchical institutions in Mexico. He draws to his support on this point the fact that the President of the United States, as well as the Secretary of State, in official papers, disclaim all thought of propagandism on the American continent in favor of republican institutions. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys draws in, also, the fact that the United States hold friendly relations with the Emperor of Brazil, as they held similar relations with Iturbide, the Mexican Emperor, in 1822. From these positions Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys makes the deduction that neither any fundamental maxim, nor any precedent in the diplomatic history of this country, creates any necessary antagonism between the United States and the form of government over which the Prince Maximilian presides in the ancient capital of Mexico.

I do not think it would be profitable, and therefore I am not desirous to engage in the discussions which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys has thus raised. It will be sufficient for my purpose, on the present occasion, to assert and to give reassurance of our desire to facilitate the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, and, for that purpose, to do whatsoever shall be compatible with the positions we have heretofore taken upon that subject, and with our just regard to the sovereign rights of the republic of Mexico. Further or otherwise than this France could not expect us to go. Having thus reassured France, it seems necessary to state anew the position of this government. as it was set forth in my letter of the 6th of December, as follows: Republican and domestic institutions on this continent are deemed most congenial with and most beneficial to the United States. Where the people of any country, like Brazil now, or Mexico in 1822, have voluntarily established and acquiesced in monarchical institutions of their own choice, free from all foreign control or intervention, the United States do not refuse to maintain relations with such governments, or seek through propagandism, by force or intrigue, to overthrow those institutions. On the contrary, where a nation has established institutions republican and domestic, similar to our own, the United States assert in their behalf that no foreign nation can rightfully intervene by force to subvert republican institutions and establish those of an antagonistical character.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys seems to think that I have made a double reproach against the Prince Maximilian's alleged government, of the difficulty it encounters and of the assistance it borrows from foreign powers. In that respect Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys contends that the obstacles and the resistance which Maximilian has been obliged to wrestle with have in themselves nothing especial against the form of the institutions which he is supposed by Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys to have established. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys maintains that Maximilian's government is undergoing the lot quite common to new powers, while, above all, it has the misfortune to have to bear the consequences of discords which have been produced under a previous government. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys represents this misfortune and this lot to be in effect the misfortune and lot of governments which have not found armed competitors, and which have enjoyed in peace an uncontrolled authority. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys alleges that revolts and intestine wars are the normal condition of Mexico, and he further insists that the opposition made by some military chiefs to the establishment of an empire under Maximilian is only the natural sequence of the same want of discipline, and the same prevalence of anarchy, of which his predecessors in power in Mexico have been victims. It is not the purpose, nor would it be consistent with the character of the United States, to deny that Mexico has been for a long time the theatre of faction and intestine war. The United States confess this fact with regret, all the more sincere, because the experience of Mexico has been not only painful for her own people, but has been also of unfortunate evil influence on other nations.

On the other hand, it is neither a right of the United States, nor consistent with their friendly disposition towards Mexico, to reproach the people of that country with her past calamities, much less to invoke or approve of the infliction of punishment upon them by strangers for their political errors. The Mexican population have, and their situation has, some peculiarities which are doubtless well understood by France. Early in the present century they were forced, by convictions which mankind cannot but respect, to cast off a foreign monarchical rule which they deemed incompatible with their welfare and aggrandizement. They were forced, at the same time, by convictions which the world must respect, to attempt the establishment of republican institutions, without the full experience and practical education and habits which would render those institutions all at once firm and satisfactory. Mexico was a theatre of conflict between European commercial, ecclesiastical, and political institutions and dogmas, and novel American institutions and ideas. She had African slavery, colonial restrictions, and ecclesiastical monopolies. In the chief one of these particulars she had a misfortune which was shared by the United States, while the latter were happily exempted from the other misfortunes. We cannot forget that Mexico, sooner and more readily than the United States, abolished slavery. We cannot deny that all the anarchy in Mexico, of which Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys complains, was necessarily, and even wisely, endured in the attempts to lay sure foundations of broad republican liberty.

I do not know whether France can rightfully be expected to concur in this view, which alleviates, in our mind, the errors, misfortunes, and calamities of Mexico. However this may be, we fall back upon the principle that no foreign state can rightly intervene in such trials as those of Mexico, and, on the ground of a desire to correct those errors, deprive the people there of their natural right of domestic and republican freedom. All the injuries and wrongs which Mexico can have committed against any other state have found a severe punishment in consequences which legitimately followed their commission. Nations are not authorized to correct each other's errors except so far as is necessary to prevent or redress injuries affecting themselves. If one state has a right to intervene in any other state, to establish discipline, constituting itself a judge of the occasion, then every state has the same right to intervene in the affairs of every other nation, being itself alone the arbiter, both in regard to the time and the occasion. The principle of intervention, thus practically carried out, would seem to render all sovereignty and independence, and even all international peace and amity, uncertain and fallacious.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys proceeds to remark, that as for the support which Maximilian receives from the French army, as well also as for the support which has been lent to him by Belgian and Austrian volunteers, those supports cause no hindrance to the freedom of his resolutions in the affairs of his government. Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys asks what state is there that does not need allies, either to form or to defend. As to the great powers, such as France and England, do they not constantly maintain foreign troops in their armies? When the United States fought for their independence, did the aid given by France cause that movement to cease to be truly national? Shall it be said that the contest between the United States and the recent insurgents was not in a like manner a national war, because thousands of Irishmen and Germans were found fighting under the flag of the Union? Arguing from anticipated answers to these questions, Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys reaches a conclusion that the character of Maximilian's government cannot be contested, nor can its efforts to consolidate itself be contested, on the ground of the employment of foreign troops.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, in this argument, seems to us to have overlooked two important facts, namely: first, that the United States, in this correspondence, have assigned definite limits to the right of alliance incompatible with our assent to his argument; and secondly, the fact that the United States have not at any time accepted the supposed government of the Prince Maximilian as a constitutional or legitimate form of government in Mexico, capable or entitled to form alliances.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys then arranges, in a graphic manner, the advantages that have arisen, or are to arise, to the United States, from the successful establishment of the supposed empire in Mexico. Instead of a country unceasingly in trouble, and which has given us so many subjects of complaint, and against which we ourselves have been obliged to make war, he shows us in Mexico a pacific country, under a beneficent imperial sway, offering henceforth measures of security and vast openings to our commerce, a country far from injuring our rights and hurting our influences. And he assures us that, above all other nations, the United States are most likely to profit by the work which is being accomplished by Prince Maximilian in Mexico. These suggestions are as natural on the part of France as they are friendly to the United States. The United States are not insensible to the desirableness of political and commercial reform in the adjoining country; but their settled principles, habits, and convictions forbid them to look for such changes in this hemisphere to foreign, royal, or imperial institutions, founded upon a forcible subversion of republican institutions. The United States, in their customary sobriety, regard no beneficial results which could come from such a change in Mexico as sufficient to overbalance the injury which they must directly suffer by the overthrow of the republican government in Mexico.

Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, at the end of his very elaborate and able review, recapitulates his exposition in the following words: "The United States acknowledge the right we had to make war in Mexico. On the other part, we admit, as they do, the principle of non-intervention. This double postulate includes, as it seems to me, the elements of an agreement. The right to make war, which belongs, as Mr. Seward declares, to every sovereign nation, implies the right to secure the results of war. We have not gone across the ocean merely for the purpose of showing our power, and of inflicting chastisement on the Mexican government. After a train of fruitless remonstrances, it was our duty to demand guarantees against the recurrence of violence from which our country had suffered so cruelly, and those guarantees we could not look for from a government whose bad faith we had proved on so many occasions. We find them now engaged in the establishment of a regular government which shows itself disposed to honestly keep its engagements. In this relation we hope that the legitimate object of our expedition will soon be reached, and we are striving to make with the emperor Maximilian arrangements which, by satisfying our interests and our honor, will permit us to consider at an end the service of the army upon Mexican soil. The Emperor has given an order to write in this same sense to our minister at Mexico. We fall back at that moment on the principle of non-intervention, and from that moment accept it as the rule of our conduct. Our interest, no less than our honor, commands us to claim from all the uniform application of it. Trusting the spirit of equity which animates the cabinet of Washington, we expect from it the assurance that the American people will themselves conform to the law which they invoke, by observing, in regard to Mexico, a strict neutrality. When you [meaning the Marquis de Montholon] shall have informed me of the resolution of the federal government, I shall be able to indicate to you the nature of the results of our negotiation with the emperor Maximilian for the return of our troops."

I have already, and not without much reluctance, made the comments upon the arguments of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys which seem to be necessary to guard against the inference of concurrence in questionable positions which might be drawn from our entire silence. I think that I can, therefore, afford to leave his recapitulation of those arguments without such an especial review as would necessarily be prolix, and perhaps hypercritical. The United States have not claimed, and they do not claim, to know what arrangements the Emperor may make for the adjustment of claims for indemnity and redress in Mexico. It would be, on our part, an act of intervention to take cognizance of them. We adhere to our position that the war in question has become a political war between France and the republic of Mexico, injurious and dangerous to the United States and to the republican cause, and we ask only that in that aspect and character it may be brought to an end. It would be illiberal on the part of the United States to suppose that, in desiring or pursuing preliminary arrangements, the Emperor contemplates the establishment in Mexico, before withdrawing his forces, of the very institutions which constitute the material ground of the exceptions taken against his intervention by the United States. It would be still more illiberal to suppose for a moment that he expects the United States to bind themselves indirectly to acquiesce in or support the obnoxious institutions.

On the contrary, we understand him as announcing to us his immediate purpose to bring to an end the service of his armies in Mexico, to withdraw them, and in good faith to fall back, without stipulation or condition on our part, upon the principle of non-intervention upon which he is henceforth agreed with the United States. We cannot understand his appeal to us for an assurance that we ourselves will abide by our own principles of non-intervention in any other sense than as the expression, in a friendly way, of his expectation that when the people of Mexico shall have been left absolutely free from the operation, effects, and consequences of his own political and military intervention, we will ourselves respect their self-established sovereignty and independence. In this view of the subject only can we consider his appeal pertinent to the case. Regarding it in only this aspect, we must meet the Emperor frankly. He knows the form and character of this government. The nation can be bound only by treaties which have the concurrence of the President and two-thirds of the Senate. A formal treaty would be objectionable as unnecessary, except as a disavowal of bad faith on our part, to disarm suspicion in regard to a matter concerning which we have given no cause for questioning our loyalty, or else such a treaty would be refused upon the ground that the application for it by the Emperor of France was unhappily a suggestion of some sinister or unfriendly reservation or purpose on his part in withdrawing from Mexico. Diplomatic assurances given by the President in behalf of the nation can at best be but the expressions of confident expectation on his part that the personal administration, ever changing in conformity and adaptation to the national will, does not misunderstand the settled principles and policy of the American people. Explanations cannot properly be made by the President in any case wherein it would be deemed, for any reason, objectionable on grounds of public policy by the treaty-making power of the government to introduce or entertain negotiations.

With these explanations I proceed to say that, in the opinion of the President France need not for a moment delay her promised withdrawal of military forces from Mexico, and her putting the principle of non-intervention into full and complete practice in regard to Mexico, through any apprehension that the United States will prove unfaithful to the principles and policy in that respect which, on their behalf, it has been my duty to maintain in this now very lengthened correspondence. The practice of this government, from its beginning, is a guarantee to all nations of the respect of the American people for the free sovereignty of the people in every other state. We received the instruction from Washington. We applied it sternly in our early intercourse even with France. The same principle and practice have been uniformly inculcated by all our statesmen, interpreted by all our jurists, maintained by all our Congresses, and acquiesced in without practical dissent on all occasions by the American people. It is in reality the chief element of foreign intercourse in our history. Looking simply toward the point to which our attention has been steadily confined, the relief of the Mexican embarrassments without disturbing our relations with France, we shall be gratified when the Emperor shall give to us, either through the channel of your esteemed correspondence or otherwise, definitive information of the time when French military operations may be expected to cease in Mexico.

Here I might perhaps properly conclude this note. Some obscurity, however, might be supposed to rest upon the character of the principle of non-intervention, which we are authorized to suppose is now agreed upon between the United States and France as a rule for their future government in regard to Mexico. I shall, therefore, reproduce on this occasion, by way of illustration, some of the forms in which that principle has been maintained by us in our previous intercourse with France. In 1861, when alluding to the possibility that the Emperor might be invoked by rebel emissaries from the United States to intervene in our civil war, I observed: "The Emperor of France has given abundant proofs that he considers the people in every country the rightful source of authority, and that its only legitimate objects are their safety, freedom, and welfare."

I wrote, also, on the same occasion, these words to Mr. Dayton: "I have thus, under the President's direction, placed before you a simple, unexaggerated, and dispassionate statement of the origin, nature, and purposes of the contest in which the United States are now involved. I have done so only for the purpose of deducing from it the arguments you will find it necessary to employ in opposing the application of the so-called Confederate States to the government of his Majesty the Emperor for a recognition of their independence and sovereignty. The President neither expects nor desires any intervention, or even any favor, from the government of France, or any other, in this emergency. Whatever else he may consent to do, he will never invoke nor even admit foreign interference or influence in this or any other controversy in which the governmen of the United States may be engaged with any portion of the American people

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"Foreign intervention would oblige us to treat those who should yield it as allies of the insurrectionary party, and to carry on the war against them as enemies.

"However other European powers may mistake, his Majesty is the last one of those sovereigns to misapprehend the nature of this controversy. He knows that the revolution of 1776, in this country, was a successful contest of the great American idea of free, popular government against resisting prejudices and errors. He knows that the conflict awakened the sympathies of mankind, and that ultimately the triumph of that idea has been hailed by all European nations. He knows at what cost European nations for a time resisted the progress of that idea, and, perhaps, is not unwilling to confess how much France, especially, has profited by it. He will not fail to recognize the presence of that one great idea in the present conflict, nor will he mistake the side on which it will be found. It is, in short, the very principle of universal suffrage, with its claim of obedience to its decrees, on which the government of France is built, that is put in issue by the insurrection here, and is in this emergency to be vindicated and more effectually than ever established by the government of the United States."

In writing upon the same subject to Mr. Dayton, on the 30th of May, 1861, I said: "Nothing is wanting to that success except that foreign nations shall leave us, as is our right, to manage our own affairs in our own way. They, as well as we, can only suffer by their intervention. No one, we are sure, can judge better than the Emperor of France how dangerous and deplorable would be the emergency that should intrude Europeans into the political contests of the American people."

In declining the offer of French mediation, on the 8th of June, 1861, I wrote to Mr. Dayton: "The present paramount duty of the government is to save the integrity of the American Union. Absolute, self-sustaining independence is the first and most indispensable element of national existence. This is a republican nation; all its domestic affairs must be conducted and even adjusted in constitutional forms, and upon constitutional, republican principles. This is an American nation, and its internal affairs must not only be conducted with reference to its peculiar continental position, but by and through American agencies alone."

On the first of August, 1862, Mr. Adams was instructed by this government in the following words: "Did the European states which found and occupied this continent almost without effort then understand its real destiny and purposes? Have they ever yet fully understood and accepted them? Has anything but disappointment upon disappointment and disaster upon disaster resulted from their misapprehensions? After near four hundred years of such disappointments and disasters, is the way of Providence in regard to America still so mysterious that it cannot be understood and confessed? Columbus, it was said, had given a new world to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. What has become of the sovereignty of Spain in America? Richelieu occupied and fortified a large portion of the continent, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the straits of Belle Isle. Does France yet retain that important appendage to the crown of her sovereign? Great Britain acquired a dominion here surpassing by a hundred-fold in length and breadth the native realm. Has not a large portion of it been already formally resigned? To whom have those vast dominions, with those founded by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Swedes, been resigned but to American nations, the growth of European colonists and exiles, who have come hither, bringing with them the arts, the civilization, and the virtues of Europe? Has not the change been beneficial to society on this continent? Has it not been more beneficial even to Europe itself than continued

European domination, if it had been possible, could have been? The American nations which have grown up here are free and self-governing. They have made themselves so from inherent vigor and in obedience to absolute necessity. Is it possible for European states to plunge them again into a colonial state and hold them there? Would it be desirable for them and for Europe, if it were possible? The balance of power among the nations of Europe is maintained not without numerous strong armies and frequent conflicts, while the sphere of political ambition there is bounded by the ocean which surrounds that continent. Would it be possible to maintain it at all, if this vast continent, with all its populations, their resources, and their forces, should once again be brought within that sphere?

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"On the contrary of all these suppositions, is it not manifest that these American nations were called into existence to be the home of freemen; that the states of Europe have been intrusted by Providence with their tutelage, but that tutelage and all its responsibilities and powers are necessarily withdrawn to the relief and benefit of the parties and of mankind, when these parties become able to choose their own system of government, and to make and administer their own laws? If they err in this choice, or in the conduct of their affairs, it will be found wise to leave them, like all other states, the privilege and responsibility of detecting and correcting the error by which they are, of course, the principal sufferers."

On the 8th of May, 1862, Mr. Dayton was instructed to express to Mr. Thouvenel "the desire of the United States that peaceful relations may soon be restored between France and Mexico upon a basis just to both parties, and favorable to the independence and sovereignty of the people of Mexico, which is equally the interest of France and all other enlightened nations."

On the 21st of June, 1862, Mr. Dayton was authorized to speak on behalf of the United States concerning the condition of Mexico in these words: "France has a right to make war against Mexico, and to determine for herself the cause. We have a right to insist that France shall not improve the war she makes to raise up in Mexico an anti-republican or anti-American government, or to maintain such a government there."

Accept, sir, a renewed assurance of my high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The MARQUIS DE MONTHOLON, *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

No. 19.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.

No. 388.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 12, 1866.

SIR: I enclose for your information a copy of a note of this date,* which I have addressed to the Marquis de Montholon, in reply to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys's communication of the 9th of January, upon the subject of the French intervention in Mexico.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JOHN BIGELOW, Esq., *&c.*, *&c.*, *&c.*

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* For enclosure see No. 17.

No. 12.

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOR OF THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC.

List of papers.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Sept. 20, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure)	Oct. 2, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)	Oct. 10, 1865.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter, (with one enclosure)	Jan. 8, 1866.
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Mar. 14, 1866.

No. 1.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 20th of September, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you a copy of a printed pamphlet which contains the proceedings of a meeting of citizens of this city, which took place at the Cooper Institute on the 19th of July last, for the purpose of expressing sympathy and respect for the patriotic Mexicans who have emigrated to the United States, in virtue of the events which are having place at present in the Mexican republic.

It is very satisfactory to me to avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

Proceedings of a meeting of citizens of New York, to express sympathy and respect for the Mexican republican exiles, held at Cooper Institute, July 19, 1865.

PREFACE.

A number of Mexicans who had been driven from their country in consequence of its invasion by a French army, and the usurpation of the government by the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, having taken refuge in New York, it was proposed by some of our citizens to show them an expression of public respect and sympathy, and to request them to make known such facts respecting their country and people as they might wish to communicate. An invitation was therefore given to the Mexican Patriot Club, consisting of about forty members, and comprising a number of men eminent for their character, offices, and services in the state and the army, to which they acceded, appointing four of their orators to prepare addresses.

The meeting was held on the nineteenth of July, at Cooper Institute. The Mexican *flag* was placed on the left; the *stars and stripes* having been planted on the right.

The chair was occupied by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, who had early taken a prominent position as an energetic advocate of the republican cause in Mexico, by his able pamphlet on *the Monroe doctrine*, and his public lectures on the same subject.

He invited the members of the United Service Society to take seats on the stage, and then introduced the honored guests of the evening, the Mexican patriot exiles.

Many things concurred to give a peculiar interest to the meeting. It was the first of the kind ever held. Never before had the true representatives of any of the Spanish American republics appeared before an assemblage of the citizens of the United States, to receive a fraternal welcome as acknowledged members of the general American brotherhood. Never before had worthy members of any family of the Spanish race had an opportunity to tell their wants, wishes, fears, and hopes to an audience of our countrymen. The patriots of Mexico, like those of our other sister republics of the western continent, had been struggling nobly for half a century for such rights as we enjoy, desiring to be understood and appreciated by us, but steadily opposed by their open and secret enemies, by misrepresentations, slanders, and calumnies of every kind, often through the channel of our own press. Hence it had been impossible to enlist the feelings of our public for them or their cause because there were no means afforded of correct information. Those who projected the meeting, designed it for the purpose of overcoming the obstacles which had been placed between Anglo-Saxon republicans and those of the Spanish race. The experiment proved successful. Those who saw the distinguished and noble patriot band assembled that evening under the Mexican banner, will never believe that they have in any sense lost the high physical qualities ascribed to their Spanish ancestors; and those who read their addresses, even with all the disadvantages of a translation, must assign their authors a rank among the best writers in our own language, for eloquence and force of expression, and, what is of more importance, for pure republican principles and patriotic sentiments. Some among our own countrymen may indeed be justly reproved, by the clear exhibition which they make, of sound American views, and energetic resolution to sustain, to the last extremity, the cause of national independence and republican institutions, against the impudent and hypocritical intrusion of a foreign usurper and despot, ultimately aiming to undermine our own institutions and to subvert our liberties. Well may the indolent, the short-sighted, and the timid among us blush at the spectacle of the Mexicans keeping the gates of our Thermopylæ, with undaunted courage and alone!

The Mexican republican struggle is doubly commended to the sympathies of the people of the United States, by its involving both civil and religious liberty, which are universally known and admitted by us to be essentially, vitally, connected with republican freedom. Louis Napoleon, after destroying two republics in the Old World—those of France and Rome—under hypocritical pretences and by false-hearted proceedings, in his audacious but insidious attempt against the liberties of the western continent, has attempted, through his imbecile tool, Maximilian, to practice new deceptions on the world, by restoring the old Papal system in Mexico, while pretending to favor religious liberty, and sweeping away the Lancasterian schools, which have been in successful operation for thirty years in Mexico, under lay teachers, to make the stupid priests again the only instructors, who have stultified mankind, wherever they have had control, for a thousand years.

The history of the struggles of Mexico against temporal and spiritual tyranny will be one of the most interesting of modern times; and will be highly appreciated, not only by the descendants of the New England pilgrims and of the republicans of Holland, but by the friends of freedom throughout the world.

[The addresses had all been translated into English. That of Señor Zarco was read by himself; those of Señor Rivera y Rio and Colonel Balbontin by Dr. Leavitt, and that of Señor Villalobos was delivered by him in Spanish, the translation having been printed and distributed among the audience. The reader is referred to the last pages of this pamphlet for the names, titles, &c., of the members of the Mexican Club.]

THE PROCEEDINGS.

SPEECH OF DR. LEAVITT.

Dr. Leavitt, on taking the chair, opened the meeting with some remarks explanatory of its object and occasion. We have met, he said, for the purpose of testifying, on behalf of the people of the United States, our respect and sympathy for our fellow-republicans, citizens of our nearest neighboring country, the republic of Mexico, many of them exiles for their fidelity to their country's cause. We are happy to meet with so large and respectable a delegation, and to assure them of our deep sympathy with them and their afflicted and injured country. The republic of Mexico has been unjustly invaded by the combined powers of Europe. They were not all indeed openly engaged in the coalition. But there were many reasons for charging that they all sympathized with the invasion, with the exception of Russia and Switzerland, so evidently as to show that they considered the invasion to be made on behalf of them all, for a cause in which they felt the impulses of a common interest. This invasion, he said, was made for reasons alleged, which would not justify it, if they had been true; but as they were not true, it was done under false pretences, and its real objects made it still more atrocious. Not only the time at which it was made, when our hands were supposed to be tied by the great rebellion, but there were a multitude of coincidences, too remarkable to be accidental, going to show that both the invasion and the rebellion were parts of one grand conspiracy of the upholders of absolutism in Europe and the upholders of slavery in the United States, to make common cause and strike a united blow against republican liberty on the American continent, in the hope of rendering arbitrary power more secure in both hemispheres.

The blow which struck down the republic of Mexico was aimed at the life of the imperial republic of the north. We ourselves have happily escaped the blow. A wonderful providence has rescued us from the threatened destruction. But our neighbors have felt its full weight. They stand in our place. They are suffering on our account far more than for their own. It is not in the nature of the American people to see this with indifference. They are not now looking at it with indifference, but with the deepest interest and the most profound emotions. They will not act rashly or unlawfully, or in any manner unbecoming a great nation. But their forbearance is in no respect to be ascribed to indifference.

Attempts are made, of late, in various quarters and through various channels, *in the interest of France*, to persuade the people of the United States that they have no interest in the Mexican republic, and that it is most for their interest to have things as they are, with Maximilian on the throne in Mexico, sustained by foreign bayonets and foreign subsidies, without which the bastard empire could not live a month. He would tell all these parties that they would lose their labor, and shed their ink and spoil their paper to no purpose, for the simple reason that the people of the United States are not in the interest of France. Thank God for that. They are not partisans of any European power or of any European interest, but they are devoted to the preservation of republican liberty and independence on this western continent, according to the doctrine and the practice of that great statesman and true patriot, President Monroe.

Among these efforts in the interest of France, he held in his hand a pamphlet, just received through the post office, purporting to have been written by "C. G. Thomson, Lima, N. Y.," which attempts to show that things are better for us as they are, because Louis Napoleon has given to Mexico a stable government, while the experience of fifty years has proved that the people of Mexico are not capable of governing themselves. To which he would answer, in the first place, that it is the very point yet to be proved, that the nominal government imposed upon Mexico by the armies of France is a stable government. Things are not looking very stable in that quarter just at present. And as to the incapacity of the people of Mexico for self-government, he pointed to their representatives on the platform, and denied that such people are incapable of self-government. He affirmed that the people of Mexico had been under a process of education for republican freedom for fifty years, and that they had made great progress in intelligence, in patriotism, and in the power of self-control. They had shown this especially in the heroism and devotion with which they have maintained this long struggle against the overwhelming power of France, acting for all Europe. They have had one grand enemy to contend against, as we had one, in the existence of principles and institutions incompatible with republican liberty. These difficulties, in both countries, were planted by European powers, and were remains of our former colonial subjection. We have finally put down our internal enemy, and the people of Mexico have got their great enemy where they can take good care of him well enough, if they can only be let alone. We know that the only stable government possible in Mexico is the republic. All Europe cannot maintain a monarchy in that country, as a stable government. And he believed there would have been general peace and order all over the country long ago but for European interference.

The pamphlet maintains that the only alternative of the French rule in Mexico is for us to take the country ourselves, and that this is the real import of the Monroe doctrine. The chairman entirely rejected this interpretation of the Monroe doctrine. The notion that the Monroe doctrine meant the absorption of one state and country after another, originated with slavery, and was now justly buried in the grave of its originator. The Monroe doctrine, as it was set forth by Monroe and Adams forty years ago, was a doctrine of humanity, of beneficence, and not of grasping selfishness. Its meaning, as it had always been held, and as it is still held by the body of the people of the United States, is this, that we make common cause and cherish a common sympathy with the American republics, and welcome them to the common platform of national independence. America would be greater, stronger, and richer in proportion to the elevation of our sister republic on the south. The chairman said that the meeting did not represent the government of the United States in its executive administration, but he believed that the audience expressed the sentiments of the people of this country, and expressed their earnest desire that the government at Washington would go to the extreme that law, wisdom, and justice allowed, to strengthen, restore, and advance the republic of Mexico. In conclusion, he said that the gentlemen on the stage represented the Mexican Patriot Club of New York, and the first speaker that would be introduced was the president of the club, the honorable Francisco Zarco, late minister of relations of the Mexican republic.

SPEECH OF SEÑOR ZARCO.

GENTLEMEN: In coming from our unfortunate country, (for there never was a greater misfortune than a foreign yoke,) to avail ourselves of your generous hospitality, and to seek the shelter of your admirable institutions, we knew that you deeply sympathized in the heroic efforts of the Mexican people in the unequal contest which they are maintaining, not only in defence of their own independence. and institutions, but also in defence of all American nationalities, which are threatened by European intervention. We knew that the people and government of the United States comprehended that Mexico was resisting the most unjust, the most unexampled of aggressions, and that this nation, guided by the soundest principles of justice, has refused to recognize the semblance of a monarchy supported by French bayonets.

But we knew the conflict in which you were engaged to restore your glorious Union, to re-establish peace, to save your own institutions, to perfect them by effecting the total abolition of slavery, and that until you should succeed in gaining those important objects, it would be impossible for you to fix your attention on foreign questions, how much soever they might interest your principles or your feelings.

We have followed with the liveliest anxiety the events of the past months; we have rejoiced with all our hearts at your victories; we have sincerely felicitated ourselves on seeing the Union restored, a stop put to the effusion of blood, and you again closely drawing the fraternal bonds with your misguided brethren.

We welcomed as a jubilee your glorious restoration, because it affects the future of universal freedom, and we have also recently mourned, as if it were our own, the great national loss which you have suffered at the moment of your triumph, as if liberty, in order to be more dear, always needs to be purchased by the blood of illustrious martyrs.

And now, when the United States have recovered their peace, and when, after being proved by great calamities, they are more strong and powerful than ever, we feel the most sincere, the most ardent gratitude on seeing that the public spirit is fixed on the fate of Mexico, and that the press and the tribune express unceasingly their sympathy in favor of our country, and the hope that the cause of right and justice will triumph also in Mexico. These expressions of sympathy will not be sterile; they will bear to the defenders of Mexican independence a great moral force, the support of opinion; they will reanimate them in their strength, and they will understand that a cause is not lost which reclines on the cordial adhesion of the freest people on earth.

Accept, gentlemen, the expression of our most sincere gratitude for this spontaneous and noble manifestation of your generous sentiments in favor of the Mexican republic, and for the honor which you have conferred upon us by associating us in it, with no better title on our part than that we are Mexicans and possess republican principles.

Entirely unknown to you, without any merit to claim your attention, I, as a Mexican, ought to limit myself to expressing my eternal gratitude; but I request your indulgence while I venture to submit to you a few remarks on the Mexican question, not to enlighten your judgment, but to show that the Mexican people are worthy of your sympathies and those of all honorable men who love justice and liberty.

The Mexican question is clear and simple, how much soever our enemies, that are yours too, have endeavored to obscure it, involving the facts in a cloud of falsehoods, calumnies, and misrepresentations. Can a nation, because it is strong, because it has soldiers and cannon, change the institutions of another sovereign nation? No! unanimously replies the conscience of every civilized people. This is the whole question which is now debated in Mexico; and, as you see, that people, by fighting against the foreigner, defends her most precious rights, is the champion of justice and liberty, and by resigning herself to the most painful sacrifices, grows great by her cruel martyrdom, as Poland, Hungary, and Italy have done, and does not show herself to be ungovernable and anarchical by repelling the yoke of a foreign adventurer, brought in by foreigners, and upheld by foreign forces.

Monarchy in Mexico is not the work of the national will—it has been imposed by violence and treason. The throne of the Austrian archduke cannot sustain itself even a day, not even an hour, by national elements, and, to avoid overthrow, it requires the support of a foreign army, and is condemned to an incessant and interminable conflict.

I do not pretend to deny that a monarchical party exists in Mexico. It exists, in truth, but it is so feeble, so impotent, so anti-national, so unpopular, that it is worth nothing by itself, and in order to realize its dreams, has been obliged to sell the country, to betray it, and to implore the yoke of a foreigner, to be chastised by the invaders themselves, who have not satisfied any of its aspirations. That party opposed independence, and independence was conquered in spite of it. When Mexico was once freed from Spanish domination the monarchical party wished to erect a throne; and that throne was destroyed in seven months by establishing by the national will the federal republic, with a constitution very nearly like that of the United States. Ever since that time the monarchical party has been the element of disorder and of the agitations of Mexico, has corrupted the army, has employed the treasures which the church supplied in abundance to support a fratricidal war; and when, sometimes, it has been exalted to public power, it has implored intervention to carry into effect its designs, knowing that the spirit of the people is always opposed to them. The tendencies of the monarchical party were always dashed by the national indignation, and that party was ever careful to avoid the exposure of their principles. Thus, when in 1845 the administration of General Paredes attempted to establish a throne for a Spanish prince, that administration existed only eleven months, although it relied on the secret protection of several European powers; and the men who were called to establish the throne, in an assembly of notables, disappeared from the political scene, proclaiming the same republican institutions which they had attempted to destroy. So when in 1855 the ominous dictatorship of General Santa Ana, erected on the ruins of liberty, renewed the monarchical attempts, a terrible popular revolution was raised against him, the tyrant fled in dismay, and the people re-established once more the republican institutions, rapidly advancing in the path of progress, and overcoming with a strong hand all the obstacles which opposed the public peace and the supremacy of the laws.

From that revolution were born the constitution of 1857, a monument which does honor to the advances of the human spirit; the Juarez law, which abolished the privileges of the clergy and the army by making effective the perfect equality of the citizens; the Leredo law, which devolved upon the nation the wealth administered by the clergy, and by them employed in subversive and armed commotions; the Fuente law, which established absolute independence between the church and the State, and proclaimed the right of man to worship God according to the inspirations of his own conscience.

When the constitution of 1857 was once promulgated, the retrograde party again disturbed public order and took possession of the capital of the republic; but the institutions were at that time so well established already that the soldiery and the clergy could not create even a government *de facto;* and in Queretaro, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Colonia, and Vera Cruz the constitutional government continued to exist, assisted and sustained by the people, who finally, after various battles and splendid victories, restored the institutions in the capital, and once more frustrated the intrigues of the monarchical party, which had solicited the intervention of some nations of Europe.

At the commencement of that struggle it was that, in compliance with the duty which the constitution devolved on him, Mr. Juarez was invested with the executive power, and he was afterward re-elected by the freest will of his countrymen. That illustrious citizen is still the supreme magistrate of the Mexican republic, he who still holds aloft the banner of our independence, and who personifies the cause of right and justice. Greatly has he been calumniated by traitors and invaders; but, without desiring it, they have exalted his name by calling those Mexicans Juarists who defend the independence of their country. Juarez, by his constancy, energy, intelligence, patriotism, probity, and honorable character, will fill a bright page in the history of the nations of America. I will only say to you that Juarez, by his great virtues and civic eminence, is a man worthy to direct the destinies of a free people on the continent where government has been exercised by Washington and Lincoln.

You see, then, that a monarchical party has really existed in Mexico; but so feeble, so impotent, so unpopular, and so short-sighted, that it has never been able, by itself, to extinguish the republican institutions, and, always knowing its own impotence, has sought for foreign aid, and never shrunk from the horrid crime of treason to the country. You see, also, gentlemen, that this insane and wicked minority has been the constant element of the disorders of Mexico, the enemy of liberty and progress, a great obstacle to the establishment of free institutions, and the source of all our agitations. Acting thus, they have not been ashamed to go begging from court to court for a stable government, when they themselves have been the firebrand of discord.

The revolutions in Mexico, which are painted in foreign countries as the extremes of confusion and scandal, as the proof of the corruption and incapacity of an entire nation, as the demonstration that the Mexicans are incapable of governing themselves, as the justification of the intervention and conquest, offer no such indications to the just and impartial observer. The revolutions of Mexico signify that the Spanish domination left behind poisonous germs which could not be extirpated in a day; that the independence of the Spanish colonies was only the beginning of a conflict which must necessarily be long against fanaticism, against prejudices, against ignorance, against the errors which had been sown in order to perpetuate servitude. The revolutions of Mexico show, finally, the constant effort of a people to secure their independence, to establish their liberty, to proceed in the path of progress, having to repress a turbulent minority, resolutely bent on preserving all the abuses and privileges of the classes which had enslaved society. And Mexico has come off triumphant from this contest, because she has always conquered despotism, because she has always succeeded in restoring liberty; and although in the midst of so many agitations, the progress which she has realized and the improvements which she has introduced are truly wonderful. When law has ruled, the Mexican people have known how to exercise the electoral suffrage, organized righteous tribunals, maintained a free and enlightened press, diffused public education, produced eminent men in all the professions, improved industry, agriculture, and mining, given freedom to commerce, guarantees to labor, encouragement to all useful enterprises, and, in short, followed the current of universal civilization, fraternally inviting the stranger to partake of the blessings which Providence has dispensed to their country with a prodigal hand.

Neither before nor since her independence have there ever been in Mexico any elements or tendencies favorable to the establishment of a monarchy. The Spanish domination, a pure commercial concern, was equally oppressive to all the inhabitants of the country, who, on making themselves free, found themselves perfectly equal, as it always happens when a colony is emancipated. The insurrection of 1810 was essentially democratic, and always recurred, when it could, to the forms of representative government, to expose to the world the justice of independence, and to give unity to the efforts of the patriots. Hidalgo, in 1811, in decreeing the abolition of slavery, called forth all races to the enjoyment of political rights, establishing from that time the magnificent basis of our institutions. In Mexico there was no nobility, no aristocracy, and the people, in constituting themselves, desired to create no absolute powers but the guarantee of laws, the enjoyment of rights for all the citizens, and thus establish the republic, and since have constantly defended and sustained it. A great influence has been exercised on their minds by the spectacle of the prosperity and happiness of the United States, which they owe to their institutions; and the fact of our having aspired after the same benefits is the grand fault of the Mexican people in the eyes of the despots of Europe.

The monarchical party have always implored foreign aid; and if the Europeans did not yield it, it was because their first attempts at reconquest were deterred by the Monroe doctrine, and because they ever feared to involve themselves in conflicts with the American people.

Thus, then, when the monarchical party in Mexico was reduced to mere bands of robbers, when its footsteps were spotted with every kind of crimes, when they had just dipped their hands in the blood of the surgeons who attended the wounded in a hospital and broken the seals of the British legation to get possession of the funds of the English bonds, the powers of Europe listened with complacency to the supplications of the Mexican traitors, entered into their projects, knowing that the United States were weakened and disturbed by a terrible civil war, which Europe had helped to bring on. The first experiment was made in Saint Domingo, and its favorable results encouraged the enemies of America, who dreamed that the hour had arrived to stop the progress of popular government on this continent and to proceed to enslave the nations which people it.

The history of the convention of London is known to the world; the arrival of Spanish troops on the Mexican coast, the pretexts made for seizing on our revenue, the discords which divided the allies, their solemn recognition of the legitimate government of the republic, their formal promise to arrange, by means of diplomatic negotiations, all the questions then pending, and the scandalous violation of the preliminaries of La Soledad, in which the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor of the French shamelessly declared that their promises were worth no more than the bit of paper on which they were written! So opprobrious was the outrage of public faith and right, that England and Spain would not follow France, and were ashamed to imitate her.

Thus commenced the war between France and Mexico; and while you, Americans, were struggling with the rebellion, which found sympathizers in Europe, the Mexican people began to fight, routing and beating the French army. Then they made it a point of honor for France—the honor of persevering in a lawless aggression! After two months of heroic resistance, the city of Puebla succumbed, but not until its defenders had exhausted their ammunition, and not a morsel of bread remained to put into their mouths.

After that disaster the French intervention tore off the mask with which it had covered its face. The minister Saligny and General Forey legislated as if in a conquered land. They convoked an assembly of notables; they, and they only, elected those whom they called representatives of the Mexican people; they, and they alone, conceived the establishment of the new monarchy and the election of an Austrian archduke, whose name was then first proposed in Mexico by themselves. The invaders inaugurated a system of oppression and cruelty; they exiled patriots, established martial courts, erected the pillory, flagellated men and women, violated the domestic fireside, and imposed upon towns odious taxations, which are yet exacted.

The capital having been lost, the contest extended through the whole country. The people rose against the foreigners, sealed with their blood their love of independence, and battles have been fought in all parts with various fortunes. In the midst of this slaughter, the Archduke Maximilian arrived in Mexico, expecting to be an emperor, but he has found himself to be only the first vassal of France. This prince, without any will of his own, without knowing the people whom he pretends to govern, has fluctuated from one political party to another, and been constant only in vascillating and in vainly seeking some national support. He now knows perfectly that he has no dependence but that given him by the army which brought him to the country, and fearing that may fail him, he is preparing a new support in adventurers, whom he is recruiting and deceiving, in nations to which Mexico has never done even the least injury.

Maximilian has disappointed the hopes of his new partisans. He came, in the name of European cizilization and the Catholic religion, to overthrow the work of the republicans, to restore to the church her riches, her immunities, and her ancient situation of a state within and above the state. He came to persecute liberty of conscience; and wishing to appear as an enlightened and liberal prince, he has done nothing more than imitate all the measures and laws issued by President Juarez. Thus he has alienated the sympathy of the monarchical party and failed in gaining that of the people, who have always considered him a usurper, imposed upon them by violence.

There has not been a single village in Mexico which has spontaneously given its adhesion to the empire. All those which have accepted it have been compelled to do so, and the monarchical opinion, to show itself, has everywhere waited for the presence of French bayonets. On the contrary, in spite of the want of arms and munitions and the scarcity of resources, caused by the occupation of the custom-houses by the enemy, the Mexican people continue to fight incessantly, continue to recognize their legitimate government, and regard the so-called emperor as one of so many invaders.

France has desired to found a colony in Mexico, like that which she has in Africa; and to conceal this design from the world, she has brought a prince as a docile instrument of her ambition, and has also desired to check the development of free institutions in America, fearing that their stability and prosperity would rouse the oppressed people of Europe from their lethargy.

Such, gentlemen, is the actual state of the Mexican question. There is not to be contemplated the spectacle of a people debased, corrupted, and degraded, of whose fate the world ought to despair. Her agitations are very far from being symptoms of decay and anarchy, of corruption and disorganization. On the contrary, they are proof that the people are alive, and fighting for their honor, liberty, and independence.

Monarchy has no root of existence in Mexico. It is only an abuse, introduced by force, and France herself acknowledges the truth of this when she declares that if she should withdraw her army the throne would fall to dust and leave no trace of its transient existence.

You have desired, gentlemen, to know the situation of a neighboring sister republic. I have told you the truth dispassionately, without hatred and without rancor. The mere interest which you manifest for our fate will encourage the Mexicans to persevere in their glorious enterprise. They have struggled, they are struggling, and they will struggle, alone, without support and without food, until, first or last, the aurora of justice, peace, and redemption shall shine upon them.

The government of the United States has done much by not recognizing as the work of the Mexican people the insane erection of a throne by foreign invaders. You might do much, if you would persist in requiring that your government shall continue to observe the same worthy conduct, comprehending that, in Mexico, the present agitation is neither disorder nor anarchy, but the most noble effort of a nation, which, without measuring its own powers, is not dismayed in her endeavor to save her self-government, and to secure the sovereignty of all America by preserving her own independence.

The Mexican question involves the fate of the continent. In it is to be decided the antagonism which exists between despotism and liberty, between monarchy and republicanism, and therefore it is a continental question, an American question, which no people in the New World can contemplate with indifference without being false to their destiny.

As our words will be maliciously misinterpreted by the enemies of America, we ought to declare aloud that our most ardent aspiration is for the maintenance of the independence of Mexico, of her republican institutions, and her territorial integrity; and while we desire that all the nations of America may take part in our question, which is their own, we are far from encouraging fillibustering expeditions, and from attempting the abolishment of our nationality by the United States. Righteousness, justice, and the experience of the American people and government preclude all danger of such an absorption; and the two republics will be great and powerful, with no other bonds than those of a fraternal and sincere friendship based on the development of their mutual interests.

Neither do we pretend even to look for the interference of this great country in our institutions, or in our interior *régime;* but we deem it just and proper that the United States and the whole world may never confound the expression of our national will with the result of the violence of the invader, and that it may be finally understood that should European intervention become consolidated in Mexico, such intervention, more or less disguised, would control the destinies of our whole continent.

Allow me once more, gentlemen, to express our hearty thanks for the interest which you take in the fate of our native country, and to assure you that your kind interest and your hospitality sweetly mitigate the pain which we feel in remembering the misfortunes of Mexico, being ourselves far from our homes; while it reanimates in our bosoms the hope that she will succeed in reconquering her independence—thus contributing to the development of popular freedom in America.

ADDRESS OF SEÑOR JOSÉ RIVERA Y RIO.

At the very time when Europe was overjoyed at the prospect of the expected results of the hypocritical conspiracy of thrones against republics; at the memorable period when, in the land of Washington, the rebellion broke forth, which was to interrupt her peace, waste all her treasures, arrest her victorious march, and inundate her immense fields with blood; at that hour, Americans, the death-blow was struck at the heart of your sister, the republic of Mexico.

Once again secret conspiracy, treachery, treason—once again the most ignoble arms were brought into use; and again the worst means were employed for the worst ends. Retrograde Europe launched herself upon this continent, claiming the long-denied right of conquest in this last third part of the nineteenth century, and allying it with the abominable crime of intervention, against which she had so often protested.

Nature had placed as the first obstacle to the aggressions of Europe the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; but Europe felt sure of ploughing both in security. Nature had established impassable mountains on the land, which were the palladium of the republic of Mexico; but perjury opened the passage through those walls of granite to men who had received the high-sounding title of the first soldiers in the world, but who dared not there to fight the most modest troops on earth.

England and Spain could not submit to the infamy of France, and left to that powerful nation the responsibility of the crime. They ought to have done something more; they should have chastised the violation of faith plighted in their treaties. They ought to have exacted the fulfilment of the stipulations of London. But England and Spain feared their eternal enemy—feared the nephew of Napoleon the Great. History explains the motives of this panic. Afterward England and Spain recognized the work of Napoleon the Third, which is denominated "The Empire of Maximilian;" a title essentially ludicrous, and worthy of certain scenes of a favorite Spanish writer, which were unattended, however, by the bloody catastrophes and atrocious crimes that already begin to strike the world with horror.

Every great idea and every worthy sentiment has been wanting in that piratical expedition. Indeed, everything has been wanting, including shame. From fear of the climate of our coasts and of our well-defended heights, the French army held the cities which they had begged of our government, as temporary hospital asylums, and which they had been generously allowed to occupy, even after their first acts of enormous injustice, under a solemn promise to retire from them in case no amicable arrangement should be made. We desired, like our predecessors three hundred years previously, to pacify the rage of our aggressors by our liberality and generosity.

But they proceeded to plunder our property, to seize the power of our free people, to dispose of our destinies, to impose their yoke upon us, and to prepare to enact a farce, which was to end in a tragedy, by subjugating America. Mexico was to be the headquarters of the modern conquistadores; Mexico the first colony, which, with the antipathetic spectacle of a throne, should present, as a possible thing, the attempt of foreign monarchy in a hemisphere where the people cordially love independence and the republic, democracy and liberty.

Masters of our capital, after mourning over their routs for a whole year, after having in vain assaulted Puebla, and being always driven back from our positions, the emissaries of Napoleon, an assembly of notables—the grossest burlesque of universal suffrage, the most flagrant violation of our national sovereignty—those iniquitous representatives of treason, nominated by the soldier who, without a battle, occupied the capital, yielding to the pressure of foreign bayonets, obedient to the voice of their master, Forey, voted for the monarchy and for the Austrian archduke, and established a regency, awaiting the arrival of Miramar, an adventurer whom nobody knew, and who, at the first invitation, had the prudence not to accept the improvised empire, exhibiting to the traitor commissioners the plan of the republic of Mexico, which, with the exception of the capital and three other cities, was in possession of the legal authorities elected by the nation.

Brute force, allied to corruption, afterward occupied some other cities; but its power extends no further than the territory which is measured by its arms.

We have fought without rest; and neither the hecatombs nor the scaffolds nor the martyrdoms in our country or in Martinique have suppressed our indomitable bravery. The Colossus is strong, and treason has increased his strength; but more than once victory has smiled upon us, and we have humbled its pride, without stopping the fight to count the vacillating or the number of our opponents. His vengeance, then, has been marked by treacherous assassinations, which have made his victories the more odious—as that of the illustrious Ghilardi; that of the honorable Governor Aguacalientes; Charez, the popular artisan, who, in the eyes of sacrificers, had no other crime but that of loving his country; Romero, generous to the vanquished, having fallen into the cowardly snares of an enemy who immolated him because they feared him, and wished to terrify with punishment indignant society, which uttered a cry of reprobation at every assassination.

What has been the programme which Austrian adventurers have gone to fulfil, to whom the perjured Bonaparte presented the crown of Mexico? We have seen none, but to accustom America to be subjugated by Europe, and to suffer with indifference the spectacle of a throne. Our laws have been sanctioned by the usurper, who has shown this tribute of respect for them, after marked vacillations and tendencies towards retrocession, when, in invading us, he gave the title of an *oppressive minority* to the legitimate representatives of the country, who were their authors.

The tyrant of France has been mistaken in his calculations; has been a most unfortunate Pythoness in America; and therefore proscribed religious liberty, and delivered it over to his captains, but afterward proclaimed religious toleration, and consented to the banishment of the bishops. Therefore he suffered the memorable reverse of the fifth of May; therefore his castle in the air is shaken by every impulse of patriotism, by every convulsion of the heroic contest which Mexico sustains; therefore, also, he witnessed, from the Tuileries, the excision of the rebellious States; and far from foreseeing the prompt and decisive victories of the Union over the secessionists, he expected the hour for recognizing the new government, and giving it the aid of his overrated power. But every one of his mistakes marks his irritation by an outburst of fury, a display of rage, to which his accomplice, Maximilian, blindly submits. Hence the blood which that effeminate prince causes to flow, after having said, in his extravagant proclamations, that if there ever should be a motive for shedding a single drop of blood he would leave the throne.

At the present time, when those who have given to themselves the pompous title of the civilizers of America, not content with depriving the people of Mexico of all social guarantees, establishing permanently courts-martial, which, without any restraint, without ulterior appeal, condemn to death, with indefatigable activity, all who have resisted their ominous power; not satisfied with the burning of entire towns, as that of Ajusco; with the introduction of the pillory, for the most worthy trophy of the refinement; nor with the crimes of Dupin in Tamaulipas and Huasteca; regarding such iniquity as trifling, they now imprison the families of those who fight for their country without yielding to force or corruption, as has just been done to those of Regules, Orteaga, Salazar, Pueblita, and other places. Barbarity worthy of those worn-out nations, who have, with their tyranny, imported horrible vices which the pen refuses to describe; whose immorality has produced seditious, and from them the punishments and death of our brethren.

Executions in mass, the incendiary's torch, ravishment, the infamous whipping of women, who are continually persecuted and exposed to the ferocity of the conquerors; such are the traces left in that country by the soldiers who would have disgraced the hosts of Attila. .The northern barbarians were more moral in Rome than the troops of Napoleon the Third in Mexico.

The time has now arrived when all this must have an end. The Colossus of America cannot remain much longer in this inactive state of rest, after a contest in which, far from degenerating, she has wonderfully increased in height. The enterprise which she should accomplish in the continental struggle, while the political existence of all the American nations is threatened, ought not to reduce her to diplomatic lucubrations, to false cabinet promises, which are laughed at by European statesmen. Let her remember that they deceive feloniously; let her remember their official replies to the inquiries of the cabinet at Washington; how the French said that they were going to Mexico only to make demands, without interfering in our political affairs—and now the world is wondering at their falsehood.

Neither the American people nor their government ought to vacillate in presence of the great question of the future, which it is necessary to resolve at any cost, by driving out of the continent that element, so offensive and pernicious to the nationalities and to the cause of right.

While the soil of that neighboring republic is profaned, you should be in perpetual alarm; you should not proceed to the work of reconstruction without securing tranquillity for the future.

Your legitimate and sworn enemies were not in the fortresses of Richmond, or in Charleston, but in Europe; and many of them occupy the republic of Mexico, terrifying her, and devastating her nationality, to assail, sooner or later—for the question is one of time—the political existence of the Union.

The domestic contest of this country, like that of Mexico, which was sustained more than four years, was agitated by Europe. It was the desperate resistance of the thrones, at the sight of the severe majesty of republics; it is the irritation of the *statu quo*, which does not tolerate the movement of free nations. It is now time to nullify that influence, to pulverize that focus of anarchy; and, since Europe has dared to formalize an aggression, let those who will survive it be the messengers of the unfortunate end of a crusade, which in its defeat shall make known to Europe our way of chastising the disturbers of our peace.

The American people have not forgotten, for a single day, their Monroe doctrine. If at any time that shade which is extended over different nations of Europe has terrified men of little faith; if at any time the activity of France has checked the leading men of this athletic nation; if at any time self-interest has misunderstood the voice of alarm transmitted by the press to the tribune, and from the tribune to the people, it would be a crime at this day to remain in that policy of abstinence. The people of Washington have already shown, in an explicit and decisive manner, that they do not desire the Swiss soldiers of the tyrant of France on the soil of America.

In the day of triumph, the American soldier sees that his mission is not ended, and does not limit himself to keeping the arms which were confided to him to fight with against his erring brethren. He asks where is the foreigner who, taking advantage of the general overthrow, of our exhaustion, and the state of war in which the American Union was engaged, invades the republic of Mexico; and he wishes to go and drive out the stupid monarch, who, at the command of the perjured man of December, is forging chains for that country. Napoleon the Great counted on Joseph Botella, Ney, Massena, and Murat for his conquests, and for the partition of subjugated nations. Napoleon the Little has counted on Forey, Bazaine, Douai, and Maximilian; the former to murder and destroy, and the latter to place on his own head the crown of Mexico, though more worthy to wear the travelling-dress of Jefferson Davis!

Bloody will be the contrast offered by modern history in speaking of contemporaneous men, and by the side of the heroes of the past American war, cast in the mould of Plutarch, consigns the sad celebrity of the conquerors of Mexico and her gracious emperor. Neither the blood which they have shed, nor the atrocities which they have committed, can free the latter from the ridicule which fixes upon them. We have as yet no proof of their valor; and may it please Heaven to allow us, in a few days, the final picture of the premeditated conquest of America by an adventurer who opportunely repents of having burnt his ships!

In the mean time, the victorious soldiers, animated by fortune, great in genius and heart, cannot be satisfied, after a spirited contest, with subjecting the sons of the same country whom Europe encouraged, whom the corrupters of the old world raised in rebellion. They must chastise the invaders.

Grant has pressed the hand of Lee; and this reconciliation would be much more sincere in front of a foreign enemy. Grant may yet be the La Fayette of Mexico, the Garibaldi of this continent. His ambition cannot be satisfied with what he has yet done, in spite of its colossal proportions. Let him be the avenger of his brethren of America, and immortalize the administration of Johnson by a prowess worthy of his illustrious predecessor. If the unfortunate Abraham Lincoln has emancipated a race, let this successor of the bloody victim proclaim the inviolability of America, and be the vigorous defender of the Monroe principles, which now, more than ever, the American people profess.

Mexico is a country endowed by nature with everything which human ambition can pant after. Her climate produces a perfect state of well-being; her riches form the finest promise to labor. Up to this time, nobody has developed them. The adventurers who have visited that country have brought from it abundant harvests, and have made themselves powerful. A numerous emigration would find there the kindest hospitality, the dearest social enjoyments; and, after a few years, every family an enviable patrimony.

Life there is easy, and exempt from all the bitterness of over-populous countries, and those in which monopoly and hunger dispute for bread. Her sources of wealth are inexhaustible, her vegetation is luxuriant, her products are those of the three zones placed very near together, while her territory is immense. Nothing is wanting there but hands to collect all the treasures which man can reach, and which the inhabitants have not had time to gather, while fighting the priests and the privileged classes, who have made them victims of Cæsarism and civil war. The estates of the traitors, as the booty of war, complete the picture of inviting hopes for men of courage and enterprise.

A few years ago, the enemies of the people had been conquered in a decisive contest. The day of Calpulpatam, gained by the future president of the country, Colonel J. Gonzalez Ortega, conquered political liberties, and secured the triumph of our constitution and laws. Afterward, the same popular leader routed the little bands which infested that beautiful country, and we began to enjoy the blessings of an era of peace and nascent prosperity.

Then the nation suffered the terrible scourge of the foreign war, in which she has become great by fighting powerful enemies. Then Mexico, with the blood of her children, writes the defence of Puebla, which surrendered only when her ammunition and provisions had been totally expended. Force and corruption performed the rest; but the contest still goes on. The heroes of the fifth of May are still alive, and those of the siege of Puebla. Some of them are fighting in the country, and others, resolute and irreconcilable in ostracism, will avenge their humiliated country, and chastise those who have trafficked with her honor.

The friendship of the American people and government, their strong sympathies with the cause of Mexico, the alliance which common danger should form, and the identity of principles, all encourage the hope that the invasion of France is near its end; that the slime-heap of the empire will fall amidst the public hisses; that the adventurous monarch, with his carnival retinue, and the traitors, will be stifled by the blood of the victims of the country, the martyrs of liberty!

And may our friends of this land of freemen, under the sun of Mexico, enjoy with us the benefits of that exuberant nature which has proved noxious only to trans-Atlantic despotism; and, with the assistance of your hands, and imitating your love of labor and your patrician sentiments, like the Cincinnatus of Rome, and the Washington of America, we may raise the altar of reason and the temple of progress, in the shade of a durable, social, and political liberty, and a fraternal and lasting toleration.

Viva Washington! Viva the Mexican Republic! Viva the American Union!

ADDRESS OF SEÑOR JOAQUIN VILLALOBOS.

AMERICANS! I shall not occupy your attention with the history of my country. I only wish to open my heart to the children of Washington, and to allude solely to the principal topics of our independence, to the progress made by civilization in my country ever since, and, finally, to the energetic struggle kept up by the republic against the greatest tyrant in the world—against Napoleon III.

On the borders of your country there is another country, which was once conquered by Spain. After the conquest, the conqueror never thought of enlightening the minds of the inhabitants of that beautiful and virgin country; but, on the contrary, being impelled by the insatiable desire of grasping the natural wealth of the soil, charged the clergy with the office of controlling the people, whilst he was accumulating jewels and precious metals to load his vessels, and send them home.

The period of the Spanish domination was horrible. There were seas of blood and numberless scaffolds. The oppressive yoke of the conqueror scarcely allowed time to breathe to his victims; and the Mexicans, accustomed by their religion to human sacrifices, saw now that the conqueror, in the name of the God of peace, and for the sake of civilization, sacrificed his fellow-men in bonfires.

But this could not endure. Providence had destined for Mexico a man like Washington; he was born in obscurity, to become, later, the centre of light.

Mexico became free, and her broken chains were a living proof of her life of suffering, and a harbinger of her life of happiness.

But the evils of tyranny were not as yet quite eradicated; and as it is necessary to remove the rubbish of a decayed structure in order to build a new one, thus we had to remove the dilapidated moral system before we could think of building an enduring edifice. This has been the cause of our civil war, and everybody must admit that without this struggle there is no possible way to gain independence and to further progress.

And when the republic of Mexico, after great exertions, had succeeded in uniting dissenting parties, and was following the way of true civilization; when she was acquiring the prestige of a great nation by her wise laws of religious and civil reform, Napoleon the Third falls upon her, and destroys in a day the work of many years of toils and sacrifices.

Mexico and Napoleon are a striking illustration of the saying of the thief and the miner: while the laborer drives into the earth his tools, and sprinkles it with his sweat, nobody deigns to look at him; but when he succeeds in discovering a vein of the precious metal, some malefactor will fain deprive him of the fruit of his exertions. Thus it has been with my country and Napoleon.

However, the spoliation has not been so easy, nor the laborer so weak. It is more than three years since Napoleon's guns began to thunder in Mexico, and yet, the same heroes who fought and conquered at Magenta and Solferino have not been able to subdue Hidalgo's country. The fifth of May, the twenty-fifth of April, and many other dates, at Puebla, at Veranas, at Tacambaro, and everywhere else, bear testimony to the bravery of the Mexicans, and to the defeat of the invading hosts.

Nevertheless, neither courage nor determination to fight are the only conditions to carry on a war; the supply of arms and of other implements of war must be at hand, in order to lead to a successful campaign; and, unhappily, the state of destitution brought forth by the French invasion, and the want of arms in our army, do not allow us to drive away the invader. To accomplish this end, we must obtain some aid, some support, a direct or indirect protection, and neither this aid nor this protection can come from any other people than from the people of the United States.

Yes; it is your duty and your right to come to the rescue of the republic of Mexico. Monroe, from his grave, tells you that the American who forgets his doctrine, forgets, at the same time, that he is an American citizen.

The New York Times will, perhaps, inquire whether it would not be wiser to let Maximilian remain on the throne of Mexico; and it may inquire, also, whether the Mexicans are entitled to liberty. Let me, then, answer a few words—but a few words—to the New York Times.

A people that, with an old man as leader of the natives, without arms, come forth to fight one of the most powerful nations of those times, in order to conquer their liberty and succeed in the struggle—are such a people entitled to liberty?

A people that, on achieving their liberty, do not forget to grant the same blessing to the negro slave, declaring that every one who may put his foot on Mexican soil is *ipso facto* free—are such a people entitled to liberty?

A people that, on gaining their independence, open all their ports to the commerce of the world; that invite all men, without distinction as to the country they may come from, to work the mines thereof, to reap abundant harvest, to hew and export dyeing and building wood, and, finally, to have a share in everything the Mexican soil produces—is such a people entiled to liberty?

A people that, in their zeal for religious reform, fights fanaticism, abolishes the monopoly of a state religion, and allows every person to worship God as he may please—is such a people entitled to liberty?

A people that, by the reforms introduced in their government, by the wisdom of their laws, is advancing with the spirit of the age—is such a people entitled to liberty?

A people that, in spite of their want of every implement of war, struggles with the powerful empire of France for over three years, and soaks in blood the war-trophies of Magenta and Solferino; a people that, in defending their cause, are consciously defending the cause of the whole American continent, fighting France, Austria, and Belgium at the same time, without any other resources than their heroic efforts, and aided by God only—is such a people entitled to liberty?

Will the New York Times allow us to ask a few more questions?

A newspaper that calls itself the organ of liberty and of the republic, and in the same breath supports the empire of Maximilian—can such a paper be the organ of free men?

A paper that applauds the abolition of slavery at home, that denounces that abominable system of oppression, and which, nevertheless, approves the enslavement of a whole nation—can that paper be the organ of free men?

An American citizen that is proud of his country's victories, exalts his country's greatness, and yet falls on his knees before Napoleon the Third—we ask the Times, is such a man entitled to liberty?

A man who knows through the Paris Moniteur (the official organ of Napoleon) that the establishment of the empire in Mexico means the enhancement of European commerce, and the circumscription of American influence; a man that hears the plain words of the Marquis de Boissy, who openly declares in the French Parliament that he rejoices in the civil war in America, and who prays to God that both contending parties may be irretrievably ruined; a man who knows that French navy yards have supplied ships to the fratricidal war in America; a man that may see yet the mocking grin of some French deputies when Mr. Pelletan proposes to send a congratulatory communication to Mr. Lincoln, which communication was not allowed to pass; a man who daily reads the insults of the Napoleonic press; this same man who has before his eyes the outrageous letter of the French commander in Santa Cruz to the American commander in Brownsville; a man, finally, who, instead of turning the power made free by the end of the war to the defence of the whole continent, exerts himself to use the softest phrases to please his enemy: we ask the Times—but let the answer be frank and open-hearted—does that man act and speak in the interest of this great republic?

There are occasions when a man censures virtue to conceal his own crime. The Mexicans have been robbed of their dearest rights, and the men who, standing by, had not the courage to protest against and resist that infamous act of spoliation, are inquiring now whether that unfortunate people did not deserve to have been robbed.

The Times understands us!

And yet, if there are journals that deny us justice, and if there are men in higher circles who would deliver us, manacled, to French despotism, the greater and better part of the American press devote their energies to our cause. There are many high officers, known to fame by their exploits, who tender their services to the cause of liberty; not a few capitalists are ready to support the movement; many an eloquent speaker raises his voice in the defence of Mexico; and, to crown the whole, many millions of men are desirous to rush to the battle-fields of the republic, in order to sustain liberty in America. Oh! how gratifying it is to find this soothing balm, to heal the wounds of my beloved country, tendered by the hands of the generous children of Washington!

But do not believe that the opposition to the sublime effort to support Mexico is reduced to the sayings of some papers, or to the action of some men. There are men who exert themselves to show my countrymen that your armed intervention in their behalf would be dangerous, that the United States would go to Mexico impelled by selfish motives, and that the price of the aid asked for would be the loss of our nationality. This contemptible slander has been spread so artfully, that even staunch republicans entertain fears, and have written to me on that score. I have laughed at the absurdity, and tried to undeceive them, answering them as follows:

"Whenever the bells of this city are tolled, giving the alarm of fire, we see men rush from every place, leaving their business, their employments, or their homes, and running to the post of danger, where they assemble with indomitable will to crush the fire. Nothing keeps them back, neither the falling walls, nor the suffocating smoke, nor the fury of the flames scorching their faces and igniting their dresses—nothing—nothing at all. They rush forward to save what they can; and many women, many aged persons, and many children owe them their lives.

"After having extinguished the fire, every one of these heroes returns home, without demanding any other reward than the proud consciousness of having performed his duty. Fear nothing—absolutely nothing—from such a people. They endanger, generously, their lives for the common welfare; therefore, accept their aid, and be assured that the Americans, who may come to put out the fire, the work of incendiarism, in the Mexican republic, will not stain their name by demanding a shameful reward."

That is what I have written to Mexico, for that is what I believe, and what I believe in this respect is the truth.

Let us then march forward; let the American people see only the common enemy, and come to the rescue; let the torches of civil war in the United States and in Mexico be extinguished in the blood of the minions of Napoleon. Tell Mr. Johnson that the President ought not to forget what the presidential candidate promised, that he should not allow the arms of the conquered south to rust in their armories. Be wide awake, Americans! Napoleon will not stay his aggressive march in Mexico, if he finds you weak and acquiescing in the usurpation of Maximilian in Mexico. His presence there is a standing threat against your own independence.

And now, let me address a few words to President Johnson: The Mexicans, President Johnson, remind you, through me, of the promise of Baltimore. The destinies of the New World hang on your decisions; you can save or destroy them; you can make the world respect American institutions, or, neglecting this duty, expose them to the scorn and aggression of tyranny and fraud. History, that faithful mirror of the actions of men, will hand you down to posterity, after having passed its stern judgment upon your public acts. Listen but to the voice of your conscience; remember that you were born free; that Monroe is dead, but that his doctrine is alive; and, above all, do not forget that, at this very moment, the eyes of the children of Hidalgo, and of those of Washington, are fixed upon you.

ADDRESS OF COLONEL MANUEL BALBONTIN.

It has been generally believed that the political commotions which our republic has often experienced were the effect of the bad character of the people and their incapacity for self-government. This theory, propagated by the enemies of the republic, was received without contradiction in the lofty regions of European diplomacy, and was admitted as an axiom. During many years it has been the terrible weapon with which skirmishing attacks were made against the credit of the Mexican people; and being skilfully used by the ambitious on the other side of the Atlantic, prepared public opinion in such a way that the premeditated assault upon the country should not produce a scandal.

But as in the world there is no effect without a cause, it is easy to believe that the inquietude of the Mexican people had its origin in some evil deeply rooted in the social body. And such was the fact.

When independence was consummmated, in 1810, the interests of all those persons who had lived upon the people in colonial times were left in an unfavorable condition.

The clergy foresaw that the republican system, which was soon after adopted, would in time bring in the freedom of religious worship. The aristocracy could not endure to have the indigenous race, whom they despised, but at the same time used for their own profit, raised to their level by the constitutional code. Those who had slaves hated an order of things which took their prey from their hands, and prevented them from multiplying the products of their haciendas by new importations of negroes. The families holding titles of nobility discovered a horrible usurpation in their suppression. Those having birthrights thought themselves robbed by their legislators, who ordained the division of inheritances among all the children of a family. Monopolists under the viceroys had enjoyed exemption from taxation and free trade; and many women sighed for the aristocratic festivals of the viceregal courts, in which they or their husbands had taken part.

All these elements immediately amalgamated, and vowed the destruction of the republic. In their efforts to accomplish that object they have never yielded to any obstacle, nor hesitated to employ any means, however detestable. Always conspiring against the independence and liberty of their country, they placed themselves in communication with the European aristocracy; and not a single day has passed since 1821 which has not added a link to the black chain that was extended from Mexico, now to Madrid, now to Rome, then to Vienna and Paris.

But yet the conservative party, which was formed of those elements, did not dare to defend their monarchical theories openly, because they knew that the immense majority of the people love independence and the republic. Therefore, that astute party had recourse to hypocrisy, and complained, in a sentimental tone, of the bitter fruits which *impiety and licentiousness*, as they said, had produced in the nation, and charged to the republican system all the evils which the country suffered, even those inherited from the Spanish government, lamenting for those good old times when all was prosperity and happiness.

In this manner, while the materials necessary for the destruction of the republic were preparing in Europe, changes were taking place in the opinions of the common people and those of limited information. The friends of independence, justly alarmed by the labors of their adversaries, opposed necessary resistance; and hence resulted that gigantic contest which has lasted half a century, the misfortune of two generations, retarding the splendor and weakening the virility of a people who are destined to be one of the powerful champions by whom, at no remote day, the final battle is to be fought between European despotism and American liberty.

Yet, in spite of the intrigues of the conservative party—in spite of the united efforts of the clergy on the consciences of the people, by perverting the Divine Word, the liberals gained ground daily, and newly-enlightened men entered the path which leads to national glory and aggrandizement.

The plan of the conspirators was, to gain possession of the government, and, by means of a series of intrigues, to make it over to a foreign prince, sustained by foreign bayonets. During the last administration of General Santa Anna, and those of Zuloaga and Miramon, powerful efforts were made to realize this project, but they neither found the time to accomplish the iniquity, nor was there courage enough in Europe to help them.

When, by the triumph of the liberals in 1860, the conservatives arrived at the conviction they could never again rise to power, they conceived the odious project of preventing the consolidation of the government; in which they succeeded, by interposing obstacles of all kinds in its way: sending bands of robbers to all parts of the country, who carried death, pillage, and fire everywhere, in the name of the "holy religion;" introducing, with subtilty, many of their partisans into the governmental offices, who contributed to the disorder of the public administration; incessantly sending their clamors to Europe against the decay and barbarism into which the nation had sunk, and making the reformed government responsible for all the calamities suffered by the country, of which they themselves were the authors. It seems incredible that human perversity could have been capable of such wickedness!

As the United States at that time were engaged in the sublime contest which they have just closed, Europe believed the occasion had arrived for her to overthrow the republican system in Mexico, together with the independence of the country; which step would serve as a preliminary to the suppression of the republican form of government all over the American continent.

Three great monarchies hastened to engage in the enterprise—England, France, and Spain.

The first, although she desired to see the form of government in Mexico changed, did not like to compromise herself for the future, and accompanied the other two only under the pretext of pecuniary claims. When she saw France pursuing a wrong course, she retired from the scene, saying, with Duqueslin: "I neither remove nor set up a king; but I help my master."

Spain was deceived. She believed, in good faith, that Mexico would proclaim monarchy as soon as the first ship of the intervention should appear, and therefore she exerted herself to arrive first. The conduct of France completely defeated her; but General Prim had the talent and the courage necessary to withdraw her creditably, by doing the only thing which could be done.

France had no reason for invading Mexico. The French residents there enjoyed the friendship and sympathies of the people; had contributed in some ways to the triumph of the reforming revolution, and had availed themselves of the demortization of the estates of the clergy, a portion of which remained in their hands. The only debt which the nation owed to French subjects was one hundred and seventy thousand dollars, which they were paying regularly. There was no motive whatever for war; but it was necessary to seek one, because the hour to destroy the republic had been struck by the clock of Napoleon the Third.

Absurd grievances and fables were invented respecting French subjects, and a certain comedy was performed of an attempt to murder the French representative. Fraudulent credits were produced of men who were not subjects of France, but who were proclaimed to be so for the occasion.

Pretexts having been sought for to deceive the world, the war commenced with the formalities which attend a piratical invasion, without previous claims, without an ultimatum or a warning, but only with a declaration that there would be no treating with the Mexican government in any manner; and it is well known what conduct the French diplomatists and generals have observed and what respect they have had for the honor of France.

Thus we have seen the causes which principally contributed to the constant agitation of the Mexican republic, and by what means European despotism has succeeded in placing her unclean foot on the neck of liberty in America. Now, the military power of France, aided from without by the sympathies of Europe, and even by a part of Africa, and in the interior by monarchical traitors, has succeeded in extending itself over a considerable part of the republic, carrying with it desolation and slaughter. There, in concert, Frenchmen, traitors, Austrians, Turks, Belgians, and even Egyptians, are furiously engaged in a work of destruction and iniquity.

What is passing in Mexico is very significant! From all sides arrive, like mad dogs, those herds of assassins—emissaries sent by the despots of Europe to destroy liberty. From remote nations, where the name of Mexico was scarcely known, and from those whom she never could have offended, legions are sent to drown the republic in her blood. This is the way in which the people of Europe joyfully hasten to the crusade against Mexico, who has never committed any offence against them! And those who pretended to be scandalized by the disorders of the republic, and who feared that civilization would be lost in Mexico, have spread themselves, like hordes of Comanches, over the surface of the country, committing all the crimes known to the languages of men—assassinating, robbing, violating, burning—respecting nothing, neither children, old men, women, the sick, the wounded; nor even religion itself, which they said they came to defend.

Neither in the war of independence, nor in the bloody civil wars, was seen anything like the atrocities committed by these new vandals, who have been vomited by semi-barbarous Europe upon unfortunate Mexico.

In the mean time the Mexican people, betrayed, deserted by all the world, weakened by many years of war, without a treasury and without arms, fight notwithstanding all, and pour their generous blood, serving as a shield to America, and wielding the sword of the conqueror, which is losing its edge by giving so many wounds.

There phalanxes of men are seen fighting almost naked, emaciated and debilitated by hunger, miserably armed, often with only clubs and stones, frequently routed, but yet invincible; while their brethren, the free men of America, have not given them even the least assistance—not a musket, nor even a cartridge.

The French are made desperate by so unexpected a resistance. Their fury has risen to frenzy; and, like Nero, they wish the Mexican people had but a single neck that they might destroy them with one blow.

But now the time of reparation approaches, and justice will be fulfilled. The invaders see the United States coming out victorious from the terrible crisis through which sagacious Europe has made them to pass, and that this free people appears, since the conflict, more powerful than ever.

Therefore, they wish to complete the work of extermination in Mexico. Therefore they alarm the Mexican people by announcing to them absorption by the United States, and urge them to conform to the semblance of government which they have wished to give them, because they know that the Mexican people love their independence and desire neither to change masters nor to have a master.

But the Mexican people will not allow themselves to be deceived. They hope for the assistance of their brethren of the American Union, and they know they will have it, because in their cause are interested the glory, the repose, and the future condition of this great nation; because it is necessary to secure the existence of the whole continent against the encroachments of Europe; because it is necessary to leave this palladium of refuge to liberty, persecuted in the world; and finally, because humanity, civilization, and liberty need that America remain independent and republican.

The American people will doubtless fulfil the great mission for which they are destined, and will be the bond that shall unite all the nations of the continent to prepare them for the great battle which Europe will offer them hereafter. Then Mexico, having stanched her wounds, will take her place in the line by the side of the American Union, holding the banner of Yguala, which she loves so well.

Americans! on the other side of the Rio Grande is a sister nation whom they are murdering, and that nation need arms to defend themselves. In the convulsions of agony they turn their supplicating looks to the American people who are great, who are powerful, and who have arms in superabundance. They ask them for muskets and for cannon to defend their banner which is spotted with their blood. Will they be refused by the sons of Washington and Lincoln?

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The following resolutions were then read by the chairman, and adopted unanimously, and with loud acclamations :

Resolved, That the people of the United States regard the invasion of the Mexican republic by the powers of Europe as an offence against the law of nations, done under false pretences, culminating in a usurpation of the government and the establishment of a pretended monarchy, without the shadow of right, and upheld only by foreign bayonets, with no authority over the people.

Resolved, That the facts communicated in the eloquent addresses of our distinguished Mexican friends are worthy of being known to all our fellow-citizens and countrymen, and that their publication will afford the long-needed means of information concerning that interesting and calumniated people.

Resolved, That the history, condition, character, capacities, and wants of the Mexican people present urgent claims on our intelligent, virtuous, and philanthropic citizens, to co-operate with their statesmen and patriots in promoting education and the arts, for the improvement of society and the extension of agriculture, manufactures, mining, and commerce in their rich and fertile country.

Resolved, That we honor the memory of Generals Quijano and Doblado, lately deceased in this city, the venerable leaders and counsellors of the band of Mexicans who have taken refuge among us; and that, while we respectfully offer our sympathy to their bereaved families and friends, we commend their noble example to the imitation of their countrymen.

Resolved, That our cordial respect and deep sympathy are due to the people of Mexico in their present sufferings under the oppressions of Europe, for their heroic endurance and persevering courage in defence of their national liberties, and for their patriotic sacrifices in the cause of American independence; also, to General Benito Juarez, the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, for the wisdom, firmness, patriotism, and success with which he has administered the goverment through so many years of trial, and amid such unparalleled difficulties, as well as for his heroic persistence in sustaining the only government of his country which the United States can recognize; and to the band of Mexican patriots before us, whom we receive as worthy representatives of a sister republic and our nearest neighbor, in whose welfare we are most intimately interested.

After the adoption of the resolutions the flags of Mexico and the United States were brought forward and planted together in front of the platform, while the audience rose and cheered. Then, in reply to loud calls, the Mexican National Republican Hymn was sung in fine style by Colonel Balbontin, the members of the club joining in the chorus.

List of Mexican citizens composing the Mexican Club of New York, the greater part of them being exiles.

Ignacio Mejìa, brigadier-general, exgovernor, and military commandant of Puebla de Zaragoza, a prisoner, deported.

Carlos Noriega, major of cavalry, a prisoner, deported.

Benito Quijano, jr., major of cavalry, a prisoner, deported.

Cipriano Robert, deputy in the Congress of the Union, secretary of the club.

Francisco Elorriaga, ex-private secretary of the President of the Mexican republic.

Ignacio Mariscal, secretary of the Mexican legation in the United States of America, ex-deputy, ex-chief official of the ministry of foreign relations, and ex-minister of the supreme court of justice.

Esteban Benites, colonel, ex-secretary of the governor of the State of Tamaulipas.

Manuel Armendariz, ex-member of congress, lawyer.

Bernabé de la Barra, colonel, and chief clerk of the ministry of war.

Juan José Baz, deputy, and ex-governor of the federal district.

Jesus Fuentes y Muñez, secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts of the city of Mexico, and surveyor.

Santiago Vicario, ex-deputy to the legislature of the State of Puebla de Zaragoza.

Manuel Meza, major of infantry.

Francisco Zarco, ex-minister of foreign affairs, deputy to the Congress of the Union, and public writer.

Manuel Balbontin, colonel of artillery.

Juan N. Navarro, consul-general of Mexico in the United States, ex-deputy, professor in the School of Medicine, director of the military hospitals in Puebla de Zaragoza during the siege.

Mariano Zavala, ex-deputy, judge of the district of Mexico and of the State of Tamaulipas.

José Rivera y Rio, poet, writer, colonel, deputy, and prisoner at Puebla.

Matias Romero, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

Benito Quijano, deputy to the Congress of the Union, governor and military commandant of the State of Yucatan, ex-governor of the State of Vera Cruz, and general of division. Died in New York while president of the Mexican Club.

Felipe de Berriozabal, general of division, constitutional governor of the State of Mexico, deputy, ex-minister of war, ex-governor, and military commandant of the State of Michoacan, prisoner at Puebla.

Pedro Ogazon, brigadier-general, minister of the supreme court of justice, and constitutional governor of the State of Jalisco.

Pedro Santacilia, deputy, ex-private secretary of the President of the republic, editor.

José A. Godoy, Mexican consul at San Francisco, editor.

Manuel Doblado, general, constitutional governor of the State of Guanajuato, ex-minister of foreign affairs.

Prisiliano Flores, colonel, prisoner, deported to France.

Luis Barjan, merchant.

Winceslao Iberri, merchant.

Juan A. Zambrano, ex-treasurer-general of the republic, ex-chief clerk of the ministry of the treasury, and inspector of the custom-houses of the "Bravo."

Angel Navarro, clerk of the treasury. Died on his way from Washington to New York.

Francisco D. Macin, second secretary of the Mexican legation in Washington.

Juan M. Zambrano, clerk of the treasury.

Mariano Escovedo, brigadier-general, governor and military commandant of he State of Nuevo Leon, prisoner at Puebla.

José Maria Carvajal, professor of languages.

Federico Millan, colonel.

Justiniano Zubiria, major.

Manuel Saavedra, deputy, and minister of the supreme court of justice.

Francisco Guiliaza.

Manuel Travesi, major, prisoner, deported.

Juan Urbina, major, prisoner, deported.

Joaquin Villalobos, editor.

Celzo Segura, major, prisoner, deported.

Juan N. Enriquez Orestes, presbyter, prisoner at San Lorenzo.

Juan Francisco Dominguez, presbyter.

Jacobo Rivera, secretary of the district, Judge of Tamaulipas.

Juan Keats, lieutenant-colonel, prisoner at Oajaca.

Jesus Gonzalez Ortega, president of the supreme court of justice, constitutional governor of the State of Zacatecas, general of division, ex-minister of war, and ex-commander-in-chief of the corps of the army of the east.

Juan Togno, major, prisoner at Puebla.

Tomas Lopez, major, prisoner, deported.
Esteban Gonzalez, lieutenant, prisoner, deported.
Pantaleon Tovar, deputy, and editor.
Eduardo Arrioja, lieutenant.
Aureliano Rivera, brigadier-general, and governor of the federal district.
Luis Legorreta, colonel, deported.
Joaquin G. Ortega, colonel, prisoner at Puebla.
Agustin Alcerreca, colonel, prisoner, deported.
Francisco Venegas, colonel.
Epitacio Huerta, brigadier-general, constitutional governor of Michoacan, prisoner at Puebla, deported to France.
Rafael Huerta, commandant, prisoner, deported.
José Rivera, colonel, ex-governor, and military commandant of the State of Guanajuato.
Pedro Rincon, colonel, and prisoner, deported.
Hercules Saviotti, colonel, and prisoner, deported.
José Maria Muñoz, captain, prisoner in Yucatan, deported.
Eulalio Degollado, jr., member of the municipality of the city of San Luis Potosi.
Francisco Ibarra, constitutional governor of the State of Puebla, and member of Congress.

CIPRIANO ROBERT,
Secretary of the Mexican Club.

NEW YORK, *August* 16, 1865.

No. 2.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION TO THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, 2d of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, some extracts from the newspaper, "Daily American Flag," of San Francisco, of the 2d of June last, which contains an account of a public meeting which occurred in that city on the night of the 1st of June aforesaid, to express the sympathy of the people of California in favor of the cause of Mexican independence. In the same extracts you will see fragments of the appropriate speeches delivered on that occasion by some distinguished citizens of that city, and the important resolutions that were adopted.

This opportunity is very satisfactory to me to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[From the San Francisco Daily American Flag, June 2, 1865.]

The first of June, 1865, will long be remembered by the people of San Francisco as the date of one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in this city—a meeting called for the two-fold purpose of explaining their sentiments on the great American doctrine of President Monroe, and of their sympathy with the heroic people of Mexico. Long before the appointed hour for the meeting had arrived, the street in front of the hall was crowded with citizens awaiting the opening of the doors; and within ten minutes after they were opened, the entire capacious hall was jammed full of as orderly, respectable, and enthusiastic a body of citizens as ever assembled within its walls. There were very few ladies present. The occasion was one that was more befitting men—stern, resolute, determined men—and these were there to the number of between five and six thousand. The platform for the speakers was very appropriately decorated for the occasion—the Mexican standard being displayed at the back of the speakers, supported on each side by "Old Glory"—the Stars and Stripes—the emblem of liberty all over the world. There was a capital brass band also in attendance, which added to the general enthusiasm of the evening by playing a number of patriotic tunes. When they played "Yankee Doodle," the excited mass of people kept time by stamping of their feet and clapping of their hands. On the stage, around the balcony and all over the body of the hall were huge placards on which were painted "Monroe doctrine." These two talismanic words were all that were necessary to account for the enthusiasm of Californians in their belief in its principles.

After the band had played for a few minutes the meeting was called to order by A. J. Bryant, esq, chairman of the Union State Central Committee, who nominated Dr. Isaac Rowell as chairman, and the nomination was adopted by a perfectly defeaning, unanimous shout.

The following officers were also nominated and elected unanimously:

Vice-presidents, Don Pedro Barrasso, J. R. Hardenburgh, Levi Parsons, H. M. Whittemore, Captain C. Card, Charles Hosmer, Captain O. B. Crary, Dr. Hathaway, D. O. McCarthy, F. MacCrellish, Walter M. Rockwell, A. G. Styles, J. H. Josselyn, James Gallagher, George N. Lloyd, D. W. Smith, S. A. Sharp, G. N. Green, W. S. Fitch, J. L. Riddle, S. L. Theller, M. Nickerson, Fred, G. Fitch, W. B. Minturn, Alfred Robinson, Charles Felton, Captain Manly, G. W. Ryckman, M. Fennell, J. P. H. Wentworth, William H. Lyons, William Shear, Alexander Hunter, Dr. Brinckerhoff, Harris Covey, George T. Knox, James McElwain, Colonel Tittel, S. J. Clark, F. H. Rogers, O. F. Willey, M. E. Hughes, Caleb T. Fay, H. C. Bennett, Dr. L. J. Henry, G. F. Woodward, J. S. Buch, W. H. Ford.

Secretaries, S. H. Henry, H. B. Livingston, Lieutenant Felix O'Byrne.

On Dr. Rowell making his appearance he was loudly applauded. The cheering over, the doctor, after thanking the audience for the expression of their feelings for himself, stated the object of the meeting, which was, as the notices all over the house explained—the Monroe doctrine. [Applause.] He did not think there was a man in the meeting but what knew the significance of that doctrine, as enunciated by James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States. The principle of that doctrine is, no "foreign intervention in American affairs." [Great cheering and applause.] The attempt of Louis Nepoleon to overthrow the republican form of government of a friendly neighboring power, was an infringement of that doctrine. [Cheers.] He was not in favor of giving any cause for war between the United States and any foreign power; but thought it was a duty the citizens of the United States owed to themselves and their posterity to prevent the establishment of a monarchical form of government on their borders. Even if they did not feel any sympathy for the defenceless people of a sister republic, struggling nobly in defence of their country and their liberty, self-interest should induce us to help them, not merely by words of encouragement—though these, as we know by our own feelings during our great struggle for our country are sweet to those who risk their lives for the maintenance of principle—but we must give them men, arms and money. [Cheers.] Thousands of lives will be the cost of our neglect to aid the gallant Mexicans in shaking off the despotism of a foreign monarchy. The pretence that France has planted Maximilian on the throne of Mexico to save its people from internal strife, is ridiculous. The friendship of France for Mexico is like the action of the toredo on the piles in our harbor—they eat out their heart and substance, and ultimately will destroy. [Cheers.] We must aid the brave Mexicans to drive out the invader of their country with his frogs and sour krout, and to maintain inviolate the great principles of the Monroe doctrine. [Great cheering.] The doctor's remarks, which were the happiest we ever remember hearing him make, were enthusiastically applauded. At the conclusion, the band struck up a lively tune; that concluded, the chairman introduced the Hon. Thompson Campbell, who was enthusiastically received by the meeting.

Mr. Campbell's speech.

Fellow-citizens: Some gentlemen called upon me yesterday afternoon with a request that I should be present at this meeting, to-night, and make a few remarks on the subject for which it has been called. While my sentiments are fully in sympathy with the purposes expressed in the call for the meeting, but having just arrived in this State from the other side of the continent, and perhaps not very thoroughly acquainted with the feelings of the people here, I should have preferred to have occupied the position of listener.

The object of the meeting, as I understand it, is to give expression to our sympathy for our poor, unfortunate sister republic of Mexico, who is now engaged in a most unequal struggle against the powerful despotism of Europe. We who have just emerged from a terrible civil strife for the preservation of our own nationality—a struggle that would have overthrown any other government in the world—can feel for the suffering, struggling people of Mexico. It is just, therefore, that we publicly express our sympathy for a sister republic engaged in a struggle in which the existence of our own country is concerned. [Cheers.] Who, better than us, have reason to know the pleasure of the sympathy of foreign powers? Did we experience no pain and disappointment when this sympathy was withheld in quarters from which we expected it to flow? What foreign powers gave us their full sympathy in the fierce struggle just passed, while it was raging? While we were fighting that battle we were fighting for free government all over this broad earth, [loud cheering,] and the same blow that decided the fate of the rebellion decided the fate of European despotism in Mexico. [Applause.] The present occupation of Mexico by the tools of France is not of recent design, but has long been the secret aim and object of the French Emperor. One of the leading events that foreshadowed this design was the famous tripartite convention held by France, England and Spain, in October, 1861, which was held in London, when, under the pretence of making Mexico pay certain debts which they well knew she could not pay, they decided to take possession of her territory. In the articles drawn up by that convention a place was left for the signature of the United States, which those powers desired to enlist in their dishonorable enterprise. When the President—our noble President, for whose untimely death the people of the whole nation to-day have been fasting on their knees—was informed of the proposal, he instructed the Secretary of State to inform these persons of his refusal to be a party to the contract. And that was a noble letter written to those powers on the occasion, by that statesman who has survived the assassin's knife to give his great services to his country. [Cheers.] He told them in terse, good terms, that Mexico, like ourselves, was a republic—that, like ourselves, she intended, and would pay all her debts when she was able. And that the pretence of recovering their claims against her might not be maintained, he informed them that the federal government of the United States would assume all the responsibilities and the debts of their sister republic, and pay in gold the interest thereon. [Cheers.] But this liberal offer was refused in Paris, London, and Madrid. A proof that it was not dollars and cents that they wanted, but the rich soil and mines of Mexico.

In accordance with the articles of this contract, the high contracting parties rendezvoused at Vera Cruz. When they did so, Secretary Seward wrote to them and obtained a solemn agreement that neither of these powers should appropriate any of the territory or change the form of the government of Mexico. How faithfully they have kept this pledge, the events that led to the calling of this meeting show. Subsequently, the high contracting parties to this tripartite alliance disagreed among themselves. England and Spain charged France with having a design to take possession and hold the soil of Mexico, and those powers declined to have any further connexion with the enterprise. Napoleon then proceeded alone, and he has placed on the throne of conquered Mexico a ruler of the house of Hapsburg. The question with us is, shall he remain there? [Loud cries of No.] We see all around us the motto, "Monroe doctrine." What does that doctrine mean? It is known to all who have read history, that at the time of the overthrow of Napoleon, (I don't mean the present, but the great Napoleon,) Austria, Prussia, Spain, and France entered into what has since been called the holy alliance, for mutual protection, and it was decided by those powers to aid Spain in reconquering Mexico, which had become a powerful republic. Mr. Rush, the then representative of the United States at the court of England, was consulted with the view of enlisting the government of our country in the enterprise; then it was that Mr. Monroe, who was President, declared the determination of the American people to resist any encroachments of European powers on the territory devoted to republicanism, and declared that if England would aid in the undertaking he would resist the power of the holy alliance. Then it was that he declared what has since been established as the Monroe doctrine, that no European power shall be permitted to colonize any portion of the American continent with their subjects. Congress in 1864 indorsed this doctrine by a series of resolutions. The members of the National Union Convention that assembled in Baltimore entered it as a plank in their platform, and the people by their votes have determined to maintain it. [Cheers.] The only question now is, how far can the people go in expressing their sympathy for their struggling neighbors without embarrassing the government or disturbing its foreign relations. While the war in our own country was waging, the government found it necessary to prohibit the export of arms and ammunition, but since the rebellion has been crushed, that prohibition has been removed, and we can send all the arms and ammunition we please to Mexico, and her people can do with them just as they please. We owe no obligations to France. During the four years of the rebellion. that country took advantage of our condition and infringed on what it knew to be the settled principles of the American people—the Monroe doctrine. But our glorious national bird has arisen victorious from the struggle, with even fiercer fires of patriotism flashing from his eyes, and let those beware who dare attempt to test the power of his talons by trampling on American institutions and the flag that Washington bequeathed us. (Applause.)

Mr. Thompson then retired amid the cheers of the meeting.

Mr. H. S. Henry then read the following letter from the Hon. Mr. Phelps:

SAN FRANCISCO, *June* 1, 1865.

SIR: The death of a friend this morning, whose afflicted family claims my sympathy and attention, will prevent my being present with you this evening. It is scarcely necessary for me to say my heartfelt sympathies are with the struggling patriots of our sister republic of Mexico, for I am quite sure such is the feeling of every true and loyal American.

I would that some method could be devised for extending to them substantial aid, consistent with the honor and dignity of the United States, in their recuperated strength and new glory from the late struggles of their heroic armies in the cause of freedom. Whatever may be the aid we shall be able to extend to Mexico in this her need, may God speed the day of her entire disfranchisement from the hated rule of a foreign despot.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant,

T. G. PHELPS.

The PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING IN AID OF MEXICO.

The letter was much applauded by the people.

Dr. Rowell then introduced General Ochoa, the special agent of President Juarez to this State, who was received with tremendous enthusiasm, the people rising from their seats and throwing up their hats in the heat of their enthusiasm. These exhibitions of the popular feeling, which continued for a considerable time, being over, Mr. W. A. Cornwall read the following address for the general:

AMERICAN CITIZENS: I appear before you as a brother!

Behold under our banners that sacred device, "Monroe doctrine." That is the symbol of our brotherhood; it speaks to us that all who are born breathing the air of freedom can never support the despotic yoke.

Sooner death a thousand times than to bend our proud brows before a tyrant! Let us prove to the world that we are the worthy sons of the powerful America.

Behold France, that insolent nation, who is in vain striving to extinguish the republican fire, the air we breathe, our life. Her intents are criminal, but she will be frustrated in her designs.

Look at Richmond, the sepulchral stone of the last hope of France on this continent. The glorious triumph of the Union forever seals the doom of rebellion, and that same triumph is the cry of battle against Europe.

What have we to fear from those old and decaying thrones, tottering by vice and corruption?

What are their hosts in front of the united republics of free America?

The motto of our standards on the battle-field shall be "Monroe doctrine."

Washington, Hidalgo and Bolivar are our faith: Lincoln and Juarez our destiny! [Great cheering.]

Let us march; yes, let us march to meet the soldiers of Napoleon III, and you will see them disperse in confusion—for they are not strong, nor can they be so; they are slaves—[applause]—and we have justice and the might of freemen on our side. Let us, then, protest, with all the energy of our republican character, against the dastardly adventurer, Maximilian.

American brothers, I have just arrived from the Mexican republic, where I have fought incessantly against the French, and I have witnessed the horrible outrages committed by them in the name of civilization. The savages of our deserts would flee dismayed at the sight of the butchery, fire and devastation which they have spread over the soil of my country—the victim of the ambition and rapacity of France. For more than three years my countrymen have struggled against their brutal force. But neither the effusion of blood, nor the terror, (forever the harbinger of despotism,) nor the tears of our wives and daughters, have dampened the free spirit of the Mexican republic.

There are still thousands of soldiers, devoted to the cause, who will sacrifice their lives in defence of the public liberties of their country. And these same soldiers, whom the despicable conqueror has called weak, have still the force to vanquish their hated enemy.

To prove their valor, look at the fresh laurels just won on the field of San Pedro, in the State of Sinaloa, in Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, and other places.

American citizens! Do you know why France has had so much audacity? Because she believed that your civil war would crumble to the dust this great republic, and then she would raise in America the edifice of monarchy upon the prostrated ruins of the capital of Washington and the palaces of liberty in the Spanish American republics.

Her error, her crime, her rapacity shall receive the merited chastisement. Now, let me ask you, in the name of the Monroe doctrine, (and let my call extend to all the sons of America,) to unite under our banner, and thus invincible, to march immediately to thrust into the ocean the treacherous and ridiculous French.

General Ochoa, who was dressed in military uniform, is a fine, military looking gentleman, of medium height, very compactly built. He appears to be about thirty years of age, and has the reputation of being one of the best engineers in Mexico, and is the hero of many a hard-fought battle. His reception by the meeting must have been highly gratifying to himself, and as indicating hope for his beloved country.

The reading of the address was frequently interrupted by the applause, and while the picture of the sufferings of the patriotic Mexicans were being stated a silence as of the grave prevailed, and at its conclusion a tremendous burst of applause broke from the people.

Dr. Rowell proposed three cheers for General Ochoa, the hero of Mazatlan and Pueblo, which were given heartily, earnestly, and with suggestive power.

Dr. Rowell then introduced General Placido Vega, governor of Sinaloa, another of the Mexican exiles, a noble looking gentleman, with a heavy flowing beard of jet black hue. The general, being evidently overpowered by the enthusiastic reception he met with, was unable to speak, but he caught a gentleman sitting near by the hand, who said for him that he was more than grateful for the sympathy expressed by the meeting for the cause of his country, and the honor they had conferred upon himself by their hearty welcome. He was not a man of many words, but these few were always sincere. He, like the thousands who were present, hoped soon to see his country free from invasion and invaders. [Loud cheering and applause.] After music by the band,

Mr. A. A. Green, a citizen of Mexico, was next introduced, and made a telling speech concerning the condition of affairs in that unfortunate country, which elicited frequent bursts of applause. He reviewed the whole plan of Louis Napoleon to obtain possession of Mexico, and called to mind many striking facts to confirm his statements, and furnished abundance of evidence to show the love of the Mexicans for the United States. He stated that when the news of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln was received there, there was as much sincere mourning manifested as there was in this country. We very much regret that our space does not permit us to give Mr. Green's interesting speech in full.

The Hon. J. E. Vinton followed Mr. Green, in decidedly *the* speech of the evening. He stated that during the late presidential canvass, when he spoke all over the State, he always said that after our own country was secure from the rebels, he would be in favor of driving the little imp of the toad-eater out of Mexico. [Great applause and laughter.] It would be little better than downright cowardice if the American people did not drive the contemptible puppy, Maximilian, out of Mexico. [Applause.] He referred to the edict of Maximilian, decreeing death to every Mexican caught in arms, fighting for the independence of his native land; that decree, he said, don't include us Yankees, and we intend, by the aid of the Eternal God and Liberty, to drive him out of Mexico. [Loud cheering.] We have the power as well as the will to do it, [applause] and until that object was effected, he was in favor of war to the knife and the knife to the hilt with the invaders. [Loud applause.] The unfortunate people of Mexico have come to us with outstretched arms, supplicating us to save them, and we will do it. [Great applause.] The condition of Maximilian in Mexico reminded him of the Yankee boy's calf. There was a Yankee boy in one of the New England States who had a calf given to him because its mother died; the boy tried to bring it up by hand, as it is termed, but the creature didn't thrive, and one day it took sick, and the boy came running to his mother crying. She, asking him what was the matter, "was his calf dead?"

"Oh!" said the boy, "it ain't dead, but it's sort o' gi'n out." [Laughter.] Tyranny in Mexico is not dead, but we'll make that calf, Maximilian, mighty sick before long, and, if he don't look out, we'll butcher him, too. [Great applause and laughter.]

When Mr. Vinton concluded his speech, the people appeared particularly anxious for him to continue, as his remarks just suited them. He administered a terrible castigation on Louis Napoleon for his perfidy, and did it in such a manner as kept the people in a good humor, while they were bent on mischief towards the Mexican usurper.

The Hon. E. D. Wheeler was next introduced, and delivered the following neat little speech, which was well received:

SPEECH OF E. D. WHEELER.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: Like my friend Mr. Vinton, who has just resumed his seat, I came to this hall to-night in the capacity of an humble citizen, and not as a speaker. I desired to hear the eloquent and distinguished gentlemen whose names have graced the newspapers and posters for the last few days in connexion with this occasion. Why is it that those gentlemen have kept away, and declined to tell us whether they favor European usurpation upon this continent, or whether they oppose it, I am quite unable to imagine. As for me, my position was defined even in my boyhood. I was bred a democrat, and the Monroe doctrine was always recognized as a cardinal article in the creed of that once glorious party. Indeed, so generally was it accepted and adopted by the entire American people as the *American* doctrine, that, from the hour of its promulgation to the breaking out of our great rebellion, no European prince had ever dared to defy or infringe it. But when treason threw off its mask in the United States—when men who had been educated at the public expense, nursed at the public breast, fed at the public table, openly defied the nation's power, insulted its flag and scoffed at its most sacred institutions, *then*, and not till then, did Europe seek to violate a great American doctrine which, up to that time, it had secretly hated but had not the courage to oppose. (Applause.)

Fellow-citizens, from the first assault upon the nation's honor, before the walls of Sumter to the surrender of Lee, I never for a moment permitted myself to doubt the complete and final triumph of our common country over the traitor legions in arms against her. I knew that the principles enunciated and defended by Washington and his great compeers, and which were sanctified by their blood, and blessed and cherished by succeeding generations, would still be well defended and nobly vindicated by America's sons. [Applause.] In this I was not mistaken. I also believed that when the rebellion was put down, when domestic foes had been silenced, then the people of America would see to it that this stinging insult put upon the country by Louis Napoleon in the darkest hour of our agony should be thoroughly and surely avenged. [Great applause.] I believe it still. During the four long years of blood and suffering and sacrifice, through which our country has just passed, we looked in vain to the governments of Europe for sympathy. England fêted the pirate Semmes, and the people of Liverpool presented him a sword, whilst Louis Napoleon, who had clambered to the French throne through blood and perjury, trampled under foot an acknowledged principle of our government, and placed upon the necks of our Mexican neighbors a renegade boy from the house of Hapsburg. I say that in all Europe we found no sympathy from any government, save little Switzerland alone, from whose free home amid the snows of the Alps, the prayers and the blessings of her people arose in behalf of American liberty. [Great applause.] Now that the rebellion is ended, and now that we have the power as well as the will, I am firm in the belief that this man Maximilian, with all his backers and tinselled followers, will be swept from the American continent almost without a struggle. [Great applause.] But, gentlemen, I did not intend to make a speech, and as I perceive this platform is crowded and fairly festooned with orators, I will close by bidding you good night.

J. B. Manchester next addressed the meeting in one of his happiest strains, and was warmly applauded.

Motion was then made to appoint a committee to draught resolutions expressing the sentiments of the meeting, when the following gentlemen were unanimously elected:

D. O. McCarthy, Seth Wetherbee, George S. Knot, A. J. Bryant, O. B. Crary, Colonel Tittel, Stephen Card, W. Shear, and Mr. E. Hughes.

Mr. Clark, a gentleman from Oakland, then addressed the meeting, and made a very appropriate speech, which was much applauded. When he had concluded, Mr. Henry, as secretary of the committee on resolutions, read, in a very clear and distinct manner, the following

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas in the progress of a gigantic revolution which threatened the overthrow and destruction of their own republic, the American people have learned to value the sympathy of the friends of free government everywhere; and

Whereas the people of the United States, not having been unmindful of the calamities that have overcome our sister republic of Mexico, have been nevertheless unable to render that fraternal assistance which was prompted to the first instincts and emotions of free republicans, because of the overwhelming convulsions of their own government; and

Whereas, in gratitude for our own national deliverance and restoration, we, the partisans of free government and the disciples of the Monroe doctrine, are also the friends and admirers of a brave and devoted people who are heroically struggling to expel despotic invaders from their country. We believe that the time has come when a public avowal of sympathy with the liberal government of Mexico is the duty of every advocate and defender of republican freedom; and

Whereas the inviolate preservation and steadfast defence of the Monroe doctrine, with all the energies and resources of the nation, are the essential means of preserving and perpetuating our own institutions and forever establishing our own liberties: Therefore, be it—

Resolved, That, until the spirit of the people of the United States shall have been broken, and their treasury become bankrupt, there can continue to be but one form of government and one people within the territory of Mexico; and that government must be republican and the people freemen.

Resolved, That American citizens regard the invasion of the neighboring republic of Mexico, under the directions of the French Emperor, as intended to be the preliminary of monarchizing the whole American continent; and that such flagrant violation of the fundamental doctrine enunciated by Mr. Monroe, and heretofore accepted as the policy of the nation, demands immediate consideration and determined resistance with all the wisdom and by all the might of our government.

Resolved, That, had not the government of the United States become convulsed and enfeebled by the disaster of civil war, no monarchical power of Europe would have ventured the subversion and subjugation of a free people on this continent; and that the conduct of the Emperor of the French is regarded by American citizens as wholly consistent with the principles of a monarch who reached his own throne through perfidy, and over the ruins of a republic.

Resolved, That we, citizens of San Francisco, admiring the fortitude, heroism, and devotion of the patriots in Mexico, together with their compatriots in this city and elsewhere, pledge them our fullest sympathy, and every co-operative assistance that can be afforded under our laws, in order that the usuper may be speedily expelled from a country which belongs to freedom.

Resolved, That in the persons of General Ochoa and General Vega, the accredited representatives of President Juarez and the liberal government of Mexico, we recognize the presence of exalted patriotism and heroic devotion to the holiest cause that can engage the natural affections and defensive passions of men; and that as distinguished citizens and authorized representatives of the rightful government of that republic, we welcome them to our city, and recommend them to the respect and friendship of the people of California.

Resolved, That we request our fellow-citizens in the interior of the State to take into immediate consideration the distressed condition of the heroic friends of liberty in Mexico, both by public assemblages and through the influence of their local press.

Resolved, That the American citizens of San Francisco and the State of California are the friends and supporters of all peoples everywhere who aspire to be free, and that their sympathies and assistance are more especially invoked by the distressed and perishing condition of our sister republic. Therefore they most earnestly reaffirm the declaration of President Monroe, that "The American continents, by the independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power; that we consider any attempt to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; that we cannot view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Finally:

Resolved, That in behalf of the brave and indomitable people of Mexico, who are struggling against adverse fortune and European marauders, we earnestly commend their cause to the attention of our government, and to all our countrymen, in the name of "*God and liberty!*"

The people could not restrain their enthusiasm while the resolutions were being read, but frequently interrupted their reading by outbursts of enthusiastic approbation, and at their conclusion there was much excitement and cheering, and they were adopted by a unanimous vote. The band then struck up "Rally 'Round the Flag," the audience joining in the chorus, creating a scene better imagined than described.

Dr. Rowell, after thanking the people for their attendance, for the honor they had done himself, and for their sympathy for the oppressed Mexico, and calling for three cheers for its delivery, which were given heartily, and three more,

The meeting then adjourned, thus ending one of the most exciting and suggestive meetings we ever attended. California at this meeting has set herself right on the record on the Monroe doctrine, being the first State in the Union to do so.

No. 3.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 10th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a translation into English of the proceedings at a dinner in New York, given by the Mexicans residing there, to celebrate the 16th of September, 1864, being the forty-third anniversary of the independence of Mexico.

The sentiments of sympathy towards the United States, expressed on that occasion, are the same that all the people of Mexico feel for the American Union.

I also enclose an article translated into English, from the Continental, of New York, the 17th of December last, containing the remarks I made at a dinner given by the Knickerbocker Society of that city, on the 6th of December, Saint Nicholas' day, the patron saint of the society to which dinner I had the honor of being invited.

In that speech I expressed my opinion upon what effect the result of that war which has just closed in this country would have upon the interests and welfare of the human race.

I am pleased to have this additional opportunity to express to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mexican banquet in New York, in celebration of the anniversary of the independence of that republic, September 16, 1864.

The Mexicans settled in New York and resident there—some in official positions in the service of their country or engaged in business, others driven to this foreign land by the arms of the invaders, some of them being on their way from here to other parts of their country wherein to renew the war in its defence, and others recently arrived from the protracted captivity in which they had been held by the French, by whom they had been made prisoners after the fall of the heroic Puebla—resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the day on which the curate of a little village, with a dozen followers and without counting either the number or the resources of the enemy, against whom he rose, raised the cry of independence, thus inaugurating the conflict that was to make a free nation of that which, for the space of three centuries, had been a colony without any proper existence of its own.

That day was the 16th of September, and so they assembled to a banquet purely Mexican, in Delmonico's elegant saloon on Fourteenth street. We have not a full list of those who were present at the banquet, and therefore the many gentlemen will pardon us whose names we cannot give. We will state, however, that the banquet, as was proper, was presided over by Señor Matias Romero, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican republic to the government at Washington, who, on account of his character, the dignity of his conduct, and his other personal qualifications, has succeeded in conciliating the sympathy and esteem of the high circles in which, on account of his official functions, he moves—sympathy and esteem as well from his own people as from strangers. Opposite Señor Romero was General Doblado, who had reached this city only two days previously, and who merits a distinguished place wherever he goes, not only on account of the high functions which he has discharged in Mexico, having been a minister more than once, and having occupied the first positions in the army, but also on account of his personal worth. Prominent, also, among the assemblage were Señor J. N. Navarro, consul general of Mexico in New York; Señor Ignacio Mariscal, secretary of the Mexican legation; M. Balbontin, colonel of artillery; Manuel Escobar y Armendariz, formerly attaché to the Mexican legation in Washington; General Joaquin Colombres, chief of the corps of engineers in the army of the east, and who was the person that directed the construction of the works for the defence of Puebla; Juan José Baz, formerly governor of the district of Mexico; General Ignacio Mejia, who distinguished himself during the siege of Puebla, was made prisoner, taken to France, and now was on his return to his country; General Francisco Alatorre, who commanded the fourth division of the army of the east, took part in the glorious day of the 5th of May, on which the French were completely routed, then participated in the defence of Puebla, was there taken prisoner, and was carried to France, and had now, also, just returned from his captivity; General Pedro Ogazon, formerly governor of the State of Jalisco; Colonel Prisiliano Flores, likewise captured at Puebla, and now, like the others, on his return from captivity in France; General M. G. Cosio, who was promoted to generalship on account of the valor displayed by him in the battle of Santa Inés; J. Antonio Godoy, formerly editor of the Mexican Herald; José Rivera y Rio, member of the Mexican congress; Eleuterio Avila, also a member of the same congress; Juan Carbó, deputy and secretary of the government of the State of Campeche, expelled by the French; Luis Barjau, a merchant for many years established in New York, and many others whom we cannot mention for want of space.

We will give no account of the saloon or of the dinner, because these were secondary objects. The principal object was the reunion on this memorable day, and the sending to the native land and to those who were struggling for it the sympathetic accents of friends from afar, bound together in those bonds that unite those abroad and those at home in one tie of solidarity. Only in regard to the hall we will say, that it was beautifully and elegantly adorned with the mingled banners and flags of Mexico and the United States. Behind the president's chair was hung from the wall a large crown of flowers, in the centre of which was read the name of Juarez, which is now for every Mexican the emblem of his native land, of independence, and of republicanism. Along the walls of the spacious hall, between the banners and the wreaths, figured the names of some of the heroes of independence and of others who have fallen in the present struggle, which has almost the same noble character as the former. As regards the quality of the dinner, we have nothing to add, as the reputation is general which the Delmonico house has acquired for the exquisite character of its eatables, the delicacy with which they are cooked, the fineness of the service, and the excellence of the wines.

When the time came for the toasts, Señor Romero inaugurated and directed them with the tact and experience recognized by all. He caused to be given first those previously set down in the programme, in order to give immediate scope to the spontaneous and patriotic expressions of all.

We will now endeavor to give our readers some idea of the different toasts offered, although for want space it be impossible for us to give them entire or even enumerate them all.

FIRST TOAST OF THE PROGRAMME BY SEÑOR ROMERO.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: At a time when the independence of our beloved country, the independence secured to us by our fathers with their blood, the most precious legacy they have left to us, the most valuable of all our possessions, and upon which are founded all our hopes of prosperity and well-being for the future, is threatened by an ambitious and unscrupulous monarch, it is doubly gratifying to us, it is our indispensable duty as Mexicans, to celebrate that independence, consecrating to it our most tender recollections, and rendering to it our most fervent homage on this day of its anniversary. And this celebration is equivalent to a formal promise on our part to follow the noble example of our forefathers, in not omitting any sacrifices, however great they may be, nor efforts of any kind, to defend that which constitutes the first condition of our social existence—the independence of the soil where we were born, where are our homes, the ashes of our fathers, the cradles of our children, and all that man holds sacred and dear on earth. I propose to you, therefore, fellow-countrymen, that we drink to 'the independence of Mexico.'

"I ask our distinguished friend, General Mejia, to favor us with a reply."

REPLY OF GENERAL MEJIA.

The 16th of September, the day of the anniversary of our independence, has caused us to assemble to day for the purpose of celebrating it, and of offering the tribute of our homage to the distinguished Mexicans who sacrificed themselves to give us a country and liberty.

The simple fact of our reunion indicates the sentiments that animate us, and that knowing how to appreciate the gift which our fathers have left us, we are ready to imitate their example to preserve it.

If we remember the condition in which the Mexican nation was when the struggle began for its independence, the enemy which it had to encounter, and the years and sacrifices that were necessary to conquer it, we are strengthened in our hopes that our country will never allow itself to be deprived of that inestimable benefit.

Let us drink to the heroes of Mexican independence, and let us protest that their example will be the rule of our conduct.

SECOND REGULAR TOAST BY SEÑOR ROMERO.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: This celebration, which should be one only of rejoicing—for it commemorates the triumphs of our country—is now mingled with feelings of profound sorrow, which are caused by the unhappy scenes which are at this moment transpiring upon the soil where we were born. It is not possible for us while remembering the past to forget the present. Of the past we have glorious memories which cause the heart of every true Mexican to swell with pride, and which had given rise to well-founded hopes of aggrandizement and prosperity in the future; for the present a dark cloud obscures the view of some, and interrupts the approach of that happy future which we saw not very far off. Our beloved country is the theatre of a cruel and savage war made upon it by the disturber of the peace of the world, proclaiming false pretexts, and with the ultimate object of reducing us to the condition of a French colony; upon some of our principal cities weighs the yoke of the invader; many of our fellow-countrymen are enslaved by the foreigner; the families and the homes of many of us are in the power of our enemies; the most distinguished of our fellow-citizens are persecuted and banished; our commerce is destroyed; our agriculture paralyzed; all the fountains of our riches closed, and what is still worse, a small portion of those whom heaven has intended to be our brothers have joined with the invader and lent themselves to the insane, inhuman task of subjugating our common country. This dark picture has, however, its brighter side, which restores happiness and contentment to our hearts, and even causes us to forget our past and present misfortunes in view of the happy future that awaits us. The bright side of this picture is that presented by the great proportion of our fellow-countrymen who have taken up arms to defend, each day with more vigor and determination, the independence of our country; who are resolved to conquer or to die, and who before long will give to our country days of glory which will consolidate for the second time our independence, which will be a new birth for our country, and the beginning of a new era of peace, well-being, and prosperity. This desired end merits our most ardent prayers. Let us drink, therefore, to "The triumph of the Mexican arms against the foreign invader."

General Doblado was called upon and responded as follows:

Misfortune is for nations a lesson of experience as much as it is for individuals. We Mexicans, united this evening by a common destiny, are met to celebrate the anniversary of the independence of the Mexican republic. We now have as many distressing memories in the bitter struggle through which we are passing as we had before of joy and happiness in more successful days. This lesson will not be lost upon us if we take advantage of such eloquent lessons and determine firmly to destroy, root and branch, and everlastingly, every domestic difference that has divided the great liberal party of Mexico into many fragments, thus opening the way for, if not the only, the principal cause of the unfortunate crisis which is now upon us. On such a sacred day as this we ought to forget all reproaches and all defects—for there is no man who has not some of these; all good liberals and patriots have co-operated each one according to his gifts and social position, his intelligence and his resources, in the defence of our threatened nationality. Each one has his undeniable merit, and justice and patriotism demand that, closing our eyes, so that we may not perceive defects inherent in humanity, we will confess every man's merit and acknowledge the services he has rendered, if not with equal fortune, at least with equal willingness. Let us drink, then, gentlemen, to the eternal oblivion of intestine divisions; to the universal tolerance of every independent heart, so that in perfect abnegation of all individual feelings, we may dedicate ourselves with firmness and constancy in laboring to sustain the nationality of Mexico—uniting in one single thought, that of either saving it or falling for it, in imitation of the imperishable example of our fathers. Let us drink, then, for, as often as we are told that the enslavement of Mexico is an accomplished fact, we can reply, with the cry of Hidalgo, Viva la independencia Mejicana. Viva la republica! [Applause.]

The third regular toast was then announced by the president, who said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: There is in our beloved country an unassuming citizen, whose eminent virtues have elevated him to the highest position recognized by our laws; whose patriotism, which is the predominant sentiment of his character, knows no limits; whose disinterestedness and abnegation equal that of Washington; who, in sacrifices and sufferings for his country, is a worthy emulator of Guatimotzin; who, in noble elevation of soul and in high aspirations, may be compared to the greatest of Plutarch's men; who in the hours of our greatest adversity, when many of our friends have despaired, has always maintained a firm belief in the triumph of our holy cause; to whom the country already owes the great work of reform, and to whom probably it will owe its second independence; a man whose destiny is identified in such a manner with the destiny of the country that any misfortune that may overtake him will be a national calamity. This illustrious citizen you all know. His name belongs not only to Mexico, but to human kind at large—it is Benito Juarez. Let us drink, therefore, "To the constitutional president of the Mexican republic." I hope that our esteemed friend, Dr. Don Juan N. Navarro, will oblige us by answering this toast.

Señor Navarro replied as follows:

At our reunion, gentlemen, on this day, on the hospitable soil of a sister republic, in order to offer feeble homage to the heroes of our independence, there can be nothing more just, nothing more opportune, than to turn our eyes and testify our regards to the man who sets up the standard of liberty in 1864, and asserts the cause of national independence with the same faith and the same abnegation that immortalized the hero of 1810. Then Hidalgo had to contend with superstition and ignorance, powerful allies of the Spanish domination; now Juarez has to struggle with the soldiers of Napoleon III, aided by the same auxiliaries. Hidalgo, for his colossal undertaking, counted on no resources than his own heroic resolution, and an invincible faith in the triumph of his sacred cause; Juarez, almost without material resources, has to fight, and is fighting, for the independence of our country, with the first soldiers in the world. The undertaking of

Hidalgo, after a long and bloody contest, received its proper consummation; that of Juarez, sooner or later, will undoubtedly reach a most glorious triumph.

It sufficed in 1821 that those Mexicans who sustained the Spanish government should turn into themselves, at the voice of their country, in order that the colony should cease and independent Mexico be born; it will suffice now that all our brethren, without distinction of party, should combine and rally around the beautiful tricolor flag, in order that the Mexican republic should be born anew, strong and glorious.

Let us salute, gentlemen, on this memorial day, the man who upholds that beloved banner, steeped in the blood of so many heroes; let us manifest to him the admiration which his noble conduct gains for him, not only among Mexicans and foreigners, but even among his very enemies; and that, whatever be the fate prepared for us by providence, the name of Juarez will be written by a just prosterity in the temple of immortality.

The President, in proposing the next regular toast, said: History, gentlemen, is sometimes unjust in its judgments. It makes immortal the names of certain leaders, while for difficulty or other reasons it leaves unknown the names of thousands of heroes who modestly sacrificed their well being, their families and their lives in defence of a noble and a just cause, without expecting or receiving the recompense of fame. How many unknown heroes have we not, gentlemen, of the first war of our independence, of our foreign wars, of our war of reform, and now of our second war of independence! How many more are on the eve of now entering upon this humble catalogue; and how worthy all of them are of our respect, of our admiration and of our gratitude! It should not be proper for us, therefore, that celebrating this anniversary of our country we should forget those of our fellow-countrymen, who, with arms in their hands, as becomes freemen who are concious of their own dignity, who prefer death to slavery, and who are not intimidated by any kind of sacrifice or privations, defend the national cause, and often without pay, without food, without clothing, and even without arms, shed their blood and give gladly their lives for the honor and independence of our country. Their imposing attitude still preserves free from the foreign yoke a great part of our territory, and is the ground where rests the hope of the expulsion of the enemy from that they now hold. Let us drink, therefore, "To the patriots who defend the national cause."

I invite our friend General Don Pedro Ogazon to address us on the point which has been the object of this toast:

TOAST BY GENERAL OGAZON IN REPLY TO THE FOURTH REGULAR TOAST.

GENTLEMEN: When Mexico was nearing the termination of her misfortunes, in order to continue her march on the way of progress without obstacle or hindrance; when the enemies of independence, of liberty, and of our country's progress, had been conquered or disarmed, a new calamity supervened to involve her in a bloody war occasioned by the perfidy and treason of some degraded Mexicans, and carried on by a monarch, who, without judgment or foresight, has undertaken to accomplish the insensate and unrealisable task of converting our republic into an empire, effacing the glorious pages of our history, causing us to forget our dearest traditions, wresting from us our independence sealed with the martyrdom of our heroes, and humiliating us, so far as to subject us as slaves to the caprice of a foreign tyrant.

But now, as heretofore, Mexico will recover her liberty, will conquer her enemies, and will continue to maintain the principles of progress and reform which she has conquered with the sacrifice of the blood of many of her sons.

If in the protracted contest which our fathers carried on to emancipate themselves from Spain, we admire their sacrifices, their abnegation, and their heroism; in this present invasion, likewise, those innumerable Mexicans are worthy of our respect and of our homage, who, guided by the purest patriotism, impelled by a sense of honor and duty, and full of faith in the triumph of our cause, have struggled and will continue to struggle with these new conquerors of our country.

Doubt it not, gentlemen, Mexico will save herself, because all her sons, with the exception of a handful of traitors, reject the claims with which despotism seeks to bind us; because in all the love of independence and republicanism is alive—all feel in themselves the sentiments of outraged honor; and because thousands of patriots will never lay down their arms until they have rescued our territory from those who seek to usurp it, without reason or right.

Now, as in our first war of independence, without waiting to count the number of their enemies; without being deterred by sacrifices, pains, or privations of any kind; without allowing their ardor to be diminished by the defection of some few or the coldness of others; Mexicans are struggling in every quarter, obliging the enemy to live in constant alarm in those districts which he occupies by force, and are resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than ignominiously lose their right to their title of citizens of a sovereign republic.

To these illustrious sons of Mexico, to these indefatigable soldiers of independence, who will soon have innumerable imitators, because all Mexicans hate foreign domination, our country will owe in a great measure her salvation.

Let us, therefore, drink to the patriots who are defending the national cause.

The fifth regular toast was thus announced by the President: There is a great nation, whose remoteness from the despots of Europe, joined to the circumstance that these latter were kept in restraint by their interminable quarrels, permitted it, when at the end of the last century it archieved its independence, to establish republican institutions. Under the shadow of these institutions it has made a progress truly fabulous. From a poor and insignificant colony, which it was, it has been converted into a nation—one of the most rich, populous, civilized and powerful of the globe. Our fathers, following this brilliant example, adopted institutions identical in their character, in order to arrive at the same end by pursuing the same path. The fear inspired by the great American nation prevented the monarchs of Europe from carrying out the plans they formed for the purpose of impeding this new experiment upon this continent of republican institutions. But scarcely had they seen the great nation involved in a civil war, which required the use of all its powers, when the tyrant of France hastened to send to our country an expedition for the purpose of overthrowing our institutions as the first step towards our ultimate reduction to the condition of his vassals. The interest, therefore, which all of us feel that the difficulties which now afflict this country should speedily terminate, is obvious. The question is one of life or death for republican institutions. If they triumph here, not only will they be consolidated upon this continent, but they will even invade Europe; while, if they are overthrown, it will turn back for ten centuries the progress of humanity. We therefore feel in the speedy termination of the civil war in this country not only the interest which every man who desires the social progress of the human race should feel, but also that special interest which is imparted by the circumstance that the triumph of republican institutions in the United States will greatly contribute to the triumph of our own cause against the foreign invader, and will speedily terminate the farce of a monarchy of which our country is now the theatre. Let us drink, therefore, to "The prosperity of the United States."

I would be much pleased if our distinguished friend, Señor Don Juan J. Baz, would be pleased to give us his ideas in reference to the sentiment expressed in this toast.

REPLY OF SEÑOR BAZ.

The United States, having achieved their independence, gave a practical solution of the greatest social problem ever proposed to the world, that of founding a republic without the turbulent anarchy of the Greek or the aristocracy of the Roman republics.

The despots of Europe, at the accomplishment of this fact, trembled upon their thrones, because the prosperity to which this people had been conducted by their unlimited liberty was a seductive example to their subjects, and they feared lest they should seek to pass from the condition of humble vassals to that of freemen. Thereupon they pretended to discredit the success of republican institutions, and to characterize this nation as in a state of anarchy.

Unfortunately, a remnant of barbarism was found intermingled here in the mode of life of this great people—slavery, horrid slavery, born in the dark days of despotism, and imported to America by savage Europe. This anachronism, this incompatibility, produced at last a clash between two great portions of this family, and conducted them to the most sanguinary and destructive war recorded in the annals of the world—a war with most wicked and Machiavelian craft fomented by some of the European monarchs.

The tyrants clapped their hands and shouted with joy over the misfortunes of the country of liberty. Without reflecting that *monarchical* Europe has lived in constant war, and that France has suffered various revolutionary transformations, whilst the United States enjoyed unbroken peace, they attribute the actual state of affairs to the republican system, and loudly proclaim that republics are not stable.

The projects of establishing thrones in America are as old as our independence; the power of the North and the adoption of the Monroe doctrine kept Europe within limits. Now that this country finds itself occupied with a civil war; now that its destinies are ruled by an administration that does not seem to fully understand the power of the United States or the dread with which they inspire Europe, or the inconveniences and difficulties which the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico may occasion to its own country, the disturber of the peace of the world, he who, following the example of his uncle and the instincts of his race, has destroyed liberty in France and republicanism in Rome, has deemed the moment to have come to destroy it in America, and to send us a monarch.

If the United States return to a state of peace; if, as is to be hoped, a vigorous and intelligent policy is to be adopted, and one which will commend itself to the wishes of the American people, so explicitly expressed as they have been, the monarchs of Europe will confine themselves to their own dominions, and will consider themselves fortunate if they are not disturbed in their own homes.

In the pacification of this country, the world, therefore, and especially Mexico, is interested. Consequently, the toast is very acceptable and proper to which I have been called to respond by our president.

The sixth and last regular toast was then announced by Mr. Romero, who said: The generation which achieved the independence of the English colonies of North America is by a thousand titles worthy of the highest respect and of the most exalted consideration. The names of Washington, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson will always rank by the side of Socrates, Aristides, Pericles and Cato. Unfortunately for us, the growth of the element of slavery caused the loss, in a great part, in the following generation of that elevation of character and of political views which distinguished the early statesmen of the American Union, and to the principles of independence, liberty, and equality based upon the sovereignty of the people and proclaimed by the former, succeeded the policy of the extension of slavery even at the cost of the seizure of foreign territory, should there be no other means of achieving that object. You all know the result of this change of policy. For us it was the loss of a great part of our territory; for the United States it has proved the seed of a civil war, which has already cost oceans of blood, thousands of millions of dollars, orphanage and desolation, and of which we do not yet know the limit. Upon this dark page of our history we have, however, the satisfaction to see that, notwithstanding the torrent against us, promoted and sustained by the slavery party which then ruled the destinies of the United States, there were in this country, to its honor be it said, exalted men who hesitated not a moment in placing themselves upon our side, and in denouncing the war that was made upon us as unjust and without cause. The names of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, at an early period in our history, and later those of Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, and other distinguished leaders, will always remain indelibly engraven upon the hearts of all Mexicans. But there has come an epoch of still greater trial for us when we are threatened not merely with the loss of a part of our territory, but of our independence itself; and in these critical circumstances, where some American statesmen have believed it politic to manifest an apparent indifference with regard to our cause, in view of the difficulties in which their own country was involved, there have been sincere friends whom nothing has held back, who have not hesitated in manifesting to us their sympathy, and in the sphere of their circumstances of expressing their opinion that the United States should view the war made upon us by the Emperor of the French as a movement directed principally against themselves. The names of McDougall, of Davis, of Beekman, Hammersly and Dodge, and of many other distinguished men and friends of our cause, will not only be imperishable in the memory of Mexicans, but also will be remembered with respect by the future generations of their own country. Let us drink, therefore, to "The citizens of the United States who have manifested their sympathy for the cause of Mexico."

I would be much gratified if our friend Señor Mariscal would have the goodness to give us his sentiments in reference to the idea conveyed in the toast which we have just offered.

Señor Mariscal answering the last toast of the programme, intended for another person who did not attend, spoke as follows:

Invited by Señor Romero, just this moment, I shall say few words upon the last toast. I would wish that some one else, more worthy for his position to represent all Mexicans, should express on this occasion the sentiments of national gratitude contained in the toast to which I allude. There is one reason only why I should speak upon this matter, and it is this—that I have witnessed the manifestations of sympathy made lately in this country in favor of Mexico. I shall not speak, then, of those made at other times. Señor Romero has already most appropriately alluded to them. I shall only recall the resolute declaration resolved by the House of Representatives in Washington—that is to say, of the popular chamber of the Congress of these United States—against any monarchy which may pretend to establish itself on this continent under the auspices of Europe. All the members present voted for the resolution, and those who happened to be absent hastened to send in their signatures signifying their approbation of it, as if they feared that a doubt may be entertained of their giving their assent in a matter of such a transcendental importance. Unanimity like this, gentlemen, is not registered in the annals of any congress unless the interests of the country be directly involved. That resolution has been regarded by the press, by all political parties, and even by the government itself, as the most faithful expression of the will of the people.

Speaking of unofficial grounds, I shall only refer to the banquet given to Señor Romero by several gentlemen of high standing of this city, members of all political parties and different professions, to manifest their sympathies in favor of our cause.

The fraternity and effusion of kindred sentiments which reigned during that splendid entertainment can well be compared, gentlemen, with those which now make this family gathering so delightful, and it was certainly touching to a Mexican to hear citizens of these United States speak with profound emotion of our dangers, our men, our cause.

Most appropriately, then, Señor Romero has proposed the last toast, and most naturally you have accepted it with so much enthusiasm. Nothing can be more just than to show our gratitude to the numerous friends we have in this country, a country truly hospitable to all the proscribed of the earth, and especially friendly to us in this rude ordeal we are now undergoing.

Señor Carbó proposed a toast to the establishment of an association in this country, which is at the head of the American republics, an association which will have for its object to promote the common defence of the Spanish-American republics against the attacks of European despots.

ANSWER OF SEÑOR ROMERO.

Before we propose another toast, which I wish to be in honor of the press of the United States, I believe it proper to inform my good friend Señor Carbó that his project has already claimed the attention and merited the most serious consideration of very distinguished Spanish-American patriots now residing in this country, who, after mature deliberation, have drawn up the fundamental articles of an American association with the purposes indicated by Señor Carbó, and that the project is already on the way of being properly realized, in which case it will produce the good effects for which we hope and which are to be desired.

SEVENTH TOAST BY SEÑOR ROMERO.

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to me to meet on foreign soil so large a number of Mexicans, perhaps the largest that has ever yet been assembled together in this city, and to find among them illustrious citizens who have rendered important services to their country, and have covered themselves with glory.

I remark on one side gallant and chivalrous soldiers who participated in the glorious day of the 5th of May and in the siege of Puebla, who were subjugated, but not conquered; many of whom endured a captivity of more than a year in a foreign land, despised or scorned all the stratagems employed by the French government to cause them to betray their duties as Mexicans and to issue dishonorable acts of submission, and who are now preparing to enter anew into the contest. On the other side, illustrious citizens, now resident in this city, and who are only awaiting an occasion to leave with more facility for one or other side of the republic, wherever their services are likely to be of most avail. Further off I see other Mexicans, who, preserving for their country all the love of the best patriots, have established their abode in this country, in order to forward commercial relations with it; there, again, others who, as their homes and firesides were occupied by the enemy, have preferred exile to servitude, and have submitted to voluntary ostracism; and others, again, of us, who, on account of our official duties and in the service of our government, have temporarily fixed our residence here in this country, but have by no means lost our affection for our own. Through a happy coincidence we meet at this reunion with all the grades of the social scale—ministers of state, members of the supreme court of justice, governors of States, generals of division and brigadiers, subaltern military officers, deputies, subaltern officials, merchants, physicians, lawyers, engineers, land-owners, capitalists, miners, editors; all the

States of the republic find themselves worthily represented, from the burning strands of Yucatan and the fertile shores of Tabasco, to the sandy regions of Tamaulipas and the mineral lands of Chihuahua and Sonora. We are all animated with the same sentiments, inspired with the same love for our country, which grows greater and nobler in our eyes as we leave it, and becomes dearer according as its misfortunes are greater.

Let, then, this reunion serve to confound our detractors by showing them that wherever circumstances bring any Mexicans together, they give testimony of their patriotism, of their faith in the triumph of their sacred cause, their irrevocable determination, to persist in its defence, of their gratitude to those who are struggling in this glorious undertaking, and of their desire to sacrifice their lives for the honor of the country.

The organs of public opinion that have undertaken the task of laying before the world these facts, the real situation in which we are placed, the elements on which we count to repel the invasion, and the baseless and incorrect character of the information so profusely circulated by our enemy; the papers that have never ceased to manifest their desire for our triumph and their sympathy for our cause; to which we are indebted for the fact that the people of this great nation have been, throughout the whole extent of their territory, duly advised of all events favorable to our cause; that the false reports published by our enemies have been duly rectified; that the public documents of our statesmen and the proclamations of our patriots have received the most ample circulation, as well in this country as in Europe, where it may be said that almost the only information favorable to our cause that has been circulated is that published by the American newspapers, are worthy of our remembrance and of our gratitude. I propose to you, therefore, that on this occasion, a most solemn one for us, we give a proof of our acknowledgment for the services which our friends have rendered us, by drinking a toast to "The Press of the United States."

REPLY OF SEÑOR MARISCAL.

GENTLEMEN: Nothing is more natural than our toast in honor of the press of the United States. Conformably to the popular sentiment, which it obeys and, at the same time, enlightens, it has universally manifested its sympathies in favor of the Mexican cause, and its hatred for the invader and for the renegades who now infest our soil. The press, as you are well aware, constitutes a colossal power in modern society, and especially here, where we find the classic soil of publicity and journalism, because it is likewise (let its enemies say what they please) the land of practical liberty and of unquestionable progress.

The journalists of this nation, especially those of this great city, which generally represents the entire country, have defended, with luminous and at times very sensible publications, the cause of Mexico struggling against its assassins. These writers, as well as the people in their convention and their worthy representatives in the popular branch of Congress, have understood the nature of the crisis in which all the republics of this continent are now placed; and they have not been appalled, gentlemen, by the scarecrow of the European despot, who from his throne more than a thousand leagues away presumes to subjugate the world of Columbus.

The press of this country has raised its powerful voice, and caused it to re-echo throughout the civilized world, now repeating the proclamations and manifestoes of our patriots, now the exploits of our heroes, which by this means are known beyond our territory. In this way we conquer sympathies abroad which are never sterile, and our warriors and our statesmen, on seeing the praises which this press bestows upon them in one of those flying leaves which it scatters in every direction, are fired with new enthusiasm in the unequal struggle in which they find themselves engaged. Here is the great benefit for which we stand indebted to the press of the United States. To it, to the fraternal sentiment with which it has aided us, gentlemen, we owe our gratitude. It is just, then, that we should manifest it forthwith to the representatives of that press who have now assembled here with us. Among them is the gentleman who conducts a publication consecrated to the Spanish-American republics. You see that with it we have family connexions. Let us not forget, gentlemen, to manifest to him our acknowledgments with the same cordiality as to his worthy companions.

EIGHTH TOAST BY SEÑOR ROMERO.

GENTLEMEN: Fully sharing the sentiments which our esteemed friend, Señor Baz, has expressed in favor of Peru, and which have been so well received by you all, I take the liberty of stating that various others, if not all, of the Spanish-American republics find themselves in the same condition with Peru. Chili, likewise, sent to us a minister who will aid us with his moral influence in the hour of greatest adversity, and we have just learned that the chamber of deputies of that sister republic has approved, with a unanimity comparable only with that of the popular branch of the Congress of the United States, to which allusion has already been made, a proposition by which the government is ordered to recognize in no manner and under no circumstances whatever the so-called Mexican monarchy or any other that European arms may establish on this continent. The enlightened government of Venezuela has shown, by its official documents, that it is ready to make common cause with the sister republics in defence of the independence and the institutions of all, and it can be assured that the other South American republics are already fully persuaded that union will give them strength; and that, if isolated, they can be easily overcome by the monarchs of Europe; united, they will be respectable and respected. If this union had been realized, as it should have been, when the French intervention began in Mexico, we may be assured that this enterprise would have taken another direction, very different from that which it has taken. We have already suffered all the evils consequent upon our isolation, and this very circumstance authorizes us now to propose and urge the desired union, since it cannot be thought that we do it for our own exclusive convenience when, in the condition to which things have come in our own country, we could derive but few advantages from such a step.

Our brothers of South America, who have manifested sympathy for us, are worthy, gentlemen, of our grateful acknowledgements. I propose to you, therefore, gentlemen, that we drink to them and to the union of the Spanish-American republics in defence of their institutions and independence.

Señor Paolo, seconding the toast offered by Señor Romero, expounded the necessity under which the American republics lay to unite among themselves, in order to be prepared, lest European invasion should find them isolated and divided, and absorb them one after another; and likewise showed how the march of events had of itself laid the foundation of the realization of this necessity, and was proceeding of its own accord to produce this union so indispensable for the salvation of the great Spanish-American family.

Among the toasts that followed, General Mejia inveighed with energetic eloquence against those unworthy Mexicans who, defeated in their own country, had begged the aid of a European monarch.

Major Thomas Teran, who had been a prisoner in France, whence he had just returned, proposed a toast, which was accepted with great enthusiasm.

"To the memory of General Zaragoza, who, on the 5th of May, 1862, routed the French legions in the vicinity of Puebla."

Señor D. José A. Godoy, editor of the Herald of Mexico, spoke:

GENTLEMEN: It is with much pleasure that I have heard you toast all Americans who have manifested sympathy for Mexico. In this toast all Mexicans present have joined. But there are men in other nations, also, who manifest the same sympathy. General Prim separated from his associates in the invasion, and from that moment he has vigorously defended Mexico. The illustrious writer Emilio Castelar defends the cause of Mexico with his pen. The distinguished orator Nicolas Maria de Rivero does the same. I drink, gentlemen, to General Prim, to Emilio Castelar, to Nicolas Maria de Rivero, and all Spaniards who defend the cause of liberty and of the independence of Mexico.

Colonel Balbontin proposed a toast to the effect that, inasmuch as on this very day the traitors were profaning the anniversary of independence in Mexico by celebrating it in their own way, it was to be hoped that another year would not pass before they suffered the punishment merited by their infamous conduct.

General Alatorre proposed a toast to the laboring classes of France, who sympathized with all free people and interested themselves in favor of the oppressed.

Señor Baz, among the toasts of the moment, proposed the following:

While millions of beings humble themselves before the despot who tyrannizes over France, some eminent men oppose him face to face, and in the very capital of his empire defend the liberty and the inalienable rights of the peoples shamefully outraged by him; to many of these men we owe our gratitude, because in their eloquent discourses they have upheld the cause of Mexico; let us drink, therefore, gentlemen, to the health of Jules Favre, Picard, and others, who constitute the opposition party in the French legislature.

Gentlemen, if they are worthy of praise and glory who gain victories for their country, those are no less worthy who are conquered while bravely combating for it: let us drink, then, at the same time, to those who on the 5th of May humbled the pride of France, and those who, surrendering at Puebla, were carried prisoners to France and, bravely enduring misfortune and misery, refused to recognize the empire.

In honor of Señor Doblado.

In honor of Señor Romero.

TOAST BY SEÑOR ESCOBAR I ARMENDARIZ.

GENTLEMEN: It is a fortunate occurrence to see in this assemblage Mexicans from all the States of the republic, without exception. I am a son of the frontier, of the State of Chihuahua, of which the capital is now the residence of the supreme government of the nation. Chihuahua, moreover, is intimately connected with the history of independence, the proclamation of which we celebrate to-day, and therefore I wish to devote a recollection to it here.

Hidalgo raised the battle-cry of liberty at Dolores in 1810; in 1811 he expired at Chihuahua on the scaffold erected for him by our oppressors within the very walls of his prison, an immense edifice known by the name of the College of San Felipe or of the Jesuits.

It seems to me providential, gentlemen, that the death of the father of our country should have occurred in such a place. Two reasons occur to me for this, and I allude as well to the State, as to the place itself of his execution. The first is that Chihuahua has come to be the limit of the republic; and it appears that Providence sought to mark it as such by the tragical end of the hero of Dolores. Therefore, Chihuahua should be the *thus far and no farther* of the advances of the Anglo-Americans. On no account, and at no time, can Chihuahua cease to be a Mexican State. We, people of Chihuahua, deem our selves entitled *par excellence* to the rights of Mexican nationality.

The second reason is that, in matter of sentiment, we present a phenomenon for which I find no explanation, particularly if we enter into comparison with the people whose guests we now are. It is an almost general opinion that the Anglo-Saxon race is not to be surpassed in noble sentiment, and, indeed, in practical gratitude towards their public men, the Anglo-Americans present an example worthy of our imitation.

Washington has a monument that rises step by step and already reaches to the clouds, erected only by the contributions of his fellow-countrymen. The American ladies have purchased Mount Vernon, the residence of the Father of his Country and the place where now repose his ashes. The monument of Bunker Hill and many others immortalize the exploits of the heroes of Anglo-American independence.

Among us, gentlemen, Chihuahua alone has thus far raised a monument to the memory of our heroes. Hidalgo has no other monument than the ruins of San Felipe; majestic ruins rivalling those of Rome, and intrusted to transmit to new generations the tradition of our liberty. Thus, Providence seeks to supply our want of spirit, I cannot say our ingratitude. But as long as this monument exists, which appears to defy time, the Mexican nation cannot forget that it is independent; and Maximilian, in order to establish his dynasty, ought to begin by razing it to its foundations. The Austrian sceptre cannot be reconciled with the independence of Mexico; it is impossible. Our duty, however, fellow-countrymen, is to act in such a manner that independence should survive the monument.

I entreat you, then, to bear me company in the toast that, as soon as peace is restored and the independence of the republic secured, one of our first cares may be to erect to our heroes monuments worthy of their memory.

Señor Rivero y Rio spoke in the following terms:

GENTLEMEN: It is gratifying in this family feast to salute those whom the proscription unites for so many different motives. Here we meet those who have borne a conspicuous part in diplomacy and represented our country most ably abroad; those who in governmental positions have conducted the defence of the country and saved its dignity; others who, conquered at Puebla, went into the exile imposed on them in recompense for their valor, and resisted a thousand times the corrupting promises of the tyrant Napoleon III, and his infamous minions. The press and the tribune have likewise their representatives here. Let us pledge, even in exile, our beloved country, now trodden by the phalanxes of a rash conqueror. Let us hope that in the contest, not yet terminated, which our country sustains against the tyrants of Europe, we may find ourselves worthy to continue to be called sons of Hidalgo and Morelos. Let us express a wish for the punishment of the traitors who have sold the republic, and who at this very hour are assembled to profane the memory of our heroes.

Let us drink to the triumph of Mexican independence and the continuation of this domestic solemnity in the Mexican capital.

General Doblado arose and said:

GENTLEMEN: Let us drink to the health of Don Matias Romero, minister from Mexico to the United States; to the modest citizen, who, with the high-toned honor, constancy, and ability becoming to a patriotic and conscientious diplomatist, has represented our country with the dignity, firmness, and intelligence that were to be desired in the elevated position confided to him by the Mexican government under those most critical and difficult circumstances in which the country is even now placed.

FINAL ADDRESS OF SEÑOR ROMERO.

The very elevated position occupied by General Doblado in our country, and the eminent services rendered to it by him on different occasions, at one time as minister of foreign affairs in the negotiation of treaties that have given him a European reputation, (and this is something that redounds very much to his credit, as it is well known that Europeans are in general our greatest detractors;) at another time as a general organizing and conducting respectable forces to battle; again as governor, causing prosperity to flourish in one of our principal States, even in the midst of a disastrous civil and foreign war, make him a citizen so illustrious that anything that I could say in regard to him would fall far below his merits. And as for the rest, I am in our country but an humble citizen, who have held no office of importance there. I did not consider myself sufficiently authorized to propose a toast in honor of so distinguished a citizen, and moreover I was afraid lest such an action, most just and due as I considered it, should be considered out of place in me. Señor Baz, with a better title than me, has already been pleased to offer us this toast, which we have all received with the greatest pleasure.

But as to the extremely kind words with which General Doblado has been pleased to speak of me, I have heard added the no less flattering ones of our distinguished friend Señor Baz, it does not seem proper to me to decline any longer the duty by which I am bound to reply to terms so friendly and in my judgment so unmerited.

Though in reference to Señor Baz, I find myself in the same circumstances as in regard to Señor Doblado, inasmuch as his valuable services to the country in days of great misfortune, at one time as governor of the district of Mexico, at another as a liberal writer, now as a popular orator, again as a citizen armed in defence of the liberty and independence of his country, are also sufficiently distinguished, and constitute him one of our eminent citizens; yet the same review that my friends have been pleased to take of myself, impose on me the duty of expressing my acknowledgments for such kindly manifestations, and of declaring on my part with all sincerity that if any merit can be found in me, it is only that of being animated with the most lively desire to comply with my duties as a Mexican, a virtue which I recognize in you all, and which undoubtedly we all possess in the same degree. What has been said of myself, therefore, I understand as equally applicable to you all, and thanking you most cordially for your kindness and your delicate manifestations of friendship, I move that we now adjourn.

General F. Berriozabal, who, on account of sudden illness in his family, had been unable to assist at the anniversary banquet, had thought to mingle his voice with those of his fellow-countrymen, and proposed to offer a toast conceived more or less in the following terms:

The triumph of the Mexican arms over the foreign invader is undoubted, and only in the delirious brains of Napoleon III, of some traitors who have abased themselves before him, requesting his intervention in the affairs of Mexico, and of some speculators, sworn enemies of our country, could the idea have ever entered of the establishment of an empire therein.

The despot of France, by means of his bayonets, may cause the ridiculous farce of the proclamation of an empire to be represented by some men ever degraded, ever traitors to their country, and who lend themselves with docility to follow his inspirations. Napoleon may find an audacious adventurer, who, for some bags of gold and without considering the difficulties of his enterprise, may accept a throne, not to consolidate it, nor to insure the happiness of a country which he does not know and with which he has had no ties of relationship, interests, customs, language, anything whatever; Napoleon, taking advantage of our weakness, and of the condition of the civil war in this powerful nation, a sister republic, may take possession of the greater part of our capitals and of our ports, and with his numerous legions overrun the country; but with all this he does not conquer it; with all this he does not establish an empire; with all this he does not destroy the national spirit, which on every side and in every possible way manifests itself in opposition to him, nor does he succeed in making the innumerable patriots lay down their arms who keep the country in complete insurrection; with all this he will not prevail upon the nations of America to tolerate the establishment of a monarchy upon their continent; and with all this, in fine, he does not destroy the thousand obstacles that lie in his way to prevent the accomplishment of his views.

Neither Napoleon nor Maximilian knows the spirit dominant in America, as otherwise they would both be persuaded of this truth: "That here no government can exist unless by the consent of the people of the continent, and that Mexico cannot be governed unless with democratic institutions and keeping pace with the progress of the age."

We Mexicans, who have conquered that French army on the 5th of May, 1862, and in many battles at Puebla in 1863; we who have abandoned our children, our interests, and all that man holds most dear on earth, rather than remain subject to its domination in those places which it has occupied, are resolved never to yield, and to remain true to the legitimate government of our country, and to serve it wherever it deems us useful, either as soldiers or as private citizens.

The war of independence lasted ten years, and constituted a terrible epoch of destruction; but there were distinguished patriots who preserved the sacred fire of liberty throughout the whole, and at last its flames burst forth even to destroy the tyrant.

Now, also, we are in a period of decadence; we cannot raise the organized forces necessary to enable us in a few battles to destroy that shadow of an empire upheld by the bandits of Napoleon; but Mexico is in complete insurrection, and is reorganizing its means of defence, inasmuch as the day is not far distant when, seconded by its sister republics, the nations of America, it will expel its usurpers from its territory, and secure forever its independence and its liberty.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translated.]

SYMPATHY FOR THE CAUSE OF MEXICO.

The St. Nicholas Society of the city of New York, which is composed of the descendants of the families from Holland who first established themselves upon Manhattan island, and who founded the city of New Amsterdam, celebrated, on the evening of the 6th inst., the anniversary of their patron saint, St. Nicholas, who is the patron saint both of New York and of Holland, where his anniversary is a day of national festivity.

The descendants of these emigrants from Holland form what may be called the aristocracy of New York. They preserve with veneration the memory of their forefathers, and can trace back their genealogies for more than two centuries, inheriting landed property where real estate has become so valuable. This circumstance, with education, has placed them in the front rank of society, and given them a distinction apart from an aristocracy founded solely upon commercial wealth, and which often lacks the qualities necessary to assure social superiority.

The Knickerbockers, as the descendants of the Hollanders are here called, celebrate the day of their patron saint—as everything is celebrated here—by a sumptuous dinner at Delmonico's, where, on this occasion, covers were laid for more than one hundred, and among the persons present were many of the most eminent citizens of New York.

Being only a family gathering, as it were, at which the Knickerbockers meet to honor the memory of their forefathers, it has not been customary to invite to it the foreign ministers accredited near the government of the United States; and in previous years only the representative of Holland, who is considered as one of the family, has been invited.

The sympathy for the cause of Mexico, which, among the higher circles of American society, not less than among the middle classes, is now so general, led some of the most distinguished of the members of the St. Nicholas Society, when the details of the dinner were being arranged, to propose that this year the representative of Mexico, resident at Washington, should also be invited, as a proof of the interest with which the society regards the holy cause which that republic defends against the power of France. This proposal was so well received by the members of the society that it was adopted unanimously, notwithstanding that by it a distinction was made which, under other circumstances, it would not have been proper to make among the different representatives of the foreign nations friendly to the United States who reside in Washington.

Señor Romero, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican republic, esteeming this proof of sympathy in all its value, accepted the invitation extended to him, and came on from Washington especially to assist at the banquet.

It being our purpose only to refer to the manner in which the members of the St. Nicholas Society manifested their sympathy for the cause of Mexico, it is unnecessary for us to enter upon any description of the dinner, to mention the names of the persons present, or to refer to the regular toasts which were proposed for St. Nicholas, for the President of the United States, for the governor of this State, to Holland, &c., and the manner in which these toasts were replied to by the distinguished orators to whom this duty was assigned. We would mention only that when these toasts were concluded Mr. Augustus Schell, the president of the society, who presided at the dinner, availed himself of the opportunity to present Señor Romero to the company, and to make some important allusions to the country which he represents.

The name of Señor Romero was received with applause, and was honored by three cheers, after which that gentleman, being invited to speak by the president, rose and made the following remarks:

Mr. President and gentlemen, members of the Society of St. Nicholas:

If my distinguished friend, Mr. Von Karnebeck, the worthy representative of Holland, who has so eloquently responded to the toast proposed in honor of his country, thought it necessary to claim your indulgence on account of his imperfect use of a language not familiar to him, what consideration must I not claim who possess, in so inferior a degree to Mr. Von Karnebeck, a knowledge of your beautiful vernacular? Notwithstanding, I should neither be satisfied with myself, nor should I fulfil my duty, if I failed to express my most sincere thanks for the honor conferred, in inviting me to join this family festival—a festival where I have the pleasure to meet so many of the most eminent citizens of New York, the worthy descendants of those who founded this great metropolis, which, as our friend Mr. Bogart has just remarked, is not only the first commercial city on the American continent, but also one of the very first in the world. I fully appreciate the importance and significance of this honorable distinction, which I am quite aware is not intended as a mark of personal consideration for myself, but for the country which I have the honor to represent, and the noble and glorious cause for which she is now struggling. In all times, and under all circumstances, it is most laudable to venerate and honor the memory of our ancestors. I fully share the sentiments of deep and profound admiration held by the Society of St.

Nicholas, of the city of New York, for the many public and private virtues of its progenitors, the founders of this city.

On many occasions, both at home and in their colonies, your forefathers gave ample proof that they were, like honorable and true men, ready to make any sacrifice whatever for the defence of their independence, and of their religious, political, and civil liberty. Indeed, they maintained these precious rights against the aggressions of the most powerful nations of the world—against Spain, who made unheard-of efforts to reconquer the land of your forefathers, and to hold it as a colony; and against England, who saw with uneasiness the prosperity and increasing growth of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. The similarity between the actual state of things in my country at this moment with that of the Low Countries in the most notable periods of their history appears to me, gentlemen, very striking, and inspires me with renewed hopes that this question will find in Mexico a solution as favorable for the good of humanity as was formerly the case in the Netherlands. Philip II believed himself to be especially appointed by God to extirpate heresies, and Napoleon III believes he holds a divine mission to destroy republics and replace them by monarchical governments. It may well be doubted if Philip II consecrated himself with so much ardor and constancy to fulfil this mission solely in obedience to the dictates of his conscience.

In exerting so fanatical a zeal against the reformation, was he not also impelled by but illy-concealed plans of political agrandizement and universal dominion? It is likewise to be doubted if Napoleon III proposes the destruction of republics simply in order to fulfil a divine mission, or if, at the bottom of his projects, is not to be found the same spirit which actuated Philip II two hundred years ago. It was possible, then, to find a pretext in the religious question, but in the present era of toleration it would not be permitted to announce a religious fanaticism Therefore, Napoleon has, with a singular inconsistency, made use of the republican dogma of popular sovereignty, in order to frustrate the wishes and deceive the hopes and aspirations of the people.

There is a coincidence worthy of being noticed, which strengthens the parallel I have just drawn between the present state of Mexico and the former condition of the Low Countries. In the printed narrative which has been distributed to us of the first celebration of the Society of St. Nicholas, which took place the 6th of December, 1810, we find, under the head of No. 9, the following toast: "To old Netherland, our primeval parent—united by subjugation to the domains of imperial France. Our tears for her sad fate." On the fifty-fourth recurrence of this memorable day, is invited, for the first time, to assist at its celebration, the minister of a sister republic, which is at this moment placed in a similar condition to that of Holland in 1810. Napoleon I, of the first imperial France, then conquered and subjugated Holland, while Napoleon III, of the second imperial France, now attempts to conquer and subjugate Mexico. But, that the parallel may be the more complete, I can only wish that the Mexican republic may attain to be on the American continent what the united provinces were in Europe—the bulwark against which shall be dashed to pieces a gigantic conspiracy against the rights and liberties of humanity. [Prolonged applause.] This desirable result might be the more readily and efficaciously obtained if the United States were freed from the troubles which unfortunately afflict them at present. For this reason I desire, as a Mexican, and I may say that my compatriots equally desire, the immediate termination of this civil war. We are not, however, so selfish as to entertain this wish solely on account of our own country. Our views are more elevated; for we believe that the rights and the future of the human race depend on the result of the question now being decided by the civil war in this country. If this question should be resolved in a manner unfavorable to republican institutions in this country, all similar institutions throughout the world would likewise fall, and the cause of humanity suffer a retrogression of several centuries. While, on the other hand, if these institutions triumph here, they will not only prevail and be firmly cemented on this continent, but the social progress of the human family will be considerably advanced. For, inasmuch as the sovereigns of Europe are teaching us at present how to transplant political ideas from one continent to another, may we not in turn transplant our institutions in Europe?

Permit me, then, gentlemen, in conclusion, to propose:

"The speedy termination of the civil war in the United States."

The Journal adds:

Mr. Romero's remarks were listened to with pleasure and attention, and the toast he offered in conclusion was received with enthusiasm, and elicited great applause, and the president of the society, Mr. Schell, begged Mr. Oakey Hall, the district attorney of New York, to answer Mr. Romero's toast.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MEXICAN LEGATION, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
May 5, 1865.

SIR: My attention has been called to a statement made by M. Corta, a member of the French corps legislatif, in the sitting of that chamber of the 11th ultimo, while discussing the Mexican question, in which he, in conformity with the policy of his government, (whose agent he has been in Mexico,) tries to impeach the patriotism of the constitutional president of Mexico, using the most slanderous means, and averring that President Juarez has twice offered the State of Sonora to President Lincoln for seventy-five millions of francs.

M. Corta said (*Le Moniteur Universel* of April 12, 1865, page 433,) as follows:

After these words of General Smith—(he has just quoted some words which he means to attribute to General Scott, calling him General Smith, as he names President Jackson where he means President Polk)—Sonora and the property confiscated from the clergy have been offered to the United States, to President Lincoln, for a sum of seventy-five millions. Well, the American government, the actual President of the United States, has refused this concession proposed by Juarez two different times.

I have been the only representative in Washington of President Juarez's government during the whole time of President Lincoln's administration, and I do not know of any such offer ever having been made to the United States through me or anybody else. Mr. Corwin, late United States minister, negotiated, it is true, in the city of Mexico, a treaty by which the United States were to loan to Mexico eleven millions of dollars, but no sale of Mexican territory was ever offered to this government, and only the guarantee of the product of some of the revenue of Mexico, to wit: the product of the sale of the national property lately in the hands of the clergy, and of the public unoccupied or vacant lands in the country, which are in Mexico a source of revenue as well as in the United States.

As for any previous offer of this kind by President Juarez, we have his statement denying flatly that he ever intended any such thing. I send you a copy of his statement making such denial.

It is my duty, as a Mexican and the representative of a government struggling for the independence of self, free, popular government and republican institutions, against foreign conspiracies and encroachments, to expose the intrigues of the enemies of my country, by which they expect to prejudice public opinion against us. Only this duty makes me intrude upon you, begging you to have this letter and its annexed published.

I would thank you for this favor, and remain, sir, your most obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

President Juarez's letter.

NATIONAL PALACE, MEXICO,
February 22, 1863.

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: I have just read in the Monitor Republicano of to-day the speech which M. O'Donnell, president of the council of ministers of the Spanish government, has made in the discussion which took place with a view to answer the speech of the Crown, and I have seen with surprise, among several inaccurate assertions which M. O'Donnell has made about Mexican affairs, the following expressions: * * * "As for myself, Juarez, as a Mexican, has a stain which can never be washed away—that of having been willing to sell two provinces of that country to the United States." * * * This accusation, coming from a high functionary of a nation, and while an eminently serious and solemn act was taking place, when the statesman must be careful that his words are impressed with the seal of truth, justice and good faith is of the utmost importance, for one may be led to think that on account of the position which he occupies he is in possession of documents which support his assertion—a thing which is not true. M. O'Donnell is authorized to publish the proofs he may possess concerning this affair. Meanwhile, my honor compels me to show that M. O'Donnell has made a mistake in the judgment which he has formed of my official conduct, and you are authorized, Mr. Editor, to contradict the imputation which has been made with so much injustice to the first magistrate of the nation.

I am, Mr. Editor, your humble servant,

BENITO JUAREZ.

EDITOR OF THE DIARIO.
Official.

No. 4.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 8th of January, 1866.

MR. ACTING SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you an account in English, of the proceedings of a popular meeting of citizens of New York, that took place at Cooper Institute on Saturday night, the 6th instant, for the purpose of expressing sympathy for the American republics now struggling for their independence against European aggression.

A great part of the time, as you will see, was taken up by the consideration of the Mexican question.

I am pleased to inform you that among the resolutions unanimously adopted at the meeting, was one expressing the greatest confidence in the capability, enlightenment and patriotism of the President of the United States, and in his determination to vindicate the great principles of the foreign policy, bequeathed to this country by its fathers as a precious inheritance, and which they will secure by vindicating the independence and self-government of all the other nations of this continent.

I accept the occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM HUNTER, *&c.*

The spacious hall of the Cooper Institute was filled last evening by thousands of the citizens of New York in response to the following call:

"In view of the recent aggressions of Spain on our sister republic of Chili, and the continued assaults of France on the independence of Mexico, all citizens of New York who are in favor of the full vindication of the Monroe doctrine in all parts of America, are invited to meet in the great hall of the Cooper Institute, Saturday evening, January 6, 1866, at eight o'clock, and by their voice of sympathy and cheer encourage the defenders of American independence in Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and wherever else republicanism and free institutions are imperilled on this continent, and at the same time enter their determined protest against all attempts to restore or extend in America monarchical systems of government."

This summons was signed by Major Generals Rosecrans and Wallace and a number of distinguished gentlemen.

It is a significant indication of the interest that the whole people take in this national question, that on so inconvenient an evening to most of our citizens the largest public hall in this city should be filled to overflowing. In consequence of the sudden demise of the Hon. Henry Winter Davis, who was announced to address the meeting, the committee of arrangements conferred with the distinguished orators who were to participate in the proceedings, and as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. Davis, they mutually agreed to consider this a preliminary meeting. In about ten days from this time another public meeting will be held in NewYork, to afford the citizens of the metropolis an opportunity to give expression to their sentiments upon the propriety of the government maintaining the Monroe doctrine against foreign aggression. The most extensive arrangements will be made to make this one of the greatest popular demonstrations ever held in New York.

Over the platform were printed in large letters the words, "Heroic Santa Domingo, Chili, Peru, Mexico. If they have not conquered they will conquer." And just above the seat set apart for the chairman, was displayed this inscription: "Henry Winter Davis. His spirit lives with us to-night." The inscription was surrounded by a black border.

REMARKS BY MR. E. G. SQUIER.

Mr. E. G. Squier called the meeting to order, and said they had met that night in pursuance of a call made on them, which it was his duty, in proposing the chairman, to read to them. Mr. Squier then read the notice calling the meeting, and proceeded to remark that he need not state more distinctly the object of the meeting, which was not called to create political sentiment, but to give it expression. If there was one subject more than another on which American hearts were united, and on which all sects and creeds, and he might say all sexes, were agreed, it was on this one of the Monroe doctrine, the bulwark of American liberty. [Cheers.] They had met there under very inauspicious circumstances. He need only point to that name, [pointing to the name of Henry Winter Davis in large letters,] great as it was, to show the feeling in which they all met there to-night. Still, the notice of the meeting had gone out, and it was impossible under the circumstances to postpone it, notwithstanding the untoward event that had deprived them of a most able and brilliant statesman, who, next to Monroe himself, had so energetically worked to establish the Monroe doctrine. He had now to propose, as president of this meeting, and of such other meetings as might hereafter be called here on this question, a man on whose brow the snow of years rested, and in whose bosom beats an honest heart—a man whose life had been dedicated to the advancement of human liberty over the world; a name that had gone forth to mankind as a watchword to animate the slave; a watchword of the nations as long as oppression or tyranny existed on the earth

He proposed to them the name of William Cullen Bryant. Mr. Squier then read the names of the vice-presidents and secretaries, as follows:

President, William Cullen Bryant.

Vice-presidents, William H. Webb, Cornelius K. Garrison, Leonard W. Jerome, Hon. James W. Beekman, Peter Cooper, Daniel F. Tieman, Rev. Joshua Leavitt, Hon. Robert J. Walker, Major General J. A. Garfield, Manton Marble, Hon. Horace Greeley, John E. Williams, Edward E. Dunbar, Major General Rosecrans, Hon. Hiram Walbridge, Hon. Theodore E. Tomlinson, General E. L. Viele, Hon. Charles P. Poston.

Secretaries, J. B. Wheelock, Colonel J. W. Watson, Colonel A. H. Duganne, James L. Anthony, Joseph Bell.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I cannot better state the purpose for which we have come together than it has been stated in the call and the observations made by the gentleman of the committee who has just addressed you. We are here, as he very truly said, not for the purpose of creating public opinion, but of giving it a free, a full and enthusiastic expression. We have come here to assure the government of our support in resisting such audacious attempts as we have lately seen to interfere in the politics of Mexico. [Applause.] It is with deep sorrow, my friends, that I find myself unable to introduce to you this evening one whom we expected to make the principal address here, Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland. He was engaged to be present, but death interposed between him and the fulfilment of the engagement, and that eloquent voice, to which you would have listened with so much pleasure, that voice which always spoke from a full mind, and which uttered the dictates of a sincere, manly, generous, and fearless heart, is silent forever. To Winter Davis, more than to any other man in Maryland, that State owes it that she chose the better part, and remained among the States that were faithful to the Union. [Applause.] If he had lived, he would have added to the obligations to him under which his country now rests, by maintaining and vindicating with all his eloquence and all the enthusiasm of his noble nature the cause which has called us together to-night.

Mr. Bryant then announced that it was the intention of the committee, after the reading of the resolutions and letters, to adjourn the meeting to some other evening, when the attendance of prominent men, now detained by business in Washington, could be secured.

LETTERS FROM DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS

A large number of letters sympathizing with the object of the meeting were read from the Hon. Montgomery Blair, Senator Nesmith, of Oregon; Hon. R. T. Van Horn, of Missouri; Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, United States senator from Ohio; Hon. John Conness, United States senator from California; Hon. James H. Lane, United States senator from Kansas; Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Hon. Hamilton Ward; Hon. R. W. Clarke; Hon. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; Hon. J. Baker, of Illinois; Hon. Charles Sitgreaves, of New Jersey; Major General J. A. Garfield, of Ohio; Hon. S. J. Randall, of Pennsylvania; Hon. John A. Kasson; Major General Sickles; Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson; Hon. Robert Dale Owen, &c., &c.

A Representative Letter.

The following, among other letters, called forth loud cheers:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 6, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: I have delayed an answer to your invitation to attend the meeting on the 6th, with the hope that it would be possible to be present; but I am now compelled to forego the pleasure.

Let me say a word. The air is full of strange rumors, which are well calculated to alarm every patriotic American. We must appeal to the people at once, and arouse the country to the danger.

If a monarchy be established in Mexico, we shall be untrue to our duty, and will receive the execrations of the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

The talk that Napoleon will withdraw his troops if let alone, may be true; but they will be withdrawn when the liberties of the Mexican people shall have been trampled under his feet.

There is but one way to secure their withdrawal, and that is the open, manly one of a notice to quit, backed by a demonstration on the frontier to enforce it if declined.

The great west is ready—it is a unit, and will not be silenced. Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Colarado will drive out the present troops without a man being taken from the other States. All they are waiting for is the word, and they will answer for the results.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. T. VAN HORN.

From Hon. Montgomery Blair, late Postmaster General.

WASHINGTON, *December* 12, 1865.

To the Committee for the "Monroe Doctrine" Meeting, New York:

GENTLEMEN: I regret that my professional engagements prevent me from accepting your invitation to participate in your meeting. The recent concerted aggressions of European powers on the free States of this continent, culminating in the outrage of Spain upon Chili, demand an outspoken expression of American feeling. The President in his recent message has declared, in the calm and dispassionate tone becoming the gravity of the occasion and the dignity of his place, that these wrongs must cease. Our people should now meet and manifest their purpose to sustain him in upholding republicanism in America. I rejoice that the people of New York intend to respond so promptly.

The late rebellion was the work of these European powers. By their money and intrigue it was inaugurated. They fomented, encouraged and recognized it with a view to suppress the growth of republicanism in Europe, and to resume their sway over this continent. We should, in my opinion, have sooner crushed the rebellion if we had boldly, from the first, confronted the instigators of it, and afforded the lovers of freedom in Europe an opportunity to help us, by striking at our enemies there. Shall we take longer counsel of an unreasoning dread of these powers, and continue to tolerate their aggressions, which have cost us so dearly; or shall we imitate the wiser boldness of our fathers, whose manly courage saved our country and our sister republics from such wrongs, even whilst we were comparatively a feeble power? Are these European tyrants so strong in the affections of their own people or in material resources that we must bow before them, and speak with bated breath of the right of the American people to be exempt from European conquest? Far from it. It is because we have sapped the foundations of their thrones in the hearts of their people that they have conspired against us; and they have conspired only because they dared not offend their own people by striking us openly.

The people of France are still loyal to the traditions which allied them in feeling and in arms with our own people in the last century. They are as indignant almost as our own people at the blow thrust at us through Mexico by their Emperor. It is not the waste of their means or their blood which makes the Mexican enterprise so odious to the people of France; it is the proof it affords that the third Napoleon is false to the policy and to the friends of that Napoleon whose name was his passport to the throne, and that he is doing the work of the allied despots who dethroned the great Napoleon, in seeking to destroy free government in America which the founder of his dynasty aided in building up and strengthening as a bulwark of the freedom and power of France. No genuine Bonapartist can think the honor of France committed to the maintenance of a Hapsburg on an American throne. On the contrary, they feel dishonored by the attempt, and by the cruel and unjust war waged by the Emperor upon a distant and unoffending people to consummate it; and we shall but respond to the liberal and enlightened feeling of the French nation by remonstrating against it, and even by a resort to force, if that shall be necessary, to check the Emperor in his mad career in Mexico. The historian of the empire assured them, from his place in the French assembly, that we would do this when we had suppressed the southern rebellion; and the liberals of France will rejoice, as we do, that the first message of the President, after that event, makes it certain that they will not be disappointed.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

From Senator Nesmith, of Oregon.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
Washington, December 27, 1865.

Hon. E. G. Squier, Chairman, etc:

SIR: I have received the communication of your committee of the 20th instant, enclosing a call for a meeting at the Cooper Institute, New York, on the 6th proximo, having in view the public expression of sentiments upon the subject of "foreign interference in the domestic affairs of this continent." In reply thereto, I regret to say that public duties in this city will prevent my compliance with the invitation, with which you have honored me, to be personally present.

I have much gratification, however, in saying to you that the purport of your meeting has my earnest sympathy and support. I can see no objection to the public agitation of a subject that has become, by recent events, so deeply interesting to the people and government of our country; and, on the contrary, I believe in the abundant cause and the appropriate occasion for announcing our opposition to any assaults upon, or interference with, the integrity of republican institutions on this side of the Atlantic.

I have always been impressed with the correctness and propriety of the political theory enunciated in the annual message of the President of the United States on the 2d of December, 1823, in allusion to this subject; and I am convinced that what was then uttered by President Monroe as pregnant with consequences, near and remote, to affect the interests of our country, has increased force in its application now. The eventful history of our country for the past four years should certainly give claim to a recognition, from the nations of the earth, of ability to preserve our institutions; and the success and prosperity in every civilized attribute of great nationality that has marked our onward course since the foundation of our government, surely entitles us to national pride and the right of rank in the class of great nations. After the overthrow of Bonaparte the four great monarchies of Europe (and, I believe, in the early stages England, too, favored the alliance) formed what was known as the "Holy Alliance," whose object was to extend their principles and oppress and put down popular institutions. Have we any less claim as a great nation, and interested in the promulgation of our theory of government, to strengthen, aid, and support our sister republics near us? Does not our own interest, perhaps safety, demand positive hostility to any attempt to break down free government near us?

I regard the attacks of Spain upon the South American states as futile and unimportant. From the time of that nation's *first* attempt to reclaim her American possessions to the present, every effort in that direction has been a failure. The hostility of Spain alone to either Peru or Chili can, in my judgment, never be very formidable.

It is the other nation mentioned in your communication whose present condition invites my warmest sympathies, and excites my indignation at what I have always regarded as an outrage upon her people, and a covert attack upon our government. No reasonable claim ever existed to warrant the seizure of the Mexican republic by the Emperor of the French. No just cause for war demanded the invasion of her soil. None of the rights of property gave the semblance of a title to the possession of that country. Mexico, disturbed by internal dissensions, and weak, was seized upon through the promptings of avarice, and by the strong arm of power, and a ruler and a form of government repugnant to the very large proportion of her inhabitants were forced upon the country. An empire was created by force of arms, with a people eminently republican in their notions of government. An emperor was placed over them, who was, in every sense a foreigner without the most remote claim, by either association, language or consanguinity, to be their monarch.

While the energies of our own government were directed to the suppression of the most gigantic rebellion the world ever saw, the Emperor of the French stole into Mexico, in a clandestine manner, and usurped the government. He selected the only period of time when he would have dared to perpetrate an outrage from which resulted great aid and assistance to those intent upon the destruction of republican government in our own country, and practically became their ally. We have, happily, subdued the rebels at home; and the troops who consummated that result should not have been disbanded until the colaborer in that rebellion, and his mercenaries, were driven from the soil of our sister republic.

In conclusion, I have to state that I am earnestly in favor of our government reasserting the Monroe doctrine, and, if needs be, vindicating it at the mouth of the cannon.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. W. NESMITH, of Oregon.

From Hon. John Conness, U. S. Senator from California.

SENATE CHAMBER, *Washington, Dec.* 12, 1865.

DEAR SIR: Your note inviting me to attend a meeting to be held in New York, for the purpose of giving expression to American opinion on the subject of the "Monroe doctrine," is just received.

It will not be in my power to be present on the occasion; but I can assure you fully of my concurrence in the movement.

No more opportune time could be selected for a protest of the American people against the interference of European monarchists with republican institu- on this continent, than the present.

The constant menace of the baser tyrannies of the Old World during the recent rebellion will remain fresh in the memories of our people for many a day. The advantage taken by the Emperor of France of our direst troubles and needs, in the invasion of Mexico, and the attempt of that usurper and traitor to liberty to establish an empire there by force of arms, has no parallel in history. Undertaken by him upon the double pretence of a defence of French interests, and in behalf of "order," he has become the author of wrong and disorder, which must continue until he shall withdraw his hirelings and pretenders to the place whence they came.

Spain, following the bad example, has assaulted the republic of Peru, and exacted terms which the people of that noble country have contemptuously rejected. Upon the most shallow and baseless excuses and allegations, Spain has followed up her attack upon Peru by an assault upon the independence of Chili, which republic was menaced by war, or presented the alternative of degradation. To the everlasting credit of that gallant, free and peaceful people, the gauge of war has been accepted, and now it is for a just world, but particularly for the American people, to decide whether these constant interferences and assaults on republican institutions and the public peace shall continue. For one, I am in favor of plain language to European powers. We are for peace and good will upon earth. We do not claim the right of forcible propagation of our political principles; but we believe in them and in the advantage to mankind of their extension.

You shall not suppress them by force. You have not been appointed by the world as masters, neither as pacificators according to your practice. We speak in our own behalf and in behalf of the independence of nations and peoples.

Let this be our diplomacy, not diluted until dissolved, and my opinion is, that we will soon enter upon an era in which the practice of each nation of the world will be to mind their own business.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

JOHN CONNESS.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER, *Chairman, &c.*

From Hon. Robert Dale Owen, of Indiana.

NEW YORK, *January* 1, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: Your kind invitation finds my time so engrossed that I am unable to prepare anything worth giving to the public at your meeting next Saturday.

I take a deep interest, however, in the subject. It is not now a theory of which we may safely put off the solution for years. It knocks at the door. It involves the fate of our nearest neighbor.

I do not regard the twenty-year-long dissensions of Mexico as the mere result of individual ambitions, or as the national brawls of a people incapable of self-government. I see in these the great struggle through which all nations must pass—the contest between privilege and oppression on the one hand, and liberal principles and institutions on the other. They had their incubus as well as we. Ours was slavery; theirs the overshadowing temporal powers of a church which held in fee one-fourth—some estimate one-third—of all lands and houses in the republic.

Like us, they brought their contest of long years to a successful termination. Like us, they might look forward, as the reward of victory, to a prosperous and peaceful future.

Their hopes were blasted by foreign interference. The excuse was that they must be governed by others since they could not govern themselves. But despotism is not the remedy for internal commotions; least of all, despotism in America, under European protection.

National peace is, of all national blessings, the greatest. Therefore, it behooves us to avoid not only the immediate but the more remote causes of war. I do not believe that we can maintain permanent peace with a European despotism next door to us; but neither do I think that war will ensue, in this case, if resolution, with good temper, mark our policy now.

We must be bold in the present if we would avoid war in the future. The "Monroe doctrine," temperately asserted, is peace.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others, *Committee.*

From Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York.

OFFICE DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK,
New York, January 5, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: Your note inviting me to address a meeting at the Cooper Institute to-morrow evening, called to indicate the popular sentiment on the subject of the "Monroe doctrine," has been received, and my thanks are returned for the complimentary remembrance.

There is, perhaps, no question of national policy, either foreign or domestic, upon which the American people of all sections and parties are so firmly united and so resolutely determined, as upon that of resistance to the encroachments of monarchy upon this continent. In short, so often and so unanimously has this sentiment been asserted and repeated that the world knows it by heart.

The world knows, too, that it is one of the most cherished principles of republican institutions; that it is deemed essential to their safety and exemption from the conflicts which are wont to spring up and flourish in the pestilent atmosphere of monarchy; and the world *should* know, that it is the last point to be yielded to force or be circumvented by fraud.

Entertaining, as I do to their fullest extent, these convictions, I am aware that the subject is at this time somewhat interwoven with our foreign relations, always a delicate subject, and especially so at this time, when we are surrounded by jealousies and irritations; and having full confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the President, his cabinet and Congress in the premises, I have deemed it proper, in view of an official relation with the federal government, not to mingle in popular demonstrations upon the subject at this time, lest such action might be misconstrued or misunderstood to the prejudice of others.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

D. S. DICKINSON.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others, *Committee.*

From Hon. J. Baker, of Illinois.

WASHINGTON, *December* 21, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: My duties here as a member of Congress will preclude my attending the meeting on the 6th of next month, to which you invite me. I will add, however, a few words on the particular subject which you have in hand.

The present French Emperor has somewhere said, in substance, that one of the Napoleonic ideas is, to keep step with the movement of one's age; and that if a man fails to do this, by standing still or going backwards, he is apt to get run over—a first-rate idea, by the way—but the Mexican scheme of the Emperor is a flat violation of it. The idea will prove itself true in this as in hundreds of other instances; the scheme will fail. The movement of the age is progressive, not retrograde, or even stationary. The tendency is to larger liberty, in fact, in form, and among *all men*, and will not allow the founding of a throne, at the point of foreign bayonets, upon the ruins of an American republic The idea of being flanked by such a monarchy upon our southwestern border, presided over by an offshoot of the house of Hapsburg, is perfectly preposterous, and not for a moment to be entertained by any friend of liberty in America or Europe. The thing is morally, politically, historically impossible, and never would have entered the head of Louis Napoleon, had he not been entrapped, by his want of sympathy with freedom, into the shallow supposition that this country was going to be done for by the rebellion. In my judgment this republic should stand for liberty on this continent, and firmly protest against any further foreign coercion of the political system of Mexico.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. BAKER.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others, *Committee.*

From Hon. Charles Sitgreaves, of New Jersey,

PHILLIPSBURG, NEW JERSEY, *December* 27, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: I regret that previous engagements will prevent my attendance at the meeting to be held in the great hall of the Cooper Institute, in New York, on the evening of January 6, for the purpose of giving expression to the sentiments of the people on the subject of the Monroe doctrine.

Although "absent in body I will be present with you in spirit." This continent must be, in all its length and breadth, the home of constitutional freedom and the asylum of the oppressed of every land, which it never can be with an empire on its borders.

Our people must never add to the oceans of human blood which have been shed and mountains of treasure that have been expended to "maintain the balance of power," which they must do if "foreign, and especially monarchical, interference is permitted in the domestic and international affairs of this continent." You say truly that the time is appropriate for an expression of opinion on this subject. It is indeed appropriate, not only for the reiteration, but for the maintenance and enforcement of "the Monroe doctrine." The stability of the Union, the future tranquillity of the nation, the extension of republican principles and the rights of man, alike demand it. Now is the proper time. The opportunity now lost can never be regained without destroying the peace of the world. An earnest declaration by Congress and the President now, I think, would be sufficient; but if not, then a million of brave men, disciplined in the march, the camp, and the battles of a four years' sanguinary war, will, under God, settle the question of despots forever.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES SITGREAVES,
of New Jersey.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others, *Committee.*

From Major General J. A. Garfield, M. C., from Ohio.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington City, December 26, 1865.

DEAR SIR: Yours inviting me to address a meeting at the Cooper Institute, on the application of the Monroe doctrine to our relations with Mexico, Peru and Chili, is received. I regret that my duties here will not allow me to accept your invitation. I should be glad to co-operate with you in an effort to inform the citizens of my country by what means and for what ends the monarchies of Europe have been, and are still, endeavoring to trample out republican liberty in the New World. I trust you will call the attention of the assembly that will meet on Saturday evening to the fact that Maximilian, the French agent in Mexico, by a decree of September 5, 1865, re-established slavery, with a view to encouraging emigration from our rebel States; thus affording another proof that the French usurpation in Mexico was in reality a part of the rebellion, for the purpose of extending and perpetuating the institution of slavery.

I believe that a firm and decided course on our part will, without war, secure the removal of the French usurpation. That the usurpation will cease, and the pretensions of Maximilian and Napoleon in Mexico will be relinquished, I have no doubt.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER.

From Hon. B. F. Wade, U. S. Senator from Ohio.

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, December* 27, 1865.

SIR: I have just received your note inviting me to attend a meeting to be held in the city of New York, on Saturday evening next, "for the purpose of giving expression to the sentiments of the people of New York on the subject of foreign, and especially monarchical interference in the domestic and international affairs of this continent." I regret that I shall not be able to be present at your meeting, but you may be assured that I am heartily in sympathy with the declared object thereof, and intend to make my sentiments known in Congress at an early period of the present session.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

B. F. WADE.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER.

From Major General Sickles.

[Extract.]

CHARLESTON, *S. C.*

I regret that my duties here, and the reserve imposed upon me by the regulations of the military service, prevent my participation in a public demonstration, having for its noble object the expression of the sympathy of the people of this country with Chili in her struggle with Spain, and of the unfaltering adhesion of the United States to the Monroe doctrine. But my co-operation will not be missed, for our people are unanimous and immovable in their sentiments of attachment for our republican sisters of the American continent; and although we are weary of war, European powers will not be wise in assuming that we lack either the means or the inclination to repel aggression.

DANIEL E. SICKLES.

From Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 21, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: Your note of the 29th instant, announcing a meeting at the Cooper Institute on the 6th proximo, to give expression to the public sentiment on the question of European interference with American republican institutions, and requesting my attendance, is received.

It will afford me sincere gratification to be present, if it shall be possible. The occasion has come for the great republic to acknowledge its assertion of the

"Monroe doctrine" to have been an empty phrase, or a pregnant principle of republican, national, and continental safety, to be enforced with the whole combined power of American republics, if required.

Let our councils be prudent, as our preparations should be complete. Let the reaction from Europe, treacherously begun in the hour of our distress, itself have reasonable time to react in view of the increased solidity of the United States at the close of our war.

Then, if justice, honor, and respect for American principles do not retract the interference already initiated by Europe, let the blows fall in the name of God and liberty, until the interfering flags shall have been swept from the two oceans that embrace our continent.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. KASSON.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others, *Committee.*

From Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

WASHINGTON, *D. C., December* 21, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: It will be impossible for me to be present at your meeting in New York on the 6th of January; but, while trusting that our country may not become involved in hostilities with any foreign nation, if they can be honorably averted, I have no hesitation in expressing my warmest sympathies with the struggling and unconquered liberals of Mexico, and my faith that both President and Congress will so act and speak that the whole world will understand and appreciate the deep interest we feel in the permanency, the tranquillization, and the consequent prosperity of our neighboring republic.

Yours truly,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

From Hon. Hamilton Ward, of New York.

WASHINGTON, *D. C., December* 21, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of yours of the 20th, inviting me to attend a meeting at Cooper Institute, New York city, on the evening of January 6, in vindication of the "Monroe doctrine."

Circumstances will not permit my attending, as it would give me great pleasure to do. I hope there will be a grand outpouring of the people on that occasion. Give the "Nephew of his Uncle" to understand that, as the great Napoleon at last found his Waterloo, he too may find his in the halls of the Montezumas.

The French ruler took advantage of our supposed weakness, and planted upon this continent, over our unwilling people, a monarchy, in bold defiance of our well-known and cherished national policy and traditions. However much we might desire peace with our old friend across the water, this act of France places us in the position either to fight it out, if needs be, and vindicate our policy, or tamely submit to a great national insult and wrong. The people are of but one opinion, that the national honor must be maintained. Let them speak out.

Respectfully yours,

HAMILTON WARD.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER and others.

From Hon. R. W. Clarke.

WASHINGTON CITY, *December* 21, 1865.

SIR: I have received your notice of a call for a meeting to be held January 6, 1866, at the great hall of the Cooper Institute, New York, "for the vindication of the Monroe doctrine." My arrangements will not permit of my attending your meeting; but be assured that, if called upon to act officially upon that question, I shall be with you most heartily.

Respectfully,

R. W. CLARKE.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER, *Chairman, &c.*

From Hon. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee.

WASHINGTON, *December* 21, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to be present at a meeting in the Cooper Institute, on the 6th of January next, finds me on the eve of returning to Tennessee. The object of the meeting, to give expression to the general, nay, universal public sentiment, popularly known as the "Monroe doctrine," meets my unqualified approval. Let the sentiment find expression on every convenient occasion, and through every practicable medium.

It has been assailed on both continents of the western hemisphere, and it is high time it were authoritatively asserted.

Very respectfully,

HORACE MAYNARD.

Hon. E. G. SQUIER, *Chairman.*

From Hon. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 1, 1866.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to be present and address a public meeting in New York city, on the 6th of January next, called for the purpose of vindicating the Monroe doctrine, has been received.

I regret that my official duties will prevent its acceptance.

I have always supported the doctrine you wish to maintain, and have so voted in Congress. I am prepared to use all constitutional means to carry it into practical force and effect, and assume any responsibility which may arise therefrom.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

Messrs. SQUIER, VIELE, POSTON, DUGANNE, and WHEELOCK,
Committee.

From Hon. James H. Lane, U. S. Senator from Kansas.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Wednesday, December* 25, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: Your valued favor was duly received; and in answer, I regret to say previous engagements will prevent me from attending. This I much regret, as I am on the record as an advocate of a firm and decided policy in regard to resisting the great conspiracy of imperialism to overthrow our republican form of government on this continent. And it would give me more than usual pleasure, in such a presence as that of a New York audience, to denounce the foreign despots who dared first to seduce part of our people from the path of duty, and then, in the midst of our national troubles, to plant their iron heel on the neck of our feeble and distressed sister republic, Mexico. You may rely on me in every contingency in the future for peace or war.

Respectfully,

J. H. LANE.

Letter from Major General Mussey.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 5*, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very reluctantly compelled at this last moment to decline your invitation to attend the meeting at Cooper Institute to-morrow.

I regret this the more as I am thoroughly in sympathy with what I understand to be the object of the meeting—a public declaration, to wit, of the American belief that the New World is for republics, and that it is the duty of the United States to enunciate and maintain this belief.

Since the triumphant success of the United States in the late rebellion, republicanism is no longer an open question.

The revolutionary war showed that a republic could assert itself against a monarchy and acquire independence; the war of 1812 showed that it could maintain that independence as against outsiders; the late war has shown that it can maintain it as against the turbulence and sedition of the malcontents of its own citizens aided by the moral and material sympathy of allied France and England. And to every thinker the demonstration is overwhelming that a "people's government" is the most beneficent in peace, the most powerful in war, and the most secure against treason.

This success has brought its duty with it for us to perform, and it is a duty which we cannot honorably neglect or evade.

We must assert the truth we have proved, must defend it when assailed, and encourage it when of feeble growth.

"This should be our foreign policy." Anything else misrepresents us and dishonors us. If necessary, we should maintain this belief with arms. But I do not think any nation is foolish enough to court war with us, and our request will, in nearly every case, be tantamount to a command, and when we do command we shall be obeyed; for no monarchy can afford to go to war with this republic, demanding the recognition of republican principles—since our national success has weakened every throne and strengthened every democratic yearning of the masses, upon whom thrones are built. And though kings and parliaments may order war, it is the people who carry the muskets and pay the taxes, and the people of no monarchy that could engage in war with us would submit to the burdens of a war against their and our cause.

If we are true to ourselves we shall have no war upon this account. The moral sympathy of the government and the material aid of our citizens united, will give to us peace, and to republicanism all the support it needs.

Believe me very truly your friend,

R. D. MUSSEY,
Major General.

Hon. E. GEO. SQUIER, *&c.*, *New York.*

Mr. Squier then read the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas it was early declared, with a solemnity becoming the enunciation of a great principle, by a President of the United States, whose title to immortality and the gratitude of mankind was secured by its enunciation, that the American continents, by the free and independent positions which they had assumed and maintained, were thenceforward not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, and that any attempt by European powers to "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere would be considered as dangerous to our peace and safety;" and whereas it was equally declared that any interposition by any European power, for the purpose of oppressing the republics of America, whose independence the United States had, with great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, or for the purpose of, in any way, controlling their destinies, would be viewed as the manifestations of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States; and whereas, in open contempt of the principles thus early laid down, France has interfered to oppress our sister republic of Mexico, and to control its destiny against the choice of its people; and whereas Spain has interfered to extend her system over Hayti, and is now interfering to oppress the republics of Chili and Peru: Therefore,

Resolved, That the United States is bound, by her traditions, by every consideration of honor and dignity, by her plighted faith to the republics of America, for the sake of her safety, peace, prosperity, and renown, to vindicate the great principles enunciated by Monroe, in all parts of this continent, and to establish, if necessary, by force of arms, that America belongs to Americans, and is consecrated to republican institutions.

Resolved, That by the promulgation of the "Monroe doctrine," and its constant indorsement, we have assumed a responsibility toward our sister republics, and an obligation to defend and protect them, which it would be cowardly and dishonorable to neglect or repudiate.

Resolved, That we deplore with heartfelt sorrow the sudden death of that accomplished statesman and noble and eloquent champion of republican freedom and human progress, Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, who had engaged to speak to us to-night; and we here reassert the language and sentiments of the resolution carried by him unanimously through the House of Representatives, in the winter of 1864: "The United States are unwilling, by their silence, to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico, and that they therefore think fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European power."

REMARKS OF THEODORE T. TOMLINSON.

Mr. Tomlinson was the next speaker. He reviewed briefly the cause of the advance of this great country. The intelligence and enlightenment of a people principally depended upon the form of the government under which they lived. One of the great men of the country had gone from among them, and his absence to-night was a matter of great regret to those who were assembled and to those who had called the meeting together. The loss of such a man as the late Hon. Henry Winter Davis was a public calamity, and he could not better express his own feelings and those of his countrymen, upon so sad an event, than by reading the resolution to which he was called to reply. It was as follows:

Resolved, That we deplore with heartfelt sorrow the sudden death of that accomplished statesman and noble and eloquent champion of republican freedom and human progress, Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, who had engaged to speak to us to-night, and we here reassert the language and sentiments of the resolution carried by him unanimously through the House of Representatives in the winter of 1864: "The United States are unwilling, by their silence, to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico, and that they therefore think fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European power."

No better tribute could be made to his memory than by endeavoring to give utterance to some of the points of the policy which he would have advocated on this occasion were he here to-night. [Applause.] In reading history aright they must be struck by the fact that empire and liberty have grown in progress, taking their course from the east to the west, where, if liberty has at last erected its altar of independence and freedom, France, England, Austria, and Russia have given us, among emigrants, the most free and independent in spirit of their people, and here they have found a refuge from oppression and despotism, and they have helped to establish beyond all chances of successful opposition the paternal government under which we live. But a few years ago and the destiny of this great republic was unthought of—printing was scarcely known—the electric telegraph was a thing of the future, [applause,] and indeed almost the first interest felt in Europe with this country arose when the news of the great struggle she undertook for her freedom became a matter of fact. But soon after her great triumph for freedom and right was accomplished were heard the principles she enunciated; then Franklin drew the lightning from the clouds, and when he arrived in France he was greeted and welcomed, not because that government then desired to see the establishment of a republican form of government, but simply because she desired to humiliate and lessen the power of England. [Applause.] He had lately in Faneuil Hall declared that the shadow of the great republic was passing over the sun of despotism of centuries, and when light again shone from the glorious luminary, it would reveal the stars and stripes resplendent and triumphant. [Applause.] Europe had long looked with jealousy upon the growing power of the republic, and its foremost powers united in an effort to divide the north and south; and when the south rose in arms against the government, they looked with rapture upon the strife, predicting the downfall of democratic institutions. And yet they dared not openly espouse the southern cross nor yet the stars and stripes, too well knowing that on the triumph of the latter, should such an event take place, the stripes would be too likely to fall upon themselves. [Applause.] They found the country divided, and none of them, one alone or all united, had the courage or manliness to espouse either side in the struggle. [Applause.] In the hour of our trial France sent Maximilian to plant the flag of despotism on this continent. [Hisses.] He regretted that death had claimed one that would have been here to-night and enlightened us upon the proper policy of the government in this matter. It was, however, a great thing for the principles at issue that it was in this splendid metrópolis of the country that those principles of the Monroe doctrine were to be first discussed—[applause]—here among the people themselves, and by the people, from whose ranks the noblest spirits of the age had sprung. The people of this country give rise to the ideas and the policy which govern at Washington. Congress and cabinet and President wait to hear the people speak, that the policy of the country may be thereby decided and governed. It was from the rank and file our greatest generals sprung; from the picket line and skirmishers arose the true heroes of the war. And you, too, are here to-night leading the advance in this great recognition of the Monroe doctrine, so dear to all true Americans. [Applause.] International law was a much-vexed question, but there was in reality no such thing; it was altogether a matter as between the stronger and the weaker, the former in all disputes overcoming or overlooking the just rights of the latter. [Applause.] There is no other international law than that claimed by the right of self-preservation; that right underlies all international law, so called. If this government espoused the cause or recognized the right of Maximilian to rule in Mexico, then it would become the enemy of republics and the friend and supporter of monarchies. Mr. Seward, in addressing Maximilian upon this point, must tell him that Americans are imbued with the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and that they are determined to sustain them at the proper time and opportunity—[applause]—as part of the traditions of the country. This birthright of the people must not be sold for expediency, for compromise or gold. [Applause, cries of "Never, never."] It was necessary for our own self-preservation to take care that no monarchies shall be established on this continent—[applause]—and now was the time for the government and the people to show that any such exotics shall not be introduced or established here. [Applause.]

Speech of Señor Vicuna McKenna.

Señor Vicuna McKenna, special envoy from the republic of Chili, was introduced to the meeting amid loud cheers. He said:

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: I offer you my sincere thanks for the manner in which you have received the resolutions which have been presented to you in favor of my country. Your kind sympathies, your enthusiastic applause, show that you have comprehended the true position of Chili in her quarrel with Spain. I entertain the hope, therefore, that you will adopt those resolutions as an act of justice due to a country who knows how to fight for her honor and her liberty. [Applause.]

But permit me to address you, not as a man occupying a public position of any nature whatever, but as one of the many members of the great community of those who love liberty, republicanism, and democracy.

And in that character it is right that I should tell you that there, in that far away but noble land in which I was born, your country is admired and loved as you admire and love it; that there we learn in our mothers' laps to repeat with profound reverence the name of the father of your institutions—the name of George Washington; [applause;] that there, also, the young mothers of to-day teach their children in the cradle to pronounce and bless the name of the greatest redeemer that ages have seen since our Saviour—the name of Abraham Lincoln, of sacred and glorious memory. [Prolonged applause.]

But at the same time let me also tell you that beyond your southern frontiers there exists another America—sister to yours—unknown and forgotten by you, but which, if not so happy or so powerful as your country, is as worthy of your esteem and respect as any civilized nation of the globe whatever.

You well know, gentlemen, that calumny, ignorance, and, more than all, the secret intrigues of European courts, and of their emissaries, have combined to misrepresent the existence of democracy in South America, and to nourish in her bosom the desolating struggle which is harassing her republics, without exhausting or exposing them to death.

Besides, it is necessary that each race should suffer for its original sins and work out its own salvation. You had in the robust heart of your country the seed of Africa, and when you considered yourselves most secure in the support of your institutions, of your peace, and your progress, there broke loose upon you such a gigantic rebellion as the world had never seen.

Another such has happened to us. We had in our bosom the seed of Spain—the country of Europe which is nearest to Africa [applause and laughter]—and therefore we have struggled for half a century to exterminate the roots of ignorance, of fanaticism, and of pride, and to build upon their ruins the foundation of a republic. You have never done us that justice of comparison according to history and truth. You were taught by your own nature, by your customs, and by the spirit of liberty and of conscienciousness which your forefathers brought to the rock of Plymouth, and therefore have been able to establish and extend your powerful republic, your invading and irresistible democracy. But who were our teachers in the difficult science of self-government? They were, gentlemen, those haughty conquerors who only lived to cut one anothers' throats, whose only delight was in the tumult of battle, and who, instead of giving to all who were born, or to all who came among them, the plough of William Penn, put in their hands the fratricidal sword of the Pizarros and of Hernan Cortes.

But notwithstanding that recent and bloody struggle of the republics of the south, what does it prove, except their powerful and inextinguishable vitality?

Behold, gentlemen, that which has just taken place and you will be convinced.

There existed in the midst of the Atlantic an island almost obscure and forgotten, which ancient feuds had exhausted. Spain, always blind and always greedy, believed it dead, and suddenly and traitorously surrounded it with a double circle of bayonets and cannon. And what followed? The obscure islanders rose like heroes, ancient feuds were forgotten, and the hateful flag of Spain, after having been dragged in the mire, was driven from the country by a handful of brave men, before the surprised world. [Applause.]

It was afterwards thought necessary to organize a triple alliance for the invasion of Mexico, in spite of the internal feuds which had exhausted it. But the canon of the 5th of May was enough to dissolve this plot; and to-day, after years of triumphs and defeats, and when the usurper boasted of having pacified the land which rejected him by blood and fire, the noise of the cannon is still heard upon the banks of the Rio Grande as an echo of those which resounded in the Wilderness and at Atlanta.

And further away, in Peru, where one single apostate sold his country for a little guano and a little gold, you will find a people rising against the traitor and the shame—driving out the former with ignominy, and showing themselves ready again to combat for honor and right.

And with respect to Chili. . . . But permit me to refrain from speaking of my country, and let me only point out to you upon that flag suspended over our heads that solitary star which shines out so brilliantly from the blue which surrounds it. That star, gentlemen, is the emblem of Chili; that flag is the flag of my country; the same flag which, not long ago, floating in the breeze of victory, upon the mast of a small boat, was carried by brave hands within sight of the powerful squadron of the invaders, and there, almost within reach of their cannons, made the proud Castilians lower the standard of Isabel II. [Wild applause, the greater part of the audience rising to their feet, waving their hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes, shouting vivas and hurrahs for Chili.]

And still, gentlemen, remember that we won our independence by our own efforts, without the aid of any one. [Applause.] Remember that all Europe opposed our emancipation, and we won it notwithstanding. Remember that you yourselves had, by the side of your standard on the field of battle, the colors of France and Spain, while we had only our own national ensign, and all others were enemies. [Applause.] Remember also that alone we have maintained that independence for forty years; and, while Spain during the present century, has appealed three times to a stranger to sustain her own institutions—to Wellington, in 1808; to Angouleme, in 1823; to Sir De Lacy Evans and the English legion, in 1834—we have maintained the respect of our enemies without submitting ourselves to the humiliation of seekers of foreign intervention.

And do you know why we have succeeded in all this? Because we also, gentlemen, have a Monroe doctrine of our own. But it is not such a Monroe doctrine as you have been proud of for forty years; to be sustained beneath the illuminated vault of this brilliant hall; to be talked of by great orators, or by the voice of the daily press, but a practical doctrine, real, to be supported by acts, by treaties, by alliances, and which, unlike you, we have always defended with our blood and our swords. [Applause.]

And Chili, gentlemen, my country, I am proud to say is the republic of the south which has put itself at the head of this grand and generous movement of brotherhood in glory and sacrifice. It was Chili who sent aboard of one of her men-of-war a diplomatic agent to the shores of Central America to arrest the filibuster Walker. It was Chili who defeated the expedition of Cristina and Flores against Ecuador, in 1846; and who, years afterwards, tore down the altar and the mask of the French protectorate in that unfortunate country. It was Chili who sent her gold to Mexico, and her blood to Peru. It was Chili, I do not hesitate to say, with all the frankness of which I am capable, who put herself in opposition to the plans of an administration of this republic, which perhaps you have forgotten, but not forgiven yet, and which purposed to establish a spurious American protectorate over Ecuador, on condition of the cession of the Galapagos islands for the sum of $3,000,000.

And Chili was perfectly right, because, in the opinion of the people of South America, the Monroe doctrine does not mean conquest without right, invasion without justice; does not mean aught but respect for nationalities which God has created, or their institutions, without any consideration whatever for those who intend to attack them, or for those who intend to protect them.

Yes, gentlemen, the Monroe doctrine, as we understand it, is a vital and absolute principle, not a passing interest of policy. It is not a question of geography, involved in that popular quotation, *America for Americans.* It is not a question of frontiers and territories, by which this or that State may extend itself at the expense of another. It is, on the contrary, the foundation of international right in America; and in that I differ entirely with the eloquent orator who has preceded me, because republican and democratic America has a theory of her own about existence and extension, just as the monarchies of Europe have their doctrines of equilibrium and of dignities, and the foundation of that theory is the Monroe doctrine.

This principle is not, then, simply our own, but that which its glorious founder, James Monroe, meant it to be; and that which his noble sustainer of to-day, Andrew Johnson, has clearly implied he means it to be; that is to say, that the monarchical governments of Europe will not be permitted to interfere with republican institutions in the New World.

Gentlemen, that power which created the strip of land which unites the two continents of America in one single world, one day inspired a great man of the north with this theory of general salvation. That day the key of the golden problem of democracy was discovered; the monarchs of Europe trembled upon their falling thrones; the freemen of the New World showed the slaves of the Old where the sacred ark ought to rest after the flood, and over the sky of a new cycle, and beyond the clouds, the hands of Washington and Bolivar, clasped over the struggle of general emancipation, united the two worlds in one to form a kingdom of eternal glory and eternal liberty.

Let that doctrine of redemption, gentlemen, be sustained, let it be propagated, let it be vindicated. Let your men of the government, or your men of war on the field of battle, carry out this work of redemption. Let the voice of Rome be heard once more from the dome of your high Capitol, and thus, like the household word of Abraham Lincoln, which was, *justice and liberty for the oppressed*, may the household word of Andrew Johnson be, *justice and liberty for the aggressed.*

Señor McKenna concluded his address amid a perfect storm of applause.

The president said that the subjoined resolutions would be read, after which Mr. S. S. Cox would make some remarks. The secretary then read the following:

Resolved, That in Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, we recognize a statesman and patriot, a noble illustration of the fostering influence of republican institutions, a man of the people, deeply sympathising with oppressed humanity at home and abroad, and who will with firmness, prudence and dignity, and in case of ultimate resort, with all of his energies as a man and as President, dedicate himself to the vindication of those great national principles enunciated by our fathers as essential to our peace and safety, and among which the "Monroe doctrine" is one of the most vital, and at this moment of first and practical importance.

Mr. Squier then read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the republic of Chili, by her dignity, firmness, and courage, as well as by her moderation and the justice of her cause, in her contest with Spain, provoked by an attack as groundless as mercenary, deserves the respect and sympathy of all free countries, and especially of the Unitel States, with which she is identified by community of institutions and by every consideration of interest, and whose gratitude she merits as a warm and devoted friend of the American Union in the hour of its greatest peril.

Resolved, That we admire the spirit and enterprise of the little navy of Chili, and rejoice in the brilliant success which has crowned its endeavors in its contest with the arrogant flotilla of Spain.

Resolved, That the glorious example of Santo Domingo, and the final triumph of the heroism and patience of her sons, should sustain and encourage the American republics in their struggles against foreign aggression.

Mr. Squier also read the following resolution:

Resolved, That in view of the serious disarrangement of our preparations resulting from the sudden death of the Hon. Winter Davis, and in order that the overwhelming sentiment of our people in favor of the Monroe doctrine may have proper manifestation on another occasion, this meeting is hereby adjourned, to convene at the call of the president.

ADDRESS OF HON. S. S. COX.

Mr. Cox, of Ohio, followed. He said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I should not have been present at your meeting to-night had not your manager asked me to say something concerning the decease of Henry Winter Davis, the great champion of the cause of constitutional liberty. [Cheers.] I have had the honor of being present with him in the Congress of the United States, and I served with him in the last committee he ever sat on—the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I had opportunities of consultation with him and the various other members of the committee in the framing of the resolutions which have this evening been honorably connected with his name. [Cheers.] Those resolutions received the assent of every member of the committtee, and when they were read in Congress they were received with unmingled approbation, as embodying the views of the people of the United States. [Cheers.] There is one fact in connexion with the Monroe doctrine: at present it has been only regarded as a *brutum fulmen;* it has been simply an enunciation, not backed up by the power or force of the United States. But, sooner or later, the time will come when the force of the United States will be evoked in support of a doctrine which is, as it were, the first letter of the alphabet of the American people. [Loud cheers.] That doctrine, promulgated by James Monroe, and assented to by Thomas Jefferson, and which I hope to see vindicated by Andrew Johnson, [tremendous cheering,] will ultimately become the only doctrine which can be followed out in the interest of the honor of this great country. [Cheers.] You must not forget that there are several republics besides our own on this continent. There are the republics of Bolivia, Chili, Peru, Venezuela, and Cuba, [cheers,] besides others; and this doctrine, in time, will become the law of all those republics. And just because during the past few years we have had troubles of our own—just because we have lain still during the progress of our own civil war—the despots of Europe have taken it into their heads to revindicate their doctrines; and France, with an army of foreign mercenaries, including German and even Egyptian soldiers, has taken advantage of our civil conflict to prop up the fortunes of an archduke of the hated house of Hapsburg [loud hisses] by placing him on the throne of Mexico. I can recollect, Mr. Chairman, the olden time when the powerful voice of Henry

Clay and that of John Quincy Adams were lifted up in support of the Monroe doctrine, and when a congress was held at Panama for the purpose of investing the United States with the control of the whole of the republics of America. That congress did not result as we could have wished; but I will tell you what you must do next. The next thing to be done—when Secretary Seward has discovered that he cannot write Maximilian out of Mexico, when Grant has been consulted a little about him, and when Andrew Johnson has made up his mind to stand inexorably by the old democratic principles instilled into his mind by Andrew Jackson—[great cheering]—the next thing will be to have another Panama congress, and put all the republics of this continent under the protecting ægis of the United States. [Cheers.] There is no room on our continent for the establishment of monarchies; and if the Monroe doctrine had been upheld before, I don't think you would have any occasion for Fenian demonstrations against Canada; I do not think the French would now be in Mexico; I do not think there would now be an Emperor of Brazil. [Cheers.] But our trouble came. We were divided—north and south. The wing of the American eagle was wounded, and the triple alliance of European powers was foiled, leaving ultimately only France to support its Austrian archduke. [Hisses.] As I heard Henry Winter Davis say, upon one occasion, the French eagle, although a proud bird, did not hesitate to fly across the Atlantic to fix its talons into the bleeding corpse of republicanism in Mexico. [Cheers.] Some people fear the result of the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine; they say that we shall have a war with France; but I say that, if decided steps had been taken in time by our government, we should not have had these things to anticipate.

But we have had our own troubles; and, taking advantage of them, thinking that we had forever lost our proud prestige as a nation, the crafty governments of Europe thought it an opportune moment to strike a blow at republicanism on this continent. Thank God, our troubles have passed away—our civil war is ended. Hereafter I hope we are to be a united nation, one and indivisible, animated with one sentiment—the preservation of our liberties and handing them down to our children unimpaired. We are now, or soon are to be, thirty millions of freemen, united in the determination to preserve this continent to republicanism. Thus united, we will be able, should the duty of the hour require it, to put a million of men into the field, sturdy men, who know what it is to be amid the smoke and crash of battle; and with such a force the American people, if the issue be put upon them, will revindicate their policy. But I rose, my fellow-citizens, only for the purpose of pronouncing a slight eulogy on that great statesman whose eloquent lips have so often spoken out in favor of the great principle you have assembled here to indorse, and which will yet draw out an emphatic approbation from the whole American people. In honor to his memory I hope you will now adjourn, to assemble again in your strength and declare to the world that you have not forgotten, nor will you suffer to rest in inaction, those great principles of republican liberty that have been handed down to you by the founders of the nation. When we meet again, rest assured there will be more than one eloquent voice speaking out in favor of republican institutions on this continent. [Loud and prolonged applause, amid which the speaker retired.]

The meeting then adjourned. During the proceedings a fine band performed various national airs, and a song was distributed among the audience dedicated to the Sons of Monroe, which set forth the monarchical intrigues of Maximilian and Napoleon in Mexico.

No. 5.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 14, 1864.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your notes of September 20, October 2 and 10, 1865, and January 8, 1866, with their respective enclosures, in which you are pleased to bring to the notice of this department the public demonstrations which have been made in various parts of the United States in behalf of the cause of Mexico, and on which occasions the persons composing the meetings referred to have clearly manifested that their sympathies were in favor of that republic.

While returning you my acknowledgments for these interesting papers, I avail myself of the opportunity to tender to you, sir, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 13.

TOKENS OF RESPECT AND SYMPATHY FOR PRESIDENT JUAREZ OF MEXICO.

List of papers.

No.	1.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero, (with three enclosures)...	Oct. 17, 1864.
	2.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward	Oct. 18, 1864.
	3.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)...	Nov. 30, 1864.
	4.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Dec. 2, 1864.
	5.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Kirk	Dec. 5, 1864.
	6.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with one enclosure).....	July 22, 1865.
	7.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero........................	Nov. 6, 1865.
	8.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)	Sept. 21, 1865.
	9.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures).....	Oct. 24, 1865.
	10.	Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero........................	Jan. 24, 1866.
	11.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with four enclosures)....	Aug. 21, 1865.
	12.	Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero	Nov. 7, 1865.
	13.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with three enclosures)...	Nov. 1, 1865.
	14.	Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero	Jan. 25, 1866.
	15.	Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward, (with two enclosures)....	Oct. 20, 1865.
	16.	Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero	Jan. 24, 1866.

I.

MEDAL PRESENTED BY CITIZENS OF MONTEVIDEO TO PRESIDENT JUAREZ.

No. 1.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, October 17, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you a small box, to the address of the "Citizen Benito Juarez, President of the United States of Mexico," and also a copy of the despatch from Mr. Kirk, the United States minister to the Argentine Republic, under date of the 14th April, 1863, with the correspondence accompanying the same, received at this department some time since.

This box is said to contain a medal for the late Mexican General Zaragoza, presented to him by the citizens of Montevideo.

The delay in its delivery to you has been occasioned by the fact of your temporary absence in Mexico, and the forgetfulness of the clerk then in charge of the South American bureau to call the attention of his successor to the fact of its receipt, and which I trust you will consider an apology for this apparent but really unintentional oversight.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

Mr. Kirk to Mr. Seward.

No. 20.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, April 14, 1863.

SIR: This box contains a medal of some value from the citizens of Montevideo, to the address of the President of Mexico. The consul of the "Oriental republic" called to see me, and requested me to send it to the United States minister in Mexico. I suggested the propriety of sending it to Washington, to be given in charge of the Mexican minister; and agreeably to that suggestion you will confer a special favor by sending it to the minister, and by acknowledging the receipt of the same.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

ROBERT C. KIRK.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D C.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

(Private.)

YOUR HOUSE, *April* 13, 1863.

SIR OF MY DISTINGUISHED ESTEEM: Having transmitted to the knowledge of the interested the answer that you had the goodness to give to the request that was made by my conduct, of encharging you to give sure direction to a medal dedicated by the people of Montevideo to the (now deceased) Mexican General Zaragoza, that precious object has just been sent to me to be placed in your hands with the indicated purpose.

In virtue of this, I have the honor to remit you a small package wrapped with cloth, waxed, sealed with the seal of the Oriental republic, and addressed to the citizen Benito Juarez, President of the United States of Mexico, in which the medal is found.

It is very grateful to me to be obliged for the participation that you have taken in this business; and on making it in the name of the people of Montevideo, and very particularly in my own, I am happy that an occasion presents itself to be able to prove the sentiments of the sincere respect and high esteem with which I have the honor to subscribe myself your very humble servant, who kisses your hands,

MARIANO DE ESPINA,
Oriental Consul General.

ROBERT C. KIRK, Esq., *&c.*

P. S.—I have to beg you will please acknowledge receipt of all, so that I may be able to satisfy the interested parties.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Buenos Ayres, April 14, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a small package containing a testimonial of friendship from the good people of Montevideo to the address of his excellency the President of Mexico, with the request to transmit the same to its destination.

It will give me much pleasure to comply with the request. You can inform the donors that I shall have an opportunity this week to send it by my friend, Mr. C. F. Perry, to the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, with the request to send it to his excellency the Mexican minister, at Washington.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

ROBERT C. KIRK.

MARIANO DE ESPINA, Esq.,
Oriental Consul General, &c.

No. 2.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 18th of October, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: I have had the honor to receive your note of yesterday, with accompanying documents, and a small box covered with linen and sealed with the seal of the Oriental republic of Uruguay, and directed to "Citizen Benito Juarez, President of the United States of Mexico," in which is a medal that several citizens of Montevideo wish to present to the late General Zaragoza, of the Mexican army. This box was sent to your department by the United States minister at Buenos Ayres, to be sent to its address by my legation.

I will send a copy of your note, together with the box and accompanying documents, to the Mexican government by the first safe opportunity. Meantime I ask you to accept my grateful thanks for your kindness in conveying this precious present from the people of a sister republic to a distinguished Mexican, who died defending the independence of his country.

With exceeding pleasure I embrace this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, &c.

No. 3.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 30th of November, 1864.

MR. SECRETARY: Not having had a channel in every respect safe to transmit to the city of Chihuahua, the present seat of the supreme government of the Mexican republic, the box which you were pleased to send to me, with your note of the 17th of October last past, which contained a medal which the citizens of Montevideo intended to present to General Zaragoza, of the Mexican army, and which, after the death of that general, they determined to send to the President of Mexico, I made up my mind to send it to Madame Dona Margarita Maza de Juarez, the wife of the President of the republic, and who now resides in the city of New York, that she might preserve it as a family relic, or send it to her husband by a safe channel, as she might think most proper. Mrs. Juarez has informed me that she has decided to accept the second alternative. I enclose copies of my letter to Mrs. Juarez and her answer.

Deeming it proper to inform the Oriental consul general in Buenos Ayres of these facts, so that through him the citizens of Montevideo, who contributed to the medal contained in the box refered to, may be made aware of its present whereabouts, I have written to the said consul the communication which I enclose herewith, opened, requesting you to do me the favor to transmit it to its destination, through Mr. Robert C. Kirk, minister resident of the United States to the Argentine Republic, through whom the said box was sent to me. I also transmit to your department a copy of that letter.

Anticipating my acknowledgments for the forwarding of the enclosed communication, I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, November 17, 1864.

I have the honor of transmitting to your excellency a package covered with canvas, with the seal of the Oriental republic in wax upon it, and directed, "To Citizen Benito Juarez, President of the United States of Mexico." This package was sent to me by the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the government of the United States, with a communication apologizing for not having delivered it to me before, because of the negligence of some clerk in his department. It seems from that communication, of which I enclose a copy, that the package contains a medal of value, awarded by the people of Montevideo to General Don Ygnacio Zaragoza; and on learning the fate of that illustrious Mexican, it was determined to send it to the President of our republic, as was done through the Hon. Mr. Kirk, United States minister at Buenos Ayres, who sent it to the Secretary of State. As I have no safe means of conveyance for such a treasure, valuable in many respects, to Chihuahua, I beg you to receive it, to be sent to the President by the first opportunity, or to be kept for your husband when you meet again, whichever you think best.

I also request you to send me any papers the package may contain for the government, that I may forward them to the proper address.

I take this occasion to express my particular consideration and distinguished esteem.

M. ROMERO.

Lady MARGARITA MAZA DE JUAREZ, *New York.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *November* 30, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

NEW YORK, *November* 28, 1864.

I have received your kind communication of the 17th instant, with a package sealed and addressed to my husband, by the republic of Buenos Ayres, through the Hon. W. Seward.

I will try to send it to my husband by the first safe opportunity that offers.

Independence and the republic!

MARGARITA MAZA DE JUAREZ.

C. MATIAS ROMERO,
Minister Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, Washington, D. C.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *November* 30, 1864.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 30th of November, 1864.

I have the honor of transmitting to you the copy of a note addressed to me on the 19th of October last by the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, with a box to citizen Benito Juarez, constitutional President of the United Mexican States, containing a medal awarded to General Zaragoza, of the Mexican army, by certain citizens of Montevideo. In this note you will find an explanation of the long delay, on the part of the Department of the United States, in the delivery of the box.

The present condition of Mexico, caused by the war now sustained by the republic against the French invasion, and the distance of the present site of the national government, prevent frequent and safe communication. For this reason, and not wishing to run the risk of having such a valuable present lost, I have determined to send it to Mrs. Margarita Maza de Juarez, wife of the citizen President of that republic, now in New York. I did this on the 17th instant, as you will see from an accompanying copy of my letter to that lady. I also enclose you a copy of her answer, in which you will see what disposition she intends to make of it; and thus ends my connexion with the affair.

I beg you to make known these facts to the citizens of Montevideo who subscribed for the medal, and assure them that the people of Mexico will never forget that proof of sympathy and consideration given by a kindred nation in the time of our greatest adversity.

With pleasure I accept this occasion of offering you, Mr. Consul, the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Señor Don MARIANO ESPINOZA,
Consul General, Buenos Ayres.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *November* 30, 1864.

No. 4.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 2, 1864.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your note of the 30th ultimo, in reference to the box containing a medal intended as a present to the late General

Zaragoza, of the Mexican army, from the citizens of Montevideo, and advising me of the disposition you have made of said box since it came into your possession, in October last.

The letter which accompanied your note, addressed to the consul general of the Oriental republic of Montevideo, Don Mariano de Espinosa, will, as you request, be transmitted to its destination, through the minister of the United States accredited to the Argentine republic, with instructions to deliver it to that gentleman.

I avail myself of the occasion to renew the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c.,
Washington, D. C.

No. 5.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Kirk.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 5, 1865.

SIR: Your despatches Nos. 72, 73, and 74, dated respectively August 20, 21 and 22, were received on the 9th ultimo.

* * * * * * *

The enclosed communication is from Señor Romero, the minister of Mexico, who requests that you will be pleased to hand it to Señor Don Mariano Espinosa, at Montevideo, and has reference to the medal presented by citizens of that place to General Zaragoza, of the Mexican army.

I am, sir your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

ROBERT C. KIRK, Esq., &c., *Argentine Republic.*

II.

No. 6.

DECREE OF THE CONGRESS OF COLOMBIA IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT JUAREZ.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 22d of July, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to transmit to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of a decree issued on the 2d of May last by the Congress of the United States of Colombia, in which it is declared that "in virtue of the self-denial and unconquerable perseverance which Señor Benito Juarez, in the character of constitutional President of the United Mexican States, has displayed in defence of the independence and liberty of his country," has deserved well of America, and it is decreed, "as an act of homage to such virtues, and as an example to the Colombian youth," that the portrait of the President of Mexico be kept in the national library of Bogota, with an appropriate inscription.

This decree was published in the number 319 of the official journal of the United States of Colombia, corresponding to the 6th of May, aforementioned, at page 1234, column fourth.

The government of Colombia has thus recognized the fact that the question which is being debated at present in Mexico affects all America.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

Decree of the 2d of May, 1865, *in honor of the President of Mexico, Señor Benito Juarez.*

The Congress of the United States of Colombia decrees:

ARTICLE 1. The Congress of Colombia, in the name of the people which it represents, in view of the self-denial and unconquerable perseverance which Señor Benito Juarez, in the character of constitutional President of the United Mexican States, has displayed in the defence of the independence and liberty of his country, declares that the said citizen has deserved well of America; and, as an act of homage to such virtues, and as an example to the Colombian youth,

Resolves, That the portrait of that eminent statesman be kept in the national library, with the following inscription:

"BENITO JUAREZ, the Mexican citizen."

The Congress of 1865 offers him, in the name of the people of Colombia, this homage for his constancy in defending the liberty and independence of Mexico.

ARTICLE 2. The executive power will cause to be delivered into the hands of Señor Juarez, through the channel of the minister of Colombia, residing in Washington, a copy of the present decree.

ARTICLE 3. In the appropriation which is to be voted by the Congress for the ensuing year will be included the sum adequate to enable the executive power to give full compliance to the present decree.

Given at Bogota this first day of May, 1865.

VICTORIANO DE D. PAREDES,
President of the Senate of Plenipotentiaries.
SANTIAGO PEREZ,
President of the House of Representatives.
JUAN DE D. RIOMALO,
Secretary of the Senate of Plenipotentiaries.
NICOLAS PEREIRA GAMBA,
Secretary of the House of Representatives.

BOGOTA, *May* 2, 1865.

Let it be published and executed.

[L. S.] MANUEL MURILLO.

By the President:
ANTONIO DEL REAL,
Secretary of the Interior and Foreign Relations.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *July* 22, 1865.

No. 7.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 6, 1865.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive the copy of a decree, issued by the Congress of the United States of Colombia on the 2d day of May, 1865, which accompanied your note to me of the 22d of July last, expressive of their approbation of the conduct of his excellency Señor Don Benito Juarez, in the character of constitutional President of the United Mexican States, and as the champion and defender of their liberties, independence, and cherished institutions, in the ordeal through which Mexico is now passing

This tribute to the patriotism and eminent virtues of President Juarez is indeed well deserved, and I am sure will be heartily indorsed by the people of the United States.

Thanking you for your kind attention in communicating so interesting a testimonial to this government, I avail myself of the occasion to offer to you, sir, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 8.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 21st of September, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to send you a copy of No. 112 of the "official newspaper of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic," published at the city of Chihuahua the 29th of July last, in which you will see the report of the committee of the senate of the United States of Colombia, made on the 27th of February this year, respecting the decree in honor of President Juarez, approved by the Colombian Congress on the 2d of May following, and of which I had the honor to send a copy to the department with my note of the 22d of July aforesaid. The fact that such report emanated from one of the respectable bodies of an American republic, and showing therein the manner in which the Mexican question is regarded, has decided me to send a copy of this document to the government of the United States. In doing this I think it nevertheless proper to say to you, there is in it an inaccuracy resulting from mistaken information in Bogota respecting a letter which it was reported the ex-archduke of Austria wrote to the constitutional President of the Mexican republic. The only document of this kind which has emanated from the ex-archduke is a letter which Baron de Pond, counsellor for Maximilian, addressed from Brussels under date of May 16, 1864, to a Mexican general resident in Europe, proposing to him an interview with the President of Mexico, of which letter I send a copy.

The constitutional President of the Mexican republic, to whose knowledge such letter came, did not think it decorous to occupy himself in answering it, in order not to enter into any relations with an usurper who was speculating on the misfortunes of Mexico. Nevertheless the contradictions between what the Archduke Maximilian asserted he would do in Mexico before he went to the republic, and what he has done since his arrival in Mexican territory, is noticeable. He then gave assurance "that he was far from imposing himself on the Mexicans by foreign force and against their will," and he was shortly afterwards sent there by the Emperor of the French, and since his arrival has been sustained in the places he has occupied, by foreign bayonets. He made an appearance of respecting the right which every independent nation has of freely disposing of its destinies, whilst now he is busied in compelling the Mexican people to accept, by force of arms, a form of government entirely foreign to them, and to which they have clearly enough demonstrated that they will never submit. He then expressed the wish to call together all the strength of the country, without distinction of party, and to place himself in accord with the principal men of the liberal party, and afterwards he was converted into a blind instrument of the French to exterminate, by means of courts-martial, all the Mexican patriots who deemed it their duty to take up arms in defence of the independence of their country.

Lastly, it is to be noted that on the 16th of March, 1864, he still styled the constitutional President of Mexico the *legitimate chief of the country* when the French attempted to cause it to be believed that the national government of Mexico had disappeared a year previous—that is, since the 31st of May, 1863, when said government left the city of Mexico.

It is very satisfactory to me to avail of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the official paper No. 112, of the constitutional government of the Mexican republic, published at Chihuahua, Saturday, July 29, 1865.]

United States of Colombia—Senate of the Plenipotentiaries.—Report of a committee.

CITIZEN SENATORS: The subject submitted to the discussion of this honorable assembly is that the legislative body of the nation should offer a homage of admiration to the republican hero of Mexico—to the Señor Benito Juarez.

There is nothing more just, gentlemen, than this thought, nothing greater and more worthy of a generous people than to honor in men the noble sentiments which constitute virtue. If there be any merit in impugning vice and iniquity, it is almost obligatory upon us, proper to decorum, to bow down our heads before political honesty; yes, gentlemen, before the political probity which is the true phœnix of the age in which we live. It seems that Providence has created Europe to maintain in it the traditions of royalty and despotism, as it created America, with an intervening ocean, for democracy and republican institutions. But the proud despots of that Old World, with the mad design of changing that divine law of the Creator, have overleaped the seas, and unfurled upon the virgin soil of America a monarchical banner; this duty has been assigned to the imperial house of Austria, which is most justly termed by the poets "the prison-keeper of nations." A prince of that unfortunate house, backed by forty thousand French soldiers and by a few hundred traitors, is he who has assumed upon the beautiful soil of the Montezumas the title of emperor. You, gentlemen, know very well, that in order to consummate so iniquitous an outrage it became necessary for the three great powers of Europe—England, Spain and France—to coalesce; and how, subsequently, in imitation of Pontius Pilate, the first two have washed their hands of it, without the certainty of their having washed them very clean, throwing upon the third the consequences of the treacherous crime of these three powers.

Mr. Thiers has stated, within the halls of the legislative chambers of France, during the session of the 26th of January, 1864, all that it is desirable to say upon the subject. He explains, in the clearest manner, the origin of this scheme, the diverse demands of the invading powers, and the results to be accomplished for the benefit of France. Time will tell us by and by whether the predictions of this statesman shall be realized or not, or whether the will of God shall permit that more shall be accomplished than what his voice could give utterance to, in the presence of the assembled congress of his country. But, notwithstanding this great league, notwithstanding the veteran army of the Emperor Napoleon, notwithstanding the traitors and the new Franco-Austrian empire, a magistrate arises, sustained by loyal Mexicans, ready to bear aloft with firmness the standard of the republic, and to prevent the ruin of a legitimate government. This magistrate is the eminent American Señor Benito Juarez.

Permit me, therefore, citizen senators, to dwell for awhile upon the eminent personage whose name has already acquired a world-wide renown, and to whose solid virtues all elevated and just men, from every quarter of the globe, are compelled to do reverence.

Señor Juarez was born some fifty-eight years ago, in a humble village of the State of Oajaca, called Jatlan, and which to-day bears the name of its illustrious son. Even when a child, he one day bent his steps towards the gates of the capital of that State to solicit some occupation through which he might earn an honest living. He was at once admitted as a servant into the house of a wealthy gentleman, who, foreseeing his natural abilities and genius, caused him to be well educated. With the support alone of that kind friend he rises rapidly through his own merits, and attains the brilliant position of president of the supreme court of the republic—member of the national congress—governor of his native State—secretary to the executive power—and of President of the republic. What were the distinguishing qualities of that American, that native, descended from the caciques, in his various situations' of servant, master, lawyer, minister of justice, legislator, secretary of state, and of President? I will here state them: possessed of a pride which I can call continental, or of that of race, they were loyalty, honor and firmness.

At his present age, and in view of a situation the most difficult, complicated, and grave, which can be presented to the statesman, no one dares deny to him these high qualities, whether the judgment comes from his enemies or whether it originates from friendly pens. Mr. Thiers himself, who with such profound contempt speaks of the race from whom the worthy President of Mexico is descended, and to whom he says that it is only through complacency that the name of the "Latin race" is given—Mr. Thiers himself admits the probity, the force of character, the persistency, the patience and the prudence, of the Indian Juarez.

The celebrated writer Emilio Castelas, the most brilliant and wise apostle of democracy in Spain, while drawing a parrallel between Juarez and Lincoln, the most conspicuous representative of the United States of America, gives vent to sentiments but too true, and but too flattering to the native magistrate of the unfortunate republic of Mexico. But why should I seek in foreign opinions the intrinsicment—the just meed of praise to the man who, himself, can even now see the position which history will award to him hereafter—that skilful sculptor which never errs? I shall now enter that field, though I may be deemed bold and irreverent.

He defends the capital, and causes Puebla to be defended to the utmost extent possible to human efforts; but Puebla succumbs to the necessities of the siege, to the number and resources of the enemy.

President Juares then removes the seat of his government to San Luis Potosi, and thence still keeps alive in the hearts of the nation the holy love of country; thence he holds aloft to the Mexicans, and within the grip of his strong hand, the banner of the constitutional government, pure, unsullied, and unconquerable; thence he proclaims to his fellow-countrymen, and to the people of the whole world, that the republic exists, that she struggles for the defence of her independence, and that she will, in the end, achieve it, because she disputes valiantly; thence he procures resources, he organizes forces, and directs the operations of the war; thence he keeps alive with his great example the sacred fire of the brave captains who sustain him; thence he holds out against the imperial hosts, which themselves prove their inability to conquer the country; thence he speaks to his friends in the United States these noble words: "but even as we are situated, we shall endeavor, with the help of God, to defend our beloved Mexico;" thence he manages and prepares the measures necessary to a vigorous, able, and determined defence, and in which it is impossible for us to say which is the greater—whether it be the efforts or the faith of this wonderful patriot; thence he gives to the oppressed peoples of the world living and speaking lessons as to what they can and must do in order not to suffer their liberties to be wrested from them; thence he infuses into all noble minds this sublime hope, that, if Mexico falls entirely into the maws of wolves which have been sent to devour her, she shall fall, as did Francis I, with her honor untarnished.

It is likewise from that same seat of government (and this is the measure which I consider the one, of all others, most worthy of his life) that Señor Juarez, in *his character as a courteous and polite gentleman*, replies to the tempting letter of prince Maximilian without descending even in the smallest degree from his distinguished position as a republican representative. That document alone suffices to cover its author with glory, and to make his name immortal. But upon this brilliant reply I cannot pass a final judgment without quoting some of its passages; they are, gentlemen, as follows:

"The spirit of French filibusterism is seeking to endanger our nationality; and I, who, by my principles and my oaths, am the one called upon to uphold its national integrity, its sovereignty, and its independence, must work incessantly, redoubling my exertions to fulfil the sacred charge which the nation, in the exercise of her sovereign powers, has confided to me."

"I had previously noted, when the traitors of my country presented themselves as commissioners at Miramar with the view of tendering to you the crown of Mexico—sustained only by the treacherous proceedings of ten towns of the nation—that you had not seen in all these proceedings anything more than a ridiculous farce, unworthy totally of being seriously considered by an honorable and decent man. You replied to these frauds by demanding the will of the nation, freely expressed, as the result of its unanimous vote. Why, therefore, should I not be surprised to see you come upon the Mexican soil when no measures have been adopted respecting the conditions exacted? Why should I now *not* be astonished when I find you accepting the deceits of the traitors, adopting their language, decorating and placing in your service bandits like Marquez and Harran, and surrounding yourself with that low class of the Mexican people? I have, frankly speaking, been greatly deceived. I believed you to be one of those pure organizations which ambition could neither reach nor corrupt."

What a lesson of decency and honesty thrown into the very teeth of a proud descendant of Charles V by an humble republican!

"You tell me that peace will result from the conference we may have, and with it the happiness of the Mexican people, and that the empire will hereafter, by placing me in an important position, have the benefit to be derived from my knowledge and the support of my patriotism. It is true, sir, contemporaneous history registers the names of great traitors who have proved false to their oaths, their promises, and their words; who have betrayed their former history, and everything that is sacred to the man of honor; that in all these betrayals of all human relations the traitor has been guided by the infamous ambition of rule, and the vile desire of pandering to his own passions and vices; but the present incumbent in the presidency of the republic, *who rose from the obscure masses of the people*, shall bow poor and full of misery if, in the *arcana* of Providence, it has been decreed that he shall so succumb; but complying with his oaths, and meeting the hopes of the nation over which he presides, he will thus satisfy the inspirations of his own conscience." * * * *

It is, gentlemen, impossible to speak more boldly or more worthily. It is not the pride of power which dictates these words, but the loftiness of a pure conscience, of an upright soul, and a calm heart. Juarez speaks to Maximilian as a sovereign to a sovereign; but the one uses the sovereignty of right, of reason, and of honor, while the other makes use of the measures of the corrupting sovereignty of kings. The one flatters with promises, and the other retorts upon him with the code of justice and of honor. The one proposes ignominious terms, the other repels infamy, and appeals to the judgment of history to decide between them. The one speaks like the serpent in Paradise, with the view of seducing; the other, while retorting, expresses himself in the words of a Bayard or of an Armand Carrel.

The American statesman whom I have just described to you in a rapid and incomplete manner; the upright functionary who contrasts so strongly with so many others, traitors and perjurers; the honest man, who prefers misery and death to ignominy, because the word *duty* flatters him more than the bright decorations of a grand marshal; the Mexican who stood by the constitutional government at the time of the disloyal proceedings of President Comonfort; the genius who will allay—doubt it not—the fearful storm which has recently swept over the horizon of the New World, is he, citizen senators, to whom it is proposed to you to do honor by the enactment of a decree to that effect.

I cannot believe that there can be a single senator of Colombia who will not promptly concur, with my vote, to the consecration of a similar act which will do more honor to us than to the immortal Juarez. I also speak in the same terms with reference to members of the house of representatives.

The calm conscience of the President of Mexico needs no such incentives, we are perfectly sure, to induce him to continue fearlessly in the path of duty which he has followed to the present hour, and to the admiration of mankind. But the morality of the world must needs stamp upon its records this consolatory truth: that nations moving collectively, tending ever to the support of virtue, follow from afar—even though it be only with the eye—both the great men and the most noted criminals. Approve, therefore, gentlemen, of the decree which has been proposed to you by the two honorable senators from the sovereign state of Cauca, but approve it with the modifications which I have taken the liberty of indicating to you in a separate paper.

ALEJO MORALES.

BOGOTA, *February* 27 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Translation.]

GENERAL: After some conversations that his Imperial Highness the archduke had with you in London and at Brussels, the thought struck him that a personal interview with President Juarez might assist in smoothing the difficulties and enlightening him on the views of the archduke for the good of the country he is called to rule over.

It has always been far from the thought of the Archduke to wish to let himself be imposed on the Mexicans by foreign force against their will. He has too much respect for the right which he acknowledges in every independent nation freely to dispose of its fate, ever to consent that any violence should be done to it as to the choice of its political institutions. Thus, the first condition attached by the prince to the acceptance of the crown has been the assent of the country; and if he is now ready to assume the reins of government, it is because the *acts* of adhesion, coming from the greatest part of the provinces of Mexico, authorize him to believe that the nation, regarded generally, is favorable to a change in its political forms, and to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy under the sceptre of his Imperial Highness.

If that monarchy is to be constituted, the archduke is firmly resolved to base it on the concurrence of all the force of the country, without distinction of party. He wishes to labor sincerely to found, in the supreme interests of the well-being of the common country, political opinions which have too long divided a nation worthy of better destinies. A frankly-loyal effort on the part of the principal politicians of the liberal party, and especially with him who has been until now the legitimate head of the country, and whose political sentiments the archduke has never failed to appreciate, would aid definitively in bringing about this end.

If Mr. Juarez shares this opinion, you might, general, by opening to him the ideas which you have yourself heard from the prince, and by reassuring the President on other points which are more readily discussed in conversation, convey to him the hope that his Imperial Highness would take care that it should be possible for him to go, in perfect security, to some point of the territory conveniently situated, there to meet with the archduke.

In case the President should wish to have this interview, which would, without doubt, lead to happy results for the country, you might, general, have the goodness to send notice to his Imperial Highness through the medium of M. Jacques Kuhncherich, his treasurer, who is always in attendance on the prince's person, and is a perfectly safe man.

Please accept, general, the assurances of my high consideration.

BARON DE PONT,
Counsellor of his Imperial Royal Apostolical Majesty.

BRUSSELS, *Hotel Bellevue, 16th March*, 1864.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, *September* 21,1865.

No. 9.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 24th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: Referring to the notes which, under date 22d July last and 21st of September following, I addressed to your department, remitting copy of a decree of the Congress of Colombia, approved 2d May of this year, in which it is declared that the constitutional President of the Mexican republic "HAS DESERVED WELL OF AMERICA, for the abnegation and unconquerable perseverance with which he has defended the independence of his country," I have the honor to enclose to you a copy of No. 114 of the official paper of the Mexican government of the 21st September last past, in which is published the autograph letter that the President of the republic of Colombia sent with said decree to the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, the reply of this functionary, and the notes exchanged on the same subject between the minister of foreign relations of both governments.

I gladly avail of the opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of Chihuahua, No. 114, September 21, 1865.]

Manuel Murillo, President of the United States of Colombia, to his excellency Señor Benito Juarez, President of the United Mexican States:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I have the honor to remit to you, in duly authenticated copy, the decree of the 2d May last, passed by the Congress of the United States of Colombia in your honor.

In sending you this legislative act, testimonial of the respect and consideration with which your conduct has inspired the people and the government of Colombia, let me be allowed to express to you my own admiration of your virtues, and of the good example which you have given.

You will see in this decree a pledge of the sympathies that this people has maintained for yours, and the fraternal interest with which it has watched every one of your efforts in favor of the dignity and autonomy of the United Mexican States.

Accept, sir, the sentiments of distinguished consideration and respect with which I am your good friend,

M. MURILLO.

The Secretary of the Interior and of Foreign Relations—
ANTONIO DEL REAL.

Given at BOGOTA, *June* 15, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.—Reply.]

Benito Juarez, President of the United Mexican States, to his excellency Señor Manuel Murillo, President of the United States of Colombia:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: With your letter of 15th June of this year you have pleased to send me a copy of the decree of 2d May last, passed by the Congress of the United States of Colombia, making declaration of its kind sentiments in my favor, and directing a portrait of me to be placed in the national library of that republic.

This honor which the Congress of Colombia has designed to do me I receive with so much the more gratitude the more I think I do not merit it. I have done nothing but my duty, which for the public functionary, as for the private citizen, is the most sacred in periods of disaster to the country.

Inspired by their kind feelings, the Congress of Colombia has deigned to regard my conduct with kindness, and I ask you to please to manifest to it the sincere expression of my respect and profound acknowledgments. In high degree I thank you also for your own sentiments, in which you have assured me at the same time of the sympathy and fraternal interest of the people and government of Colombia with the cause of the Mexican republic. My gratitude will be a new motive to me ever to make the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and for the increasing prosperity of the people and government of the United States of Colombia.

Deign to accept, sir, the very distinguished consideration and respect with which I am your good friend,

BENITO JUAREZ.

The Minister of Foreign Relations—
[L. S.] S. LERDO DE TEJADA.

PASO DEL NORTE, *September* 9, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.—Translation.]

U. S. OF COLOMBIA, DEP'T OF THE INTERIOR AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Bogota, June 15, 1865.

The undersigned, secretary of the interior and foreign affairs of the United States of Colombia, has the honor to transmit to your excellency an authenticated copy of the autograph letter which the citizen President of this republic addresses, under this date, to the most excellent Señor Benito Juarez, President of the United States of Mexico, transcribing to him the decree issued by the national Congress on the 2d of May last, and in compliance with which the portrait of the most excellent Señor Juarez shall be preserved in the national library as a homage to his virtues, and an example to growing generations of Colombia.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to present to your excellency the assurances of the very high consideration with which he has the honor to be, your excellency's obedient servant,

ANTONIO DEL REAL.

His Excellency the SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Of the United States of Mexico, &c.

[Enclosure No. 4.—Translation.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, DEP'T OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND OF GOV'T,
Paso del Norte, September 9, 1865.

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs of the Mexican republic, has the honor to communicate to his excellency Señor Antonio del Real, the minister of the interior and foreign affairs of the United States of Colombia, that he has received his note of the 15th of June of this year, with which he was pleased to transmit to him a copy of the autograph letter, and the despatch which contained it, addressed by the most excellent Señor President of Colombia to the citizen President of the Mexican republic, transmitting to him the decree of the 2d of May last, which the Congress of Colombia passed in his honor. At the same time the undersigned has the honor to transmit to his excellency, Señor del Real, an authenticated copy of the letter of reply, together with the despatch which contains it, addressed by the citizen President of this republic to the most excellent Señor President of the United States of Colombia.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to protest to his excellency the Señor minister of foreign affairs of Colombia the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

S. LERDO DE TEJADA.

His Excellency Señor ANTONIO DEL REAL,
Minister of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs
of the United States of Colombia, &c.

No. 10

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 24, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of September 21 and October 24 last, with their several accompaniments, all of which have reference to the decree issued on the 2d of May, 1865, by the Congress of the United States of Colombia, in honor of Don Benito Juarez, the President of the republic of Mexico.

You will be pleased to accept my thanks for the information thus kindly communicated by you to this government, and to receive the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

W. HUNTER,
Acting Secretary.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

III.

BELGIAN SYMPATHY FOR MEXICO.

No. 11.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, 21st of August, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: I have the honor to remit you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of a communication addressed to me, the 22d of July last, by Mr. E. Coremaux, president of the Netherduitsche League, in Antwerp, enclosing an address of the said association, directed to the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, expressing, in the name of the Belgian people, the sympathy of that nation for the cause of liberty and independence in Mexico, and the regret at the conduct of King Leopold, for family reasons, in aiding the Emperor of the French in his endeavors to subjugate that republic.

I also enclose a copy of the above-mentioned address, together with my reply to Mr. Coremaux, of the 9th instant.

I am gratified for this opportunity of repeating to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

NETHERDUITSCHE BOND OF ANTWERP,
Antwerp, July 22, 1865.

SIR: Enclosed we beg to hand you an address to the President of the republic, the honorable B. Juarez, voted to him by one of the most influential political associations of this country.

Being aware how difficult it is, under the present circumstances, to transmit an address to the legal government of Mexico, we should feel happy if, by your kind intercession, our letter should come to the hands of your President.

We are, sir, your obedient servants,

E. COREMAUX, *President.*
WM. HAGENAER, *Secretary.*

Hon. MATIAS ROMERO,
Ambassador of the Mexican Republic at Washington.

Es copia:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

NUEVA YORK, *Agosto* 21, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

ANTWERP, *July* 14, 1865.

The Netherlands League, a Flemish democratic association, counting its members by thousands, at its last general meeting, the 26th of May last, almost unanimously decided to address you, as the only legal representative of the Mexican nation, to congratulate you on your persevering resistance against a foreign usurper who is trying to rob the Mexicans of their liberty and independence; and at the same time this association protests against the imprudent assent of the Belgian government to the recruiting of troops for the service of a foreign usurper, thus intervening in the domestic affairs of Mexico, in violation of all international law and of the laws of Mexico.

This address was about to be written, when a painful piece of news was received, causing anxiety, mourning, and unspeakable anguish in hundreds of families. It was that your forces, Mexican soldiers, fighting for their independence, had gained a bloody victory over those that are endeavoring, by force of arms, to make an emperor for Mexico out of an Austrian archduke. Those who perished so horribly in Tacambaro were mostly our countrymen. This association joined in the general mourning, and would probably have postponed acting upon the resolution but for the conduct of the Belgian government, which is contrary to the national will. We urgently desire that an energetic protest by us may convince you and the Mexican people that the people of Belgium take no part in these unjust proceedings, and are therefore free from all responsibility.

You know, Mr. President, that sixteen hundred Belgian young men left their country for Mexico. The way in which the Belgian government favored this expedition is no secret to you or to any one. The recruiting agents made believe everywhere that our young men were going solely to serve as a guard to the so-called empress of Mexico, daughter of the King of Belgium; and these men, thus deceived, continued to enlist, without reflecting that they were going to uphold principles of tyranny and oppression. But the whole Belgian nation, excepting a few interested individuals, condemns the proceedings in this affair. The people of Belgium are lovers of liberty, as zealous as any others, and the independence they want for themselves they desire for other nations. Belgians understand and admire the heroic resistance made by the Mexicans to the usurper, and they do not doubt but the country will finally be freed from foreign rule. Such also are the wishes of this association; for you know, Mr. President, that the few bewildered sons of this country among the Hapsburg forces is no reason, and never will be, for free Belgians to give up their sympathy for the good cause of which you are the worthy representative. However much our government, entirely influenced by France, may do, it will never persuade the people to favor the cause of a foreign usurper. The Belgian nation heard with sorrow the news of Tacambaro, and felt the greatest indignation and anger, not at Mexicans fighting for their independence, but against the really guilty who induced the enlistment of our youth, through deception. Let them bear the blame, and may the justice they deserve be meted out to them. This address of a democratic association, made to you in the name of thousands of free Belgians, is a proof that our people take no part in the preference of their government for the cause of a foreign usurper. Belgians will always follow the example of their ancestors, who ever devotedly loved liberty and hated foreign dominion.

In the name of the association, the Netherlands League.

E. COREMAUX, *President.*
WM. HAGENAER,
J. LECLERC, *Secretaries.*

Señor JUAREZ,
President of the Mexican Republic.

True translation from the original.

JOS. REFSELS, *Sworn Interpreter.*

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, *August* 21, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, August 9, 1865.

SIR: I had the honor of receiving to-day, in this city, the communication you were pleased to direct to me in Washington, dated the 22d of July last, enclosing an address of the Netherlands League, a political association of Belgium, of which you are the worthy president, directed to Señor Don Benito Juarez, constitutional President of the Mexican republic, requesting me to forward it to its destination.

I have the honor of informing you, in answer, that the document will be sent to-morrow by safe channel to the city of Chihuahua, the present seat of the government of Mexico, and as soon as the acknowledgment of its reception reaches me I will transmit it to the association over which you preside.

Permit me to say that this spontaneous demonstration of a body that represents the true popular spirit in Belgium, as yours, cannot fail to be received in the most cordial manner by the government and people of Mexico, and will contribute greatly to maintain the amicable disposition of the government and people of Mexico towards the enlightened inhabitants of Belgium in spite of all that King Leopold has done to destroy the friendly feelings and change them into sentiments of open hostility.

I take this occasion to offer you the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Mr. E. COREMAUX,
President of the Netherlands League, at Antwerp, in Belgium.

True copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, *August* 21, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 4.]

Belgian sympathy for the Mexican republican cause.

An Antwerp paper of June 14 (*Escaut*) contains the proceedings of the Netherlands League (*Het Nederduitsché Bond*) at their recent meeting. The following we translate from the speech of Mynheer Vleeschouwer:

What have we in common with Mexico? Much, gentlemen. Not long ago Mexico was still a free and independent state, with her own government and laws. We Belgians, a people equally independent and free, formed a treaty of friendship and commerce with Mexico. The Mexicans were then our allies, were our friends. But the Emperor of France cannot tolerate liberty or independence anywhere. Even beyond the ocean he endeavors to murder liberty. He sent an army to subjugate the free Mexican people. By force he has imposed an emperor, and the Mexicans are now bending under the yoke of a foreign tyranny.

And we, the sons of free Belgium, what shall we do while we contemplate the oppression of our allies and friends? Shall we raise the voice, protesting against the shameful violation of the law of nations? No, no; we do not. We are forbidden to do it because we are a neutral nation. Our neutrality is guaranteed to us by treaties. We must be faithful to our neutrality, that we may be respected by other nations This is the reason why we have not protested. This is the reason why we could not protest. But we have done something else. We have not done it ourselves: our government has done it by abu ing our name. * * * * * * * *

Belgium must make war on Mexico because our princess is married to the tyrant of Mexico. Frankly, what may such a policy lead us to ? If the crowned heads should agree some day (the crowned heads are capable of everything) to make a kingdom in Switzerland, and wished to place our Count of Flanders on the new throne, should we not be obliged also to send an army to secure the submission of the Swiss to the Count of Flanders ? And when the little princesses have grown up, the daughters of the Count of Flanders, and it is desired to convert them into queens and empresses of the regions now ultra-marine republics, would it be necessary for us also, at the command of a foreign prince, to go and place them by force on their new thrones ? Naturally, we could not act otherwise. There is a precedent which may always be appealed to against us. We have sent troops to Mexico to protect the daughter of Leopold I. Then you cannot appeal to your neutrality to refuse to send troops to protect the daughter of Leopold II. And you wonder, oh, ye sublime statesmen, that the people murmur and feel no confidence in the future. Why do you not wonder more that the nation has had so much patience, and has not derogated all by means of the elections ? Because everything in the state has become a lie. The representatives of the people no longer represent the people. They are only humble servants of a government composed of foreigners.

After other remarks in the same style, the speaker moved an address to President Juarez, which was adopted, expressing the strongest sympathy with the Mexican patriot cause, deep regret that Belgian troops have been employed to oppose it, and declaring that they were enlisted under false pretences, only as a guard for the princess, now called empress.

The Mexican Club have passed a vote of thanks to the Netherlands "Bond," and addressed to them a very well-written letter, in which they say: "The Mexican people have always believed they had an ally and brother in the enlightened Belgian people, and they have been painfully surprised at seeing the Belgian flag united with the flags of France and Austria in an enterprise to destroy the republic, to erect upon its ruins a throne as abominable as that which, in a past time, oppressed Mexico and Belgium; but they understand that the Belgian people are strangers to that crime; they know that it has been born of the weakness of a government which humbles itself before the tyrant of France."

No. 12.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 7, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 21st of August, 1865, transmitting to me, for the information of the United States, a copy of a communication addressed to you on the 22d of July last by Mr Coremaux, president of the Netherlands League, in Antwerp, enclosing an address of the said association, directed to the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, expressing, in the name of the Belgian people, the sympathy of that nation for the cause of the liberty and the independence of Mexico, and their regret at the conduct of King Leopold, who, for family reasons, is aiding the Emperor of the French in his efforts to subjugate that republic. You are also pleased to transmit to me a copy of the address of the Netherlands League to President Juarez, dated July 14, 1865, and of your reply to Mr. Coremaux, dated New York, August 9, 1865, acknowledging the same.

Thanking you for your courtesy, in communicating this interesting correspondence to the government of the United States, I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my very distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, &c., *Washington, D. C.*

No. 13.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 1st of November 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: On the 21st of August last I sent a note to your department, with the address made by the Nederduitsche Bond, a democratic society of Antwerp, the 14th of July last, to the constitutional President of the Mexican republic, expressing the sympathy of the Belgian people for the cause of liberty and independence in Mexico, and their regret to see King Leopold, through personal and family motives, assisting the Emperor of the French in his efforts to conquer that republic. I now have the honor of transmitting to you No. 115 of the official paper of the Mexican government, dated 28th September following, containing the reply to that address of Mr. Lerdo de Tejada, minister of foreign relations, on the 23d of the same month, in the name of the President, showing how the Mexicans regard the unjustifiable conduct of the King of the Belgians.

Before concluding this note, I think it convenient to transmit you, for the information of the government of the United States, the English copy of a note which I addressed to my government, the 14th of November, 1864, in regard to the policy of the Belgian government towards Mexico, and of the answer of the minister of foreign affairs of the 27th of January last; which documents were published in the official paper of the Mexican government, about the end of January last, and re-published in English by the New York papers.

I am pleased with this occasion to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.—Translation.]

[From the official paper of Chihuahua, No. 115, September 28, 1865.]

MEXICAN REPUBLIC, DEP'T OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND GOV'T,
Paso del Norte, September 23, 1865.

SIR: The citizen President of the republic received your letter of the 14th of June of this year, addressed to him in the name of the Nederduitsche Bond, of which you are the worthy president, by a resolution in general meeting, and forwarded by the minister of Mexico in Washington.

The President has seen from your letter that an important political and popular association of Belgium, such as the Nederduitsche Bond, counting many thousand members, has considered and recognized it just to protest, in the name of the free Belgians, against the conduct and acts of its government in recruiting troops to support the wicked and passing pretensions of a foreign usurpation and despotism in Mexico.

You regret rightly that deceived Belgians should come to shed their own blood and that of Mexicans only for the interest of a stranger or a stranger's wife; and this consideration is more serious when we reflect that a Hapsburg and Orleans blot out the remembrance of their humiliation and family ruin, and offer themselves as servile instruments to another foreign power, for the reward of an empty title and a little money.

Free Belgians should only shed their blood for Belgium; they must not spill it, like slaves, to foster the family interest of a master; nor can they sell it, like mercenaries, for a handful of gold, without a patriotic sentiment. You regret rightly that a few deluded Belgians should come to shed their blood for a stranger, or the wife of a stranger, who are themselves the submissive slaves of another foreign power.

The Belgian government violated the vaunted neutrality of Belgium, and contemned the laws prohibiting its citizens from enlisting in a foreign service, when it acted for the personal interest of the King's daughter, who ceased to be a Belgian as soon as she became a stranger's wife, and thought to act with impunity when it became the accomplice of a strong nation in the perpetration of a crime against a weaker one.

The duties of the Belgian government towards Mexico, against whom she has never had, or pretended to have, the slightest cause of complaint; the principles of the law of nations requiring every nation to respect the independence and sovereignty of every other; and the eternal maxims of morality, condemning a causeless war, in which the principal and his accomplices are responsible for all the deaths and destruction, murders and robberies, were all disregarded by the Belgian government when it thought to take advantage freely of the misfortunes of a feeble nation, and had a private family interest in partaking of the fruit of crime.

But it is commendable in Belgium, as well as honorable for the progress of civilization and liberty, that compunctions of conscience have raised the voices of many of her free citizens, causing them to rebel and protest against that iniquitous conduct.

The Mexican republic is pleased with this protest, even amid her misfortunes and the struggles she is sustaining, and will sustain to the end; and the citizen President charges me to request you to express to the Nederduitsche Bond his great appreciation of its just and worthy sentiments.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my respectful consideration.

S. LERDO DE TEJADA.

Mr. E. COREMAUX,
President of the Nederduitsche Bond of Antwerp.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

No. 290.] MEXICAN LEGATION, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, November 14, 1864.

The enlistment in Belgium of a legion for the support of Maximilian and his wife in Mexco has encountered opposition among the people and even in the legislature of that country.

There having been published many advertisements in which recruits were called for to be enlisted under the direction of a retired lieutenant general, and other officers of the Belgian army, the ministers were questioned in the House of Representatives with reference to the participation of the government in such an enterprise, and several of the ministers, among them the minister of war, denied that the administration aided directly or indirectly in the project; but they confessed, however, that they had permitted Belgian subjects to enter upon this expedition without losing for this reason their nationality.

It is worthy of attention that notwithstanding this explicit confession, and the fact, which is well known, that the volunteers were rendezvousing in the city of Audirnad, in an edifice which was in part a public building, as also that in the advertisements it was stated that the government permitted officers of the army to enlist, granting them for this purpose two years' leave of absence, in order to return to the country and still hold their positions if it did not suit them to remain in Mexico—it is worthy of attention, I repeat, that notwithstanding all this, the House of Deputies was apparently satisfied with the declarations of the ministers, and, taking note of the same, without further examination of the matter, passed to the order of the day, although not without several deputies manifesting their reprobation of all connected with the projected Belgian legion for Mexico.

A little before there had been in Brussels a meeting of the citizens, which condemned in energetic terms the enlistments alluded to, calling the attention of the Chambers to the same, and publishing in placards the resolutions they adopted with reference to the matter.

There have also been published two important pamphlets, which I have seen—the one entitled "The Belgian expedition to Mexico—appeal to the Chambers;" and the other, "General Chapellé—the Belgian Expedition to Mexico, and article 92 of the final code." Both are very well written, and are by distinguished members of the bar in Brussels.

In the first—after an impartial historical *resumé* of Mexico since the convention of London of October 31, 1861—it is demonstrated that the Belgian government, in its conduct with respect to the said expedition, has given offence to our country, and violated the neutrality which Belgium is always bound to observe with respect to all nations, in conformity with its political constitution.

By such conduct, says Mr. Demeur, Belgium has lost the right to invoke in the future that neutrality which is its principal protection, and has not only incurred the enmity of a feeble republic, such as Mexico will be for some time, but also that of the United States, which latter fact may have consequences the most ruinous.

The second pamphlet, written by Mr. Van Don Kerkoor, is a powerful demonstration by legal argument that the enlistments for Mexico, without previous and express authorization of the Belgian government, constitute a grave crime, that the penal code of that country punishes with death. It concludes with a vehement appeal to the attorney general, to whom the pamphlet is addressed, to indict and bring to trial the Lieutenant General Chapellé and his accomplices.

As soon as I have a secure opportunity, which I expect will be very soon, I will remit to the department both pamphlets.

I renew to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO

The CITIZEN MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, *Chihuahua*.

[Enclosure No. 3.]

No. 36.] DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND OF GOVERNMENT,
National Palace, Chihuahua, January 27, 1865.

By your note No. 290, of the 14th of November last, the President has been informed of what you communicate with reference to the enlistments that have been taking place in Belgium for the purpose of forming a legion for the support in Mexico of the Archduke Maximilian and his wife, the daughter of King Leopold of Belgium.

There may be added to the observations you make with reference to this affair the fact that that government has never alleged, nor has it pretended, to have the slightest motive of complaint against the Mexican republic. Notwithstanding this, King Leopold has sought to take advantage of the misfortunes of a nation that has never done him any injury, and for the private interest of favoring his daughter, he has sought to give her the support of mercenary soldiers, whose purpose is to aid in overpowering the Mexicans and to shed still more the blood of a people who defend their independence and their liberty.

It is not strange, therefore, that King Leopold, from solely a private family interest, has been willing also to set aside the precepts of the constitution and the interests and the opinions of the people whom he governs.

I assure you of my most attentive consideration.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

The Citizen MATIAS ROMERO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

No. 14

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 25, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 1st November ultimo, with its three enclosures, consisting of the letters of Señor Lerdo de Tejada, the minister for foreign affairs of Mexico, to Mr. Coremaux, president of the "Nederduitsche Bond," of Antwerp, dated September 23d last, expressive of the appreciation of the Mexican government and people for the kind sympathies extended to them by that association in their letter to President Juarez, of the 14th of July last; also, of copies of your correspondence with Señor Lerdo de Tejada, in regard to the policy of the Belgian government towards Mexico, dated November 14, 1864, and January 27, 1865.

Thanking you for your attention in communicating these papers to this government, I have the honor to tender to you, sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

W. HUNTER,
Acting Secretary.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c., Washington, D. C.*

No. 15.

Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.

[Translation.]

MEXICAN LEGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Washington, 20th of October, 1865.

MR. SECRETARY: As a proof of the feelings of the Belgian people in regard to the question now debating on Mexican soil, I have the honor of transmitting to you, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of a communication I received from the Liberal Union of the Civic Guard of Liege, dated the 11th of August last, together with a copy of the resolutions passed the day before by that association, protesting against the proposal of Lieutenant General Pletincks, commander of the Civil Guard of Brussels, to erect a monument to the memory of the Belgians who fell in action at Tacambaro, in the Mexican republic, on the 11th of April, 1865, "because they lost their lives in a cause opposed to liberty, and in contradiction to the efforts the Belgians made in 1830 to gain their independence."

I also enclose a copy of those resolutions.

I accept this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Secretary, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

M. ROMERO.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *&c.*

[Enclosure No. 1.]

LIBERAL UNION OF THE CIVIC GUARD OF LIEGE,
Liege, August 11, 1865.

SIR: We have the honor of transmitting to you, by another source, a copy of the deliberations of our association on the tenth of this month, and we respectfully request you to have them sent to the government of the Mexican republic.

Accept our distinguished regards.

The President, L. J. J. LEFEVRE.
The Secretary, G. CLERMONT.

Mr. MATIAS ROMERO,
Minister of the Mexican Republic in Washington.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 20, 1865.

[Enclosure No. 2.]

LIBERAL UNION OF THE CIVIC GUARD OF LIEGE.

The Liberal Union of the Civic Guard in general assembly convened, on the 10th of August, 1865, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas Lieutenant General Pletincks, commander of the Civic Guard of Brussels, in a letter of the 1st of August, asked the concurrence of the civil militia in the erection of a monument destined to preserve the memory of the Belgians killed at Tacambaro; and

Whereas, although our fellow-citizens displayed incontestible courage and bravery, it is not less true that the cause for which they gave their lives is anti-liberal, and contrary to the efforts the Belgians made in 1830 to gain their independence; and

Whereas the Civic Guard, as protectors of democratic and constitutional institutions, cannot join in a manifestation that tends to glorify the subjugation of a nation:

Therefore, *The Liberal Union* protests against the idea of General Pletincks, and advises all the civic guards in the kingdom to reject it.

A true extract. By the committee:

The President, L. J. J. LEFEVRE,
Corporation Counsellor of the City of Liege.

The Secretary, G. CLERMONT,
Lieut. Quart'r of the 3d Bat. of the Civic Guard of Liege.

A true copy:

IGNO. MARISCAL, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, *October* 20, 1865.

No. 16.

Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 24, 1866.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 20th of October last, transmitting, for the information of the government of the United States, a copy of a letter addressed to you by the Liberal Union of the Civic

Guard of Liege, dated August 11, 1865, and also a copy of the resolutions adopted by that association on the 10th of the same month, in which the sentiment of the Belgian people in regard to the question now being debated on the soil of Mexico is manifested.

You will be pleased to accept my thanks for your courtesy in communicating these interesting papers to this department, while I avail myself of the occasion to renew to you, sir, the assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

W. HUNTER,
Acting Secretary.

Señor MATIAS ROMERO, *&c.*, *Washington, D. C.*

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Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Dec. 10	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of October 5, with its important accompaniments, and stating that it had already received the consideration of the department; and that measures had been adopted to meet the exigencies which it presents.	479
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Nov. 2	Regarding said decrees, and enclosing to him a copy of the opinion of the attorney general, which he is requested to place in the hands of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys, and to ask that the attention of the French government may be directed to the question.	479
Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 24	Receipt of Mr. Seward's of November 2..........	480
Mr. Bigelow to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.	Nov. 22	Calling his attention to above decrees, and transmitting to him the opinion of Attorney General Speed.	480
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Dec. 14	Approving Mr. Bigelow's note to Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys..........	481
M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Mr. Bigelow.	1866. Jan. 15	Acknowledging receipt of said opinion, but stating that he could only receive it as a piece of information.	481
Mr. Bigelow to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.	Jan. 16	In reply thereto	481
		No. 9.—*Raising of the black flag by Maximilian.*	
Mr. Otterbourg to Mr. Seward.	1865. Oct. 19	Enclosing translation of decree of Maximilian	482
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 25	Regarding Maximilian's proclamation of October 2, and his decree of the 3d of the same month.	483
Enclosure 6..........	....	Proclamation of Maximilian on landing at Vera Cruz, May 28, 1864, full of mild promises.	489
Do. 7..........	....	Letter to his minister, Velasquez de Leon, November 3, 1864, stating that until then his government had shown forbearance to its political adversaries, but that henceforth it would be under the imperious obligation to combat them.	490
Do. 8..........	....	Proclamation of Maximilian, declaring that the government of Don Benito Juarez was at an end, and asserting that President Juarez had left the country.	491
Do. 9..........	....	Decree of Maximilian of October 3, 1865, ordering the summary trial and execution within 24 hours of all persons found in arms against the so-called imperial government.	491
Do. 10..........	....	Address of the usurper on the erection of the statue of Morelos in the city of Mexico.	493
Mr. Corwin to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 28	Regarding the proclamation and decree of Maximilian, and stating that under it Generals Arteaga and Salazar and four colonels had been shot.	494
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 20	Informing him of the summary execution under the above decree of Generals Arteaga and Salazar, four colonels, five lieutenant colonels, eight commandants, and a number of subordinate officers, all of the regular army of Mexico, and captured by the French forces sustaining Maximilian, as prisoners of war.	495
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Nov. 3	Requesting Mr. Bigelow, by direction of the President, to ask the serious attention of the French government to the military proceedings in Mexico, by which native Mexicans, taken captive while adhering in war to their own republican government, are denied rights which the law of nations invariably accord to prisoners of war.	497
Do	Nov. 28	Informing Mr. Bigelow of the execution of General Arteaga and the other republican officers, and instructing him again to call the serious attention of the French government to this subject, and inform it that these reports have been received with the most profound concern by the government of the United States.	498
Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 30	Replying to same, and communicating the statement of Mr. Drouyn de Lhuys that they were not responsible for the acts of Maximilian or his government.	498
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Dec. 10	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of October 25 and November 20	498
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.	1866. Jan. 5	Enclosing letter written by General Arteaga on the eve of his execution to his mother, and stating that it appears General Arteaga's execution was ordered from the city of Mexico by the imperial or the French authorities there.	499
Do	Jan. 22	Transmitting various documents showing the determination to execute this decree in all its bloody force.	500
Enclosure 1..........	....	Letter from General Salazar on the eve of his execution	501
Do. 2..........	....	Similar letter from Colonel Gomez to his father	502

From whom and to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
Enclosure 3	1866.	Protest against these barbarous executions addressed to Maximilian by the Belgian officers who were previously made prisoners by General Arteaga at Tacambaro, and communication addressed to the representatives of the Belgian nation calling upon them to interfere.	502
Do. 4		Letter from Brownsville, Texas; more barbarities of the imperialists; protest and correspondence of General Weitzel with the imperialist authorities.	504
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Feb. 20	Enclosing correspondence between General Riva Palacio, commander of the army of the centre of Mexico, and Marshal Bazaine, regarding exchange of prisoners, and calling attention to the fact that the republican forces have extorted from the French the concession of belligerent rights.	506
Enclosure 1		General Bazaine to General Riva Palacio, proposing exchange of prisoners.	507
Do. 2		Reply of General Palacio	508
Do. 3		Pass and safe conduct given by Marshal Bazaine to General Tapia	509
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Mar. 10	Regarding the execution of Colonel Garcia Cano	510
Enclosure		Copy of the sentence ordering his execution	510
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Mar. 14	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of January 5 and 22, February 20, and March 10, 1866, with their enclosures, relating to the decree of October 3 and the execution of General Arteaga and other officers, and stating that the government of the United States deeply regrets the untimely fate which has overtaken these brave champions of the cause of liberty and republican institutions in Mexico, and fully deprecates the practice of a system of warfare so little in consonance with the usages of enlightened States.	511
		No. 10.—*Intrigues of the insurgents of the United States and Mexico.*	
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	1864. July 9	Enclosing address of General Magruder, confederate commander in Texas, to Santiago Vidaurri, who was governor of the States of New Leon and Coahuila, in Mexico, on receiving him in San Antonio on the 21st of May last, with reply of Vidaurri.	512
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	July 27	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of July 9	514
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Dec. 3	Enclosing memorandum regarding plans entertained by disaffected men in the United States, north and south, with reference to Mexico.	514
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	1865. Jan. 7	Receipt of same, and saying that the subject will receive the serious attention to which it is justly entitled.	516
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Feb. 6	Protesting against the reported cession of Mexican territory proposed to be made by Maximilian to the French.	516
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Feb. 25	Receipt of same, and stating that the same will be placed on file in the archives of the department for such uses and purposes as future events may render it necessary to apply it.	518
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.	Apr. 20	Enclosing communications showing the relations that have existed between the insurgents of both republics and the French, being communications from the rebel General Slaughter to the imperialist General Mejia and other papers.	519
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 2	Receipt of same	522
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	July 4	Enclosing further letters of the same character from the rebel General Slaughter; also important letter from General Negrete, of the Mexican republican forces, to Mr. Romero, stating that, on account of the aid rendered to the imperialists at Matamoras by the confederates at Brownsville, he was obliged to abandon his attack on the former place.	523
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 4	Receipt of same	528
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Bigelow.	July 31	Enclosing to him translation of Mr. Romero's note of the 4th July, with its accompaniments, relative to a supposed understanding between the insurgent commanders in Texas and the French commander in the adjacent quarter of Mexico, and to an alleged co-operation between them for the purpose of preventing the recovery of Matamoras by the national forces of Mexico.	529
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	July 8	Enclosing intercepted letters from Dr. Wm. M. Gwin and others regarding their schemes with the French in Mexico.	529
Enclosure 1		Letter from Colonel Mejia, of the Mexican army, to Mr. Romero, explaining how these letters were found.	530
Do. 2		Letter from Wm. M. Gwin, jr., to his mother in Paris, relating to Mexican and confederate affairs.	531
Do. 3		Letter on same sheet, supposed to be from Wm. M. Gwin, sr	532
Do. 4		Letter addressed to Colonel John Winthrop, New York, care of Royal Phelps, and evidently from same source.	533
Do. 5		A Mr. Massey, in the city of Mexico, to Hon. B. Wood, regarding French and rebel schemes in Mexico, and urging Wood to send him money.	534
Do. 6		Letter to the editor of the New York Daily News, dated at the city of Mexico, and in same handwriting as above.	535

From whom and to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
	1865.		
Enclosure 7		Referring to an agency for emigration given by Maximilian to Dr. Thomas C. Massey, supposed to be the writer of the above.	536
Do. 8		Correspondence from Mexico at about the same date of the New Orleans Times.	537
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	July 18	Acknowledging receipt of the above	538
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	July 13	Enclosing the above intercepted letters, and directing that the same be laid before the French government, and stating that the President confidently and sincerely expects in some form an assurance that all the pretences of Doctor Gwin and his associates are destitute of any sanction from the Emperor of France.	539
Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.	Aug. 10	Transmitting copies of his letter on above subject to the minister of foreign affairs and the reply thereto.	540
Enclosure 1		Mr. Bigelow to M. Drouyn de Lhuys	540
Do. 2		M. Drouyn de Lhuys in reply thereto	541
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Aug. 24	Upon same subject	542
	1866.		
Do	Feb. 12	Regarding colonization decrees issued by Maximilian	543
	1865.		
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 5	Regarding plans and decrees of Maximilian inviting foreign immigration into Mexico and principally of the disaffected citizens of the United States.	543
Enclosure 1		Immigration decree of Maximilian September 5, 1865	545
Do. 2		Regulations under same, establishing slavery or peonage	545
Do. 3		Speech of Maximilian on the anniversary of Mexican independence	546
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Dec. 10	Receipt of same	547
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 20	Relating to plans adopted by the French agents in Mexico for the purpose of collecting in that country the discontented citizens of the United States, enclosing extracts from a newspaper published in the city of Mexico giving a list of prominent persons from the south now there, and relating to the appointment to high office by Maximilian of avowed enemies of the United States.	547
Do	Oct. 25	Regarding the colonization agencies that have been assumed by the "Mexican Express Company," and enclosing basis of the organization of said company, with the names of the parties connected therewith.	551
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 1	In reply thereto	554
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 4	Enclosing five decrees of the ex-Archduke of Austria, promulgated in September previous, in which he names Mr. M. F. Maury, a declared enemy of the United States, as honorary counsellor of state and imperial commissioner of colonization, and Mr. J. B. Magruder, also a declared enemy of this government, as chief of the colonization land office.	555
Do	Dec. 12	Continuing the same subject, and enclosing printed letter from Isham G. Harris, late prominent insurgent, written from Cordova, in Mexico, containing details and information regarding the colonization and emigration schemes before referred to.	557
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Dec. 21	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of October 20, November 4, and December 12.	560
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.	Dec. 31	Enclosing two documents published by Mr. F. Maury, ex-confederate agent in Europe, and now termed "imperial commissioner of colonization" in Mexico, in which he gives a special invitation to confederates who wish to settle in Mexico.	561
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.	Dec. 31	Receipt of same	567
	1866.		
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Feb. 11	Transmitting, in continuation of same subject, a copy of a printed circular containing the prospectus of the so-called "American and Mexican Emigrant Company," organized in St. Louis, Missouri, by virtue of a grant from the usurper Maximilian, April 27, 1865, with the names of the parties connected therewith, and a copy of the decree conferring the same.	567
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Mar. 15	Acknowledging receipt of same	572
		No. 11.—*Attempts at recognition by Maximilian.*	
	1865.		
Señor Arroyo to Mr. Corwin.	Mar. 2	Confidential letter soliciting Mr. Corwin's good offices to procure an interview with the Secretary of State; submitted by Mr. Corwin.	573
Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin.	Mar. 13	Requesting Mr. Corwin to call at the department	573
Memorandum	Mar. 13	Read by Mr. Seward to Mr. Corwin, declining to hold any intercourse with Mr. Arroyo.	574
Do	July 18	By Mr. Seward, regarding effort made by the French minister to procure an interview for, and the reception of a letter brought by, a special agent sent by Maximilian with a letter to the President of the United States. Interview and reception of letter declined.	574
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	July 31	Transmitting letter from city of Mexico relating to efforts made by Maximilian to obtain the recognition of the United States.	574

From whom and to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.	1865. Aug. 1	Regarding attempts of Don Louis de Arroyo to exercise the functions of consul for the so-called Mexican empire in New York, and enclosing papers relating thereto.	576
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Aug. 9	In reply to the above, and stating what is the position of the United States in the premises.	578
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Aug. 12	Relating to the same subject	579
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 7	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of August 12	579
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Nov. 6	Communicating the President's views regarding the presence of a French army in Mexico.	580
Mr. Bigelow to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 30	Stating that he had read the above despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who thanked him for reading the despatch, "though he felt obliged to say he derived neither pleasure nor satisfaction from its contents."	580
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Dec. 16	Approving Mr. Bigelow's course in reading above despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and containing two points upon which it is stated it is the President's purpose that France should be respectfully informed.	581
Marquis de Montholon to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 29	Enclosing confidential memorandum from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, asking the assurance that the United States will not impede the consolidation of the new order of things in Mexico.	582
Mr. Seward to M. de Montholon.	Dec. 6	Informing him of the disposition of the government of the United States in regard to the same subject.	583
M. de Montholon to Mr. Seward.	Dec. 9	Receipt of same	585
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Dec. 12	Enclosing to him translation of the communication of the 29th ultimo from the Marquis Montholon, and copy of Mr. Seward's reply thereto.	585
M. de Montholon to Mr. Seward.	1866. Jan. 29	Enclosing M. Drouyn de Lhuys's reply, Paris, January 9, to Mr. Seward of 6th December, reciting at length the position of France with regard to Mexico, and proposing to fall back on the principle of non-intervention.	585
Mr. Seward to M. de Montholon.	Feb. 12	Replying at length to M. Drouyn de Lhuys of January 9, reciting again the position of the United States, and stating that this nation recognizes and must continue to recognize in Mexico only the ancient republic, and that it can in no case consent to involve itself, either directly or indirectly, in relation with or recognition of the institution of the Prince Maximilian in Mexico.	589
Mr. Seward to Mr. Bigelow.	Feb. 12	Enclosing to him for his information copy of the foregoing note	598
		No. 12.—*Public demonstrations in favor of the Mexican republic.*	
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	1865. Sept. 20	Enclosing to him copy of printed pamphlet containing the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of New York, held at the Cooper Institute on the 19th July last, for the purpose of expressing sympathy and respect for the patriotic Mexicans who have taken refuge in the United States, and of hearing from them as to the situation of their country.	599
Enclosure		Proceedings of the meeting	599
		Speech of Dr. Leavitt	601
		Speech of Señor Zarco	602
		Speech of Señor José Rivera y Rio	608
		Address of Señor Villalobos	612
		Address of Colonel Balbontin	615
		Resolutions adopted	618
		List of Mexican citizens composing the Mexican club of New York, the most of them being exiles.	619
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 2	Enclosing proceedings of a meeting in San Francisco to express the sympathy of the people of California in favor of the cause of Mexican independence.	621
		Account of meeting	621
		Speech of Mr. Campbell	623
		Address of General Ochoa	625
		Speech of Mr. Wheeler	627
		Resolutions adopted	628
Do	Oct. 10	Transmitting proceedings at a dinner in New York, given by the Mexicans residing there, on the occasion of the celebration of the forty-third anniversary of Mexican independence, on the 16th of September last, with the various addresses, made by Mr. Romero and others; also, remarks of Mr. Romero at a dinner given by the St. Nicholas society in New York on the 17th December last, at which a representative of the republic of Mexico was present for the first time.	629
Enclosure 3		Letter published by Mr. Romero denying the statement made by M. Corta, a member of the French corps legislatif, that President Juarez had offered to sell the State of Sonora to President Lincoln.	647
Do...4		Letter from President Juarez contradicting a similar assertion made by Marshal O'Donnell in the Cortes of Spain.	648

From whom and to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
Mr. Romero to Mr. Hunter.	1866. Jan. 8	Transmitting an account of the proceedings at a public meeting in New York for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the American republics now struggling for their independence against European aggression, with the addresses that were made and letters that were read, including a number from distinguished senators and representatives.	648
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Mar. 14	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of September 20, October 2 and 10, 1865, and January 8, 1866, with their enclosures.	668
		No. 13.—*Tokens of respect and sympathy for President Juarez, of Mexico.*	
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	1864. Oct. 17	Transmitting a medal of the late General Zaragoza, presented by the citizens of Montevideo to President Juarez, and forwarded through the United States legation at Buenos Ayres, with the correspondence in reference thereto.	668
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Oct. 18	Acknowledging receipt of same	670
Do	Nov. 30	Transmitting further correspondence with reference to same	670
Mr. Seward to Mr. Remoro.	Dec. 2	Acknowledging receipt of Mr. Romero's of 30th November, and relating to above.	672
Mr. Seward to Mr. Kirk.	Dec. 5	Enclosing copy of the above	673
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	1865. July 22	Transmitting decree of the congress of Colombia in honor of President Juarez.	673
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 6	Acknowledging receipt of same, and saying that this tribute to the patriotism and eminent virtues of President Juarez is well deserved, and will be heartily indorsed by the people of the United States.	674
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Sept. 21	Enclosing copy of paper containing the report of the committee of the senate of the United States of Colombia respecting the above decree; also, copy of a letter from Baron de Pond, counsellor for Maximilian, proposing an interview between President Juarez and Maximilian.	675
Do	Oct. 24	Enclosing published copy of the autograph letter which the President of Colombia sent with the above decree to President Juarez; also, the reply of President Juarez to President Murillo, and the notes exchanged on the same subject between the ministers of foreign relations of both governments.	680
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.	1866. Jan. 24	Receipt of Mr. Romero's of September 21 and October 24 last, with their several accompaniments, relating to above decree.	682
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	1865. Aug. 21	Enclosing copy of a communication from the president of the Netherduitsche League, in Antwerp, transmitting an address of the said association directed to the constitutional president of the Mexican republic, expressing, in the name of the Belgian people, the sympathy of that nation for the cause of liberty and independence in Mexico, and regret at the conduct of King Leopold in aiding the Emperor of the French in his endeavors to subjugate that people, and copy of Mr. Romero's reply thereto.	683
Enclosure 4		Extract from an Antwerp paper containing a speech delivered on the occasion of the adoption of the above address.	685
Mr. Seward to Mr. Romero.	Nov. 7	Acknowledging receipt of foregoing	686
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	Nov. 1	Transmitting the reply to the above address of the Mexican minister of foreign affairs in the name of the President; also, copy of a note addressed by Mr. Romero to his government on the 14th November, 1864, in regard to the policy of the Belgian government towards Mexico, and of the answer of the minister of foreign affairs of the Mexican government thereto.	687
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.	1866. Jan. 25	Acknowledging receipt of the above	690
Mr. Romero to Mr. Seward.	1865. Oct. 20	Enclosing copy of a communication from the Liberal Union of the civic guard of Liege, transmitting resolutions adopted by that association protesting against the erection of a monument to the memory of the Belgians who fell in action at Tacambaro, in the Mexican republic, "because they lost their lives in a cause opposed to liberty, and in contradiction to the efforts the Belgians made in 1830 to gain their independence."	690
Mr. Hunter to Mr. Romero.	1866. Jan. 24	Acknowledging receipt of the same	691

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